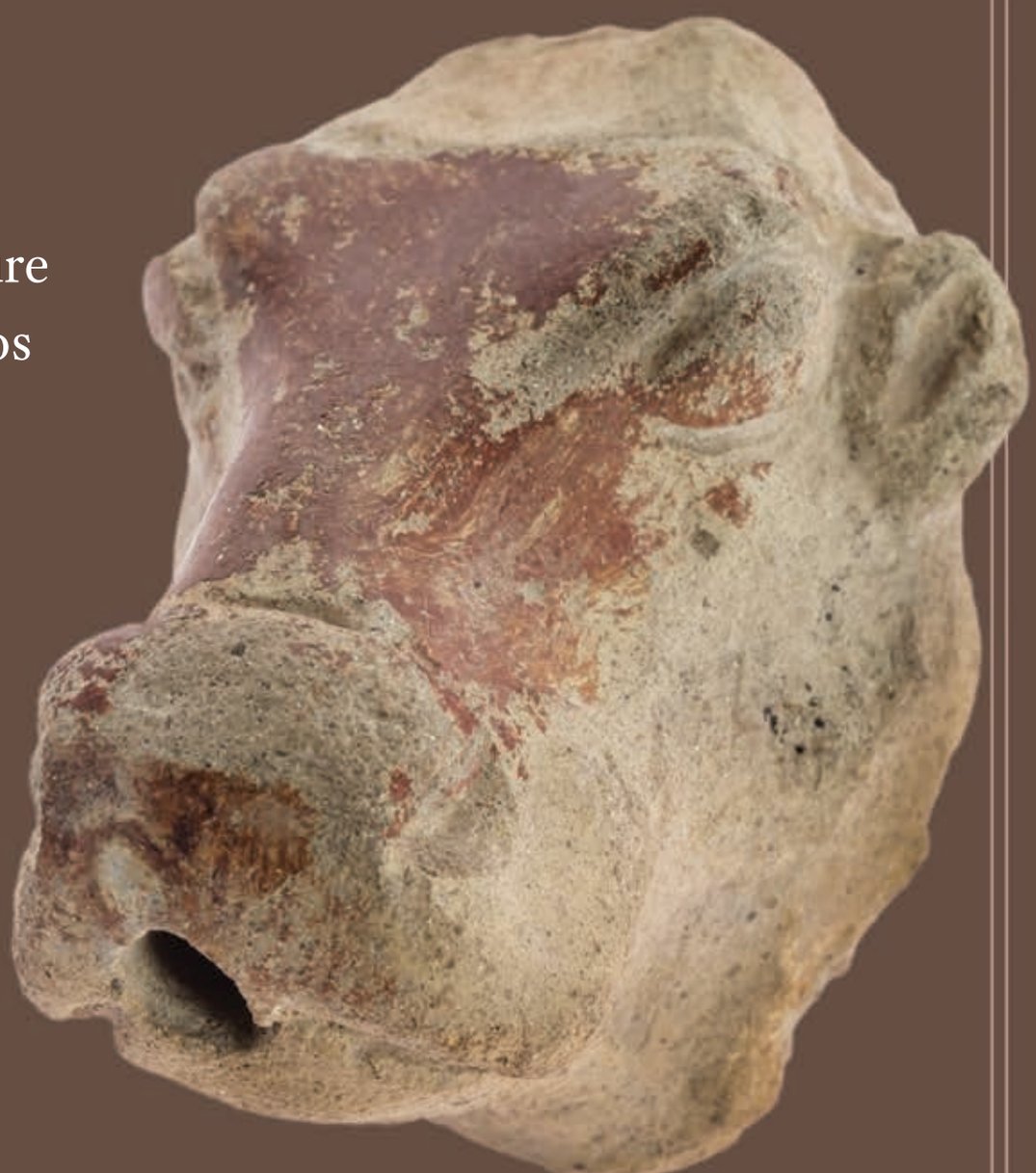
# ḪATTANNAŠ

## A Festschrift in Honor of Theo van den Hout

*Edited by*
Petra Goedegebuure
*and* Joost Hazenbos
*with the assistance of*
Emily Smith



INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT CULTURES
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
STUDIES IN ANCIENT CULTURES • NUMBER 5

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Theo van den Hout
Photograph by Lidwina van den Hout

# *Ḫattannaš*

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Baked-clay spout in the shape of a bovine head from the Late Bronze Age I (1600–1400 BCE), excavated at Alishar Höyük in 1931 by ISAC's Anatolian-Hittite Expedition.

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# INTRODUCTION

This volume celebrates the sixty-fifth birthday of Theo van den Hout on October 12, 2018. On that day, the Festschrift was presented to Theo during a surprise celebration attended by his family, friends, colleagues, students, and former students, some of whom traveled to Chicago from abroad. There can be no doubt at all that a very large number of people would have been willing to contribute to this celebratory volume. To keep its size within reasonable limits, however, we decided to make the Festschrift a personal gift and to invite contributions from those colleagues with whom Theo has been in closest contact during his study period in Amsterdam, Bochum, and Leiden and during his professional years as Hittitologist and lexicographer in Amsterdam and Chicago. We are deeply grateful to Emily Smith, who gave us invaluable support by beautifully editing and designing the mock version we offered to Theo during his birthday celebration.

Through its broad variety of themes, the volume aptly reflects Theo's expansive competence and range of interests. It includes text editions and lexical studies that reflect Theo's work as executive editor of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary; linguistic studies on Hittite and Luwian grammatical phenomena for Theo the linguist; studies on various religious practices and notions, such as oracles and rituals, as well as several essays on the soul, matching Theo's interests in Hittite society at large; and finally, studies on writing, seals, tablets, and archives, all of which topics address Theo's long-term interest in Hittite literacy—an interest that recently culminated in his latest monograph, *A History of Hittite Literacy: Writing and Reading in Late Bronze-Age Anatolia (1650–1200 BC)* (Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Besides being an amazing scholar, Theo is also a wonderful teacher—a career that started at a Dutch *gymnasium*, where he taught classical languages before receiving his *doctoraat* (PhD) in 1989 from the University of Amsterdam after defending his dissertation, "Studien zum Spätjunghethitischen: Texte der Zeit Tudhaliyas IV. KBo IV 10+ (CTH 106)." Theo's wide-ranging interests and competencies are evident in his classroom, where he has taught Hurrian and all Anatolian languages. Some of us may remember the wildly successful course on Carian he taught in Amsterdam that attracted faculty and students from several Dutch universities. Theo also taught a great variety of thematic courses until his retirement in 2023—courses covering Hittite history, literature, religion, economy, administration, and art.

Theo's academic career was quite meteoric after his graduation in 1989. It started in Chicago, where he was a research associate at the Chicago Hittite Dictionary from 1988 to 1990. Upon his return to the Netherlands, he joined the faculty of the University of Amsterdam's Department of West Asian Languages and Cultures (*Westaziatische Talen en Culturen*), first as a Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences postdoctoral fellow and then, in 1992, as a faculty member. Only a year later, Theo was promoted to special professor (*bijzonder hoogleraar*) in "Hittite and related Anatolian languages as well as the history of Anatolia in the preclassical period" (*Hettitisch en verwante Anatolische talen en culturen alsmede de geschiedenis van Anatolië in de preklassieke periode*). In 2000, he returned to Chicago as professor in Hittite and Anatolian languages and editor of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary. In acknowledgment of his impact on the field, Theo was awarded a named professorship in 2015, as the Arthur and Joann Rasmussen Professor of Western Civilization and Hittite and Anatolian Languages.

We should also mention several of Theo's other accolades: he is a corresponding member of the Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences and a senior fellow of the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University, and he was awarded a prestigious Guggenheim Fellowship in 2016. Theo's administrative positions have included chairing the University of Chicago's Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations (now the Department of Middle Eastern Studies) and serving as interim director of the Oriental Institute (now the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures), which he led with his

typical kindness and fairness from 2021 to 2023. As a colleague once said, using a Yiddish term, Theo is a real "Mensch."

We are grateful that many colleagues and former students submitted articles after being invited to contribute to this volume. The Festschrift appears far later than originally planned, and we offer our sincere and deepest apologies to all the contributors and to Theo for this delay. Most of the essays were submitted in 2017 and 2018, and the long period between their submission and publication may be reflected in some contributions that do not reference recent relevant publications. We mourn the death of two of the authors, who passed away since submitting their contributions. Wilfred van Soldt died in May 2021; though Wilfred worked as an Assyriologist at Leiden University from 1986 to 2016, when he retired as professor in Assyriology, Wilfred and Theo first met as students of Philo Houwink ten Cate, Theo's then-future *Doktorvater*, at the University of Amsterdam. David Hawkins passed away in December 2023; Theo and David were old friends who engaged in many discussions about Bronze Age Luwian texts, especially the Emirgazi text, which David offers here again in a new edition. We are very grateful that we could include the contributions of Theo's departed friends and colleagues.

Together with the authors, we offer this gift to Theo van den Hout. We hope that he will enjoy its contents and wish him many happy years to come!

Petra Goedegebuure and Joost Hazenbos

# PUBLICATIONS OF THEO VAN DEN HOUT

## BOOKS

### MONOGRAPHS AND CUNEIFORM EDITIONS

1995 *Der Ulmitešub-Vertrag: Eine prosopographische Untersuchung*. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 38. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

1998 *The Purity of Kingship: An Edition of CTH 569 and Related Hittite Oracle Inquiries of Tutḫaliya IV*. Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 25. Leiden: Brill.

2010 *Texte aus dem Bezirk des Großen Tempels X*. Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi 59. Berlin: Mann.

2011 *The Elements of Hittite*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2015 *Texte aus dem Bezirk des Großen Tempels XX*. Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi 68. Berlin: Mann.

2020 *A History of Hittite Literacy: Writing and Reading in Late Bronze-Age Anatolia (1650–1200 BC)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

### COAUTHORED VOLUMES

1991 *The Hittite Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard*, with Hans G. Güterbock. Assyriological Studies 24. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

1999 *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches*, by Horst Klengel with Fiorella Imparati, Volkert Haas, and Theo P. J. van den Hout. Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 1: Near and Middle East 34. Leiden: Brill.

2002–19 *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Vol. *Š*, fascicles 1 (*ša-* to *šaptamenzu*), 2 (*šaptamenzu* to *-ši-*), 3 (*še* to $^{LÚ}$*šizišalla-*), and 4 (*-šmaš* to *šūu-, šū-*), with Hans G. Güterbock, Harry A. Hoffner Jr., and Petra M. Goedegebuure. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

### EDITED AND COEDITED BOOKS

1986 *Alpha-beter: Nieuwe cultuurvakken in het VWO—A Symposium Organized on the Occasion of the 90th Anniversary of the Sint-Ignatiusgymnasium in Amsterdam*, with S. C. Bakhuizen and H. de Vries.

1994 *Hidden Futures: Death and Immortality in Ancient Egypt, Anatolia, the Classical, Biblical and Arabic-Islamic World*, with J. M. Bremer and R. Peters. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

1995 *Studio historiae ardens: Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, with Johan de Roos. Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 74. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

2006 *The Life and Times of Ḫattušili III and Tutḫaliya IV: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Honour of J. de Roos, 12–13 December 2003, Leiden*, with C. H. van Zoest. Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 103. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

2019 *Discovering New Pasts: The OI at 100*. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

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### IN PRINT JOURNALS AND EDITED VOLUMES

1984 "Kurunta und die Datierung einiger hethitischen Texte." *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 78: 89–92.

1984 "Einige luwische Neutra auf *-ša-/-za-* in überwiegend junghethitischen Texten." *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 97: 60–80.

1987 "Tasmišarri: Ein weiterer Beleg zum Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler?" *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 81: 161–64.

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1991 "Hethitische Thronbesteigungsorakel und die Inauguration Tudḫalijas IV." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 81: 274–300.

1991 "A Tale of Tiššaruli(ya): A Dramatic Interlude in the Hittite KI.LAM Festival?" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 50: 193–202.

1991–92 "Bellum iustum, ius divinum: Some Thoughts about War and Peace in Hittite Anatolia." *Grotiana,* n.s., 12–13: 13–35.

1991–92 "Some Remarks on the Third Tablet of the Hittite KI.LAM Festival." *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 32: 101–18.

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# 1 DEEP STRUCTURES IN THE AN.TAḪ.ŠUM AND *NUNTARRIYAŠḪA-* FESTIVALS

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

In the Deeds of Suppiluliuma (KUB 19.22; dupl. KBo 14.42), Mursili II attests that his father Suppiluliuma celebrated the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM spring festival despite being under attack from both the north and the south. The Kaska people had "attacked" (*walḫ-*) the country of Hakpis, and only a few towns were not occupied. While Suppiluliuma, having already reached Hattusa, was engaged in celebrating the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, the Lower Land rebelled. Lines 1–2 of the text have [*nu-kan ku*]*it ABU-YA ANA* DINGIR$^{MEŠ}$ $^{URU}$*Ḫatti Ù ANA* $^{D}$UTU $^{URU}$[*Arin*]*na* AN.TAḪ.ŠUM$^{SAR}$ *daiš* [*nu k*]$^{r}$*ā*$^{\urcorner}$*š-pat memiaš nakkiš*. . . . "[Bec]ause my father was lay(ing) down the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant for the Gods of Hatti and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, and this act was weighty for the gods, (and the enemy . . . then my father sent Hannutti, the chief of the charioteers, to the Lower Land and gave him chariots)."[1]

The AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival lasted thirty-five days and was extended to thirty-eight and even forty days in the time of Tuthaliya IV.[2] It also included several Hurrian gods, some of whose cults were introduced in Hattusa not later than Suppiluliuma I, such as those of Teššub of Ḫalab (whose city was conquered by this king), Šauška of Hattarina, and Ea.[3] The *nuntarriyašḫa-* autumn festival was roughly of the same length and contained similar celebrations, although in a different sequence.

The area defined by the cultic journeys prescribed for the king and queen, as well as for the god Zithariya, coincided with the nucleus of the Old Hittite state and was characterized by Hattian cults. It extended about 80 km northwest–southeast as the crow flies, from Arinna (Alaca Höyük) to Zippalanda (Uşaklı Höyük), with Hattusa between them. The long spring festival ended in Ankuwa (Alişar Höyük),

1 The fragments KBo 14.42 and KUB 19.22 have been identified by Houwink ten Cate (1966) as belonging to the Deeds of Suppiluliuma. Del Monte (2008, 65) translates: "poiché mio padre deponeva il finocchio agli dèi di Hattusa e al Sole di Arinna," understanding that Suppiluliuma performed this cultic act. The translation "established (festsetzte) the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival," proposed by Haas and Wegner (1992, 247), does not seem correct. In favor of del Monte's interpretation is the passage KBo 10.20 II 5–6 (outline of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival) for the ninth day: *lukkatti-ma-kan* LUGAL-*uš INA* $^{URU}$*Arinna* AN.TAḪ.ŠUM$^{SAR}$ *dāi* MUNUS.LUGAL-*ma-šši̯an* $^{URU}$KUBABBAR-*ši INA* É.MUNUS.LUGAL AN.TAḪ.ŠUM$^{SAR}$ *dāi nu INA* É.MUNUS.LUGAL *šalli ašeššar* "The next morning, the king places the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant in Arinna; in Hattusa the queen places the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant in the house of the queen. Great Assembly in the house of the queen." Güterbock (1960, 85 = 1997, 96) translates: "The king/the queen takes the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant. . . ." The verb for "performing, celebrating" a festival is *iya-* (see Goetze 1933a, 20; KBo 3.4 line 22). The verb *dāi-* in the quoted passage could mean only "to place the fennel (in the temples) for the gods," fennel being the plant that gave the festival its name.

2 KUB 30.39 rev. 5: 35 days; KBo 10.20 IV 21: 38$^{?}$ days; VSNF 12.1 rev. 31: 38[+2] days.

3 On the celebration for Teššub of Ḫalab in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival (twenty-first day), see Souček and Siegelová 1974. On that of Šauška of Hattarina (days twenty-two to twenty-six), see Haas and Wegner 1992, 250–57; the texts concerning this goddess have been collected by Wegner (1995, 109–45). The day for the cult of É.A was the twenty-ninth. In the *nuntarriyašḫa-* festival, Teššub of Ḫalab was celebrated in his temple on the thirty-fourth day (see Nakamura 2002, 70, lines 2–4).

40 km farther southeast, on the main road leading to the eastern regions and bordering the Erciyas Dağ, a volcano whose summit is covered by perpetual snow (Archi 2015, 17–23) and which can be seen from Mount Daha, by Zippalanda (Kerkenes Dağ).[4] Mursili II spent winters in Ankuwa. Nerik (Oymaağaç), downstream from the bend in the Marassanta River (Kızılırmak), north of Hakpis, was not included in these festivals because the area was at that time under the control of the Kaska people. Even Tuthaliya IV did not add a religious journey to Nerik (when it was restored as a holy city), although it was the third great sanctuary (beside Hattusa) the Hittites received from the Hattians. Not only do §§50–51 of the Laws (Old Script manuscript) mention "Nerik . . . Arinna . . . Ziplanta," but three Hattian manuscripts (New Script) also list the priests ($^{LÚ}$SANGA) of Arinna, Hattusa, Zippalanda, and Neri/ak (Soysal 2007). Introducing some changes in the festivals, Tuthaliya IV contented himself with a celebration of the Storm-god of Nerik in a temple built in Hattusa.[5] On the sixteenth day of the *nuntarriyašha-* festival, the ceremony called EZEN$_4$ *ŠA* KASKAL $^{URU}$*Ne-ri-ik* "The Festival of the Nerik Road" was established and celebrated by the king, moving from Tahurpa to Hattusa.[6]

It is possible that this process of unifying several festivals could already have been started by Tuthaliya I, who succeeded in establishing a period of relative stability at least to the core of the kingdom. Arnuwanda I had to face a great political crisis, and Tuthaliya II(/III) (son of Queen Nikkalmadi, of the Hurrianized royal family of Kizzuwatna) introduced from his new and magnificent residence in Sapinuwa a Hurrian dynastic cult, in whose rituals he appears with the Hurrian name Tašmi-šarri—a cult accepted by his successors, in particular Tuthaliya IV.[7] It was probably Suppiluliuma who gave these two festivals the format we know by incorporating several ceremonies into a great festival in the spring, when the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM$^{SAR}$ plant was in bloom, and another one in autumn.[8]

The plant from which the spring festival takes its name was picked and presented to the Sun-goddess of Arinna on the ninth day; with it was prepared a *ḫurutel*-dish, offered to the gods, together with several kinds of bread on the thirty-second and thirty-third days (Haas 1994, 773). This plant has been identified with fennel, whose seed is an important spice in cooking and whose bulb-like base is used as a vegetable (Farber 1991). Its blooming, therefore, coincided with the right time for starting the celebrations.[9] The au-

4 In the *nuntarriyašḫa-* festival, the celebration in Zippalanda fell instead on the thirteenth day.

5 VSNF 12.1 obv. 15: *ANA* $^{d}$[U] $^{URU}$*Nerikka* EZEN$_4$ [AN.TAḪ.ŠUM$^{SAR}$ UD.12.KAM]. This text specifies that "in Arinna, the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM$^{SAR}$ plant (was placed) in the house of the town of Purushanda" (eighth day) and that the king visited the house of the town of Gazzimara in Hattusa (eleventh day; obv. 2–3, 7); see Houwink ten Cate 2003, 207, 211–12, where he notes also that, according to a passage of the Bronze Tablet (III 61–63), "Nerik had not regained its former status." Gazzimara has to be located beyond Ankuwa. According to KUB 54.78, 3, the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM$^{SAR}$ also had to be "placed" for $^{D}$KAL [$^{KUŠ}$*kuršaš*(?)]. The DUMU.LUGAL "Prince" offered the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant in the temples of Telepinu, Kattahha, and Hasamili in an unidentified city, perhaps Durmitta, not far from the region of Nerik and Kastama (KUB 20.45+ [CTH 647.I] obv. 8–9, 15–16, rev. 21–22). A MH version of this festival does not mention the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant. See Taracha 2017, 3–4, 80–85, 95–99.

6 According to two outlines of the *nuntarriyašḫa-* festival, the king visited the temple of the Storm-god of Nerik on the seventh day (on the third day according to another version of the outline); see Nakamura 2002, 18, lines 36–37 (seventh day), 36 II B 1–3 (third day). For the festival of "the Nerik road (KASKAL)," see KBo 48.35 (132/s), 4–5, and Bo 4097, 10–11, in Nakamura 2002, 260, and the commentary on p. 112. Based on these data, Güterbock (1964, 69) suggested that these versions of the festival should be dated to the time of Mursili I; his thesis is supported by Houwink ten Cate (1988, 185–86) with further arguments.

7 On the state pantheon of the Hattian-Hittite tradition and the dynastic pantheon of the Hurrian tradition (which, about two centuries later, found its visual representation in the mausoleum of Yazılıkaya for Tuthaliya IV), see, in general, Taracha 2009, 84–95.

8 Already Taracha (2009, 139) favored attributing to Suppiluliuma I the fact that "ceremonies formerly celebrated independently for particular gods of Hattusa and the nearby towns were incorporated into the program of the great state festival celebrated for the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the gods of Hatti"; compare also Haas 1994, 772. Meanwhile, Houwink ten Cate (1986, 109–10; 1988, 185–86) is more cautious and makes references to several additions by Mursili II. Manuscripts *A* and *B* stress in the colophon that their version was the one used *maḫḫan ḫantezzi*(*li*) *aniyanteš* "when the festival was first performed" (Güterbock 1960, 84–85, 87).

9 The most complete transliteration of the outline of this festival is in Alp 1983, 136–49, to which one must add the important text VSNF 12.1 (see Houwink ten Cate 2003). The version KBo 10.20 was first transcribed and commented on by Güterbock (1960 [= 1997, 91–98]; 1964). A detailed analysis of the festival appears in Haas 1994, 772–826.

tumn festival, the Festival of Haste (*nuntarriyašḫa-*), probably takes its name from the haste with which the king had to close his usual annual military campaigns and return to Hattusa for its celebration.[10]

It has been remarked that some manuscripts referring to the celebrations of these two festivals must be classified as Middle Hittite (MH) in date. This classification does not mean that certain texts must be dated to the so-called Middle Kingdom, a notion now no longer accepted and largely abandoned (Archi 2003); nor does it mean that they contain probative evidence for attribution to the MH stage of the Hittite language, since festival texts are not suited to such linguistic analysis (Melchert 2008). The classification of some manuscripts as MH is based only on the form of some signs, for example in KBo 9.140, one of the many admirable copies by Heinrich Otten.[11] The idea is now widely accepted that the language of the texts of Suppiluliuma (Neu 1979) and also the form of the signs in some manuscripts of his time may be classified as MH and display MH Script.

It is difficult to detect which single festivals going back to the Hattian period were included in these new programs—the *purulli* festival, for example, celebrated in Hattusa for the Storm-gods of Hatti and Zippalanda, as well as for Lelwani in the *ḫešta*-house.[12] The KI.LAM festival was included in the twenty-fourth to twenty-sixth days of the *nuntarriyašḫa-* festival.[13] Moreover, following so many detailed descriptions of so many celebrations in two such demanding programs, one risks missing some elements of the religious seasonal cycle and need for an annual renewal that went back to the Hattian period and provided the *raison d'être* of the spring and autumn festivals.

## 2. THE GOD ZITHARIYA AND HIS HUNTING BAG ($^{KUŠ}$*KURŠA-*)

### 2.1. THE JOURNEY OF THE HUNTING BAG IN THE AN.TAḪ.ŠUM FESTIVAL

The colophon of KUB 30.39(+) (*B*) and its duplicate KBo 48.30 (*G*, without variants) states how many days were needed to celebrate all "the festivals" included in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM (presumably at the time of Mursili II) and notes that this outline is "complete." It was also deemed necessary to add this unusual notation: "To remember (ŠÀ-*ta šiyannaš*): for the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival of Zithariya one goes to his temple, (that is) to his own temple (in Hattusa)"—moreover, that "it was established through oracles: the question that was (particularly) complex (*ariyan-ma-at* DINGIR$^{LIM}$*-it kuit uttar-kan šūwattat*)," in this way stressing the importance of the role of Zithariya, a god who might be represented by a $^{KUŠ}$*kurša-* "hunting bag" (Güterbock 1989 = 1997, 137–41). Zithariya's journey was parallel to that of the king, a fact already duly emphasized by Hans Güterbock (1964, 67–68 = 1997, 106–7).

At the beginning of the festival it is prescribed that the king and queen must enter Hattusa to take possession of the capital for the inauguration of the new yearly cycle; therefore, they had to go to Tahurpa, from where the royal train moved to Hattusa. Similarly so for the $^{KUŠ}$*kurša-*: it was brought to Arinna by the supreme deity of the Hattian-Hittite pantheon, then left from there on the third day to reach Tawiniya (fourth day). From Tawiniya it went to Hiyasna, where it remained overnight (fifth day); the next day it went to Hattusa, to the temple of the (Hattian) Grain-goddess, Halki (KUB 23.80+, *B*; KBo 10.20+, *A*:

10 This festival, first commented on by Güterbock (1961, 90–92), was reconstructed in part by Houwink ten Cate (1988) and edited by Nakamura (2002). A detailed description of it appears in Haas 1994, 827–47. In KUB 9.16 IV 4, Mursili II says that he introduced/restored festivals that had been kept *kar*(*a*)*š-* "separate" (Nakamura 2002, 23).

11 On this manuscript, see Popko and Taracha 1988, 96–100: twenty-ninth day, cult of Ea. For a list of MH manuscripts, see Schwemer 2004, 397–98 n14—in particular KBo 20.44(+), whose colophon proves that the text belongs to "the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival, in the temple of the Sun-goddess in Hat[tusa . . .]," then at Mattila and to Arinna, on the seventh and eighth day, respectively. The colophon of KBo 40.61(+) also refers to Matilla; see Yoshida 1992, 134.

12 So according to the Annals of Mursili II (Goetze 1933a, 188–89, III 38–43; cf. Haas and Wegner 1992, 247). This celebration had to be, of course, an adaptation of the Old Hittite festival. On the transmission of the Lelwani festival, see Torri 2015, with previous literature.

13 This suggestion was made by Houwink ten Cate (1988, 191–93 with n53); cf. Nakamura 2002, 80–81, 127–30.

$^{D}$NISABA),[14] where on the sixth day a celebration was held. These two sources (*A*, *B*), as well as the parallel KUB 25.27 I 5, 12, 20 (a SAG.UŠ "regular" festival), have $^{KUŠ}$*kurša-*,[15] while in the very late VSNF 12.1 (*F*) obv. 6 (cf. KUB 23.28+ II 18) the name $^{D}$*Zitḫariya* takes the place of $^{KUŠ}$*kurša-*. The celebration of the hunting bag is one of the so-called "'secondary festivals' or subsidiary ceremonies" celebrated during both the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM and *nuntarriyašḫa-* festivals (Houwink ten Cate 1986, 100).

### 2.2. THE JOURNEY OF THE HUNTING BAG IN THE *NUNTARRIYAŠḪA-* FESTIVAL

The incipit of Outline 1 has: "When the king returns from a military campaign, he celebrates the *nuntarriyašḫa-* festival for the gods. On the 1st day: the Great Assembly in Katapa; 1st day. Next day, Zithariya goes to the house of the grandfather (in Katapa); the prince follows him; his (the god's) festival. At the Palace purification bath; 2nd day.[16] The next day the king celebrates the Storm-god NIR.GÁL; he turns back. Zithariya goes to Hakkura, then goes to Tatasuna; 3rd day" (Nakamura 2002, 17, I 3–11). In addition, 5.T.1(1.)1.C: IV 18 refers to this celebration (Nakamura 2002, 176). A tablet concerning this particular celebration was originally kept in the archives, according to the inventory KBo 47.6 (2011/u) rev. 1–3: [. .] $^{KUŠ}$*kuršan INA* É *ABI ABI* $^{D}$UT[U$^{ŠI}$ *uda*]*i n-ašta apiya maḫḫan* [. . *A*]*NA PANI* $^{KUŠ}$*kurši* EZEN$_4$ *aššanuzzi* (Dardano 2006, 188–89).[17]

The journey of the king "when he comes from Arinna and goes to the palace of the intendants (*ABUBITI*)" to celebrate the autumn festivals there—that is, "when His Majesty comes from the military campaign (*laḫḫaz*), and when one leaves Zithariya in his temple"—was the object of an oracular inquiry, CTH 586. So was the journey of the hunting bag to Tatasūna and Hakkura, as Philo Houwink ten Cate has shown (1986, 101–4).[18]

Outline 2 mentions the king in the *ḫešta*-house for the tenth day, and a "Great Assembly in the temple of KAL, (and) his festival, (that is:) in the temple of $^{KUŠ}$*kurša-* they celebrate a festival for Zithariya, (its) 1st day" (Nakamura 2002, 37, III 1–4). Outlines 4, I 13, and 5, II 24, are similar (Nakamura 2002, 63, 66). Outline 7 rev.$^{?}$ 12 has *INA* É $^{D}$*Ziṯḫ*]*ariya-ma AN*[*A* $^{D}$*Zitḫariya*: 31st day].[19]

### 2.3. THE ROLE OF ZITHARIYA AND HIS HUNTING BAG

Since in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival Zithariya left the holy city of Arinna and reached Hattusa, where he joined the king at the start of the celebration, we must deduce that the god had to inaugurate the festival together with the king, whom he then accompanied on his military expedition. In fact, in the *nuntarriyašḫa-* festival, "when the king returns from a military campaign," the god is already mentioned on the second day, when he was brought to Katapa. The $^{KUŠ}$*kurša-* of Zithariya was therefore a kind of talisman that protected the king while he achieved his "deeds" (Haas 1994, 454–56).[20]

Johannes Friedrich (1930, 30–31) was able to determine that $^{KUŠ}$*kurša-* was a "Vlies (mit einem gewissen Hohlraum)" and to exclude "Schild," a meaning suggested by Sommer (1932, 181–82, followed by others),

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14 The Hittite scribes used the Sumerogram NISABA for the Hattian goddess Halki, as well as for Kumarpi and Dagan (Archi 2004, 330–36). The following lists of Hurrian gods related to Ea require that NISABA be interpreted as Kumarpi: $^{D}$É.A $^{D}$DAM.KI.NA $^{D}$AG $^{D}$NISABA $^{D}$*Māti* $^{D}$*Ḫazzizzi* (see KBo 9.140 I 3, 5, 8, 14, 18, and passim) (twenty-ninth day; Popko and Taracha 1988, 96).

15 See further KUB 25.27 II 18: $^{D}$*Zitḫariya*; IV 4–6: ]É $^{D}$KAL-*ma* / [. . . . . $^{D}$*Z*]*itḫariya* / [. . . . .] *iyanzi*. This text has been commented on by Houwink ten Cate (1986, 99–100).

16 According to KBo 11.43 V 19–20, the $^{KUŠ}$*kurša-* could have received a first celebration at Arinna; see Nakamura 2002, 177.

17 The registration in another catalog of tablets, KUB 30.60 + KBo 14.70 I 21–22, has "Second tablet. Complete. Of the Tutelary-god of the hunting bag. The first tablet is not present. When the king himself celebrates the Tutelary-god of the hunting bag" (Dardano 2006, 75–76).

18 The texts are ABoT 1.14 + KBo 24.118, *A*, V; KUB 22.27, *B*, III 40–44, IV 1–20; see Lebrun 1994, 54–56.

19 On KBo 13.257, included in Outline 7, see Houwink ten Cate 1988, 192–93.

20 Its protection was extended to the queen, too, according to KBo 49.189, 13: "Zithariya of the queen" (Alp 1983, 230–31); it was introduced also in the Hurrian ritual for Šawuška of Samuha (KUB 27.1 I 64): "Zithariya of the king . . . Zithariya of the queen" (Wegner 1995, 34). On Zithariya and the $^{KUŠ}$*kurša-* see, in general, Popko 1978, 108–15.

considering that this object in leather represented Zithariya, a $^{D}$KAL "Schutzgott." In the Prayer to the Assembly of Gods by Muwatalli II, Zithariya is the god of the city of Zithara, as well as the Storm-god of the Army, son of the Storm-god, and the Tutelary-god of the $^{KUŠ}$*kurša-*[21] (Singer 1996, 11, lines 59–60, and 24–25)—therefore apparently a war-god.

The chapel of the god in Hattusa (É $^{KUŠ}$*kurša-*, line 7) hosted two $^{KUŠ}$*kurša-*: one of Zithariya and another of "the Tutelary-god of Hatenzuwa," according to KUB 55.43 (Bo 2393 + Bo 5138) I 1–32, (Otten 1959; McMahon 1991, 144–47).[22] Because of the perishable material employed (leather), these hunting bags had to be "renewed . . . whether in the ninth year, or whenever they renew them, the time is not prescribed" (lines 3–4). "The place is prescribed: the pegs are (already) driven in directly below (*awan katta*) the place of the image of the god (DINGIR$^{LIM}$). They hang them there. But (at) the place of the image of the god (*AŠAR* DINGIR$^{LIM}$*-ma*) they hang the two new $^{KUŠ}$*kurša-*" (lines 9–11). The two old hunting bags were sent to the provinces—that of Zithariya to Tahuppiya ("they call it 'the Tutelary-god of the hunting bag'") and that of Hatenzuwa to Durmitta (this one receiving the new name "Tutelary-god of the town of Zapatiskuwa").

It is uncertain whether the god was represented in Hattusa by only the hunting bag, as in Hatenzuwa and Nerik.[23] In any case, Güterbock defined the iconography and iconology of $^{D}$KAL $^{KUŠ}$*kuršaš* "Inar of the hunting bag" by analyzing the stag rhyton of the Schimmel Collection together with several stamp seals on which this god is denoted by the horns of a stag and a bag with a handle. In particular, on the rhyton the male god is represented as standing on a stag while holding a bird of prey in his left hand and a lituus in his right (see also the Yeniköy stele in the Ankara Museum). The field behind has his seated *paredra* Ala, who holds a bird of prey in her left hand and a cup in her right, and is delimited by two upright spears. In the field is also represented a quiver filled with arrows and a bag hanging from an *eya*-tree, under which lies a slain stag. It is therefore possible that in the temple of the $^{KUŠ}$*kurša-*, the god (at least from a certain period onward) was represented in the form of an image, below which the bag had to hang, together with the horns of a stag.

These attributes indicate that the Tutelary-god of the king in war was a hunting-god. Hunting was successful only if the proper rules were followed, so that even the sacred animal of the god could be slain. It was in hunting that the king demonstrated his warlike behavior, which allowed him to be heroic in battle. Hunting and war belonged to the ideology of kingship. In the reliefs that decorated their palaces, the Assyrian kings were depicted as performing both of these activities. For the Hittites, hunting came first, probably because of its religious aspects. The reliefs of the holy city of Arinna (Alaca Höyük) show both cultic and hunting representations, the latter with a lion, a boar, and a stag.[24] The Hunting-god is clearly of Hattian origin, as are Kantipuitti and Kapparaiyamu, also represented by a hunting bag (McMahon 1991, 17–18, 237). The standards of Alaca, whose round form represented the Sun-goddess, have bulls and stags, the animals of the Storm-god and the god of the wilderness. The Luwians had Kuruntiya as the god of the wilderness, a legacy of the role played by hunting in the ideology of the Neolithic period in Anatolia.

21 One manuscript added LÍL "of the fields"; the corrected copy omitted the addition.

22 According to the Annals of Mursili II, Hatenzuwa was "the town of Zithariya"; see Goetze 1933a, 164, II 7.

23 KUB 38.35 I 1–5: "Town of Halinzuwa. . . . His Majesty Tuthaliya rebuilt the town. The divine representations they restored as follows. Zithariya: 1 hunting bag, [. . .] 1 solar disc of gold, 10 shekels, they drove in" (Hazenbos 2003, 49–50). KUB 27.68+ III 41–42: "The Tutelary-god: before, in Nerik, the Hunting bag [. . . .] was crushed inside" (Lamante and Lorenz 2015, 250, 257).

24 The molds found recently at Ortaköy-Sapinuwa date the "Fist Rhyton" (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) to the time of Tuthaliya II/III. One of these molds represents a bicephalous eagle similar to the relief of Alaca Höyük. (Some of the molds from Ortaköy have been published; see Süel 2020; Gerçek and Perçin-Gerçek 2024). This find might favor dating the Alaca reliefs to the Early Empire period. Taracha 2011 is the last study in favor of dating the Alaca Höyük sculptures to the later phase of the Empire period. These depictions are similar to the small relief figurines in lapis lazuli set in gold belonging to a necklace found at Karkamiš (see Seidel 1972).

## 3. CYCLICAL RITES: THE YEAR AND THE PITHOS

For the eleventh day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, the outline states: "the chief of the palace attendants carries the Year (MU$^{KAM}$-*an*) to the *hešta*/*i*-house, and the king follows him."[25] KUB 54.38 II 5–11 (Groddek 2002, 9) preserves a few lines in which it is described how the "Year" was hung on the wall: "The chief administrator gives back the Year to the men of the $^{É}$*ḫeštā*. One places it on a bed, and unfastens it (from its frame). The chief of the cooks and the men of the $^{É}$*ḫeštā* drive a small peg with [a hammer]. . . ." Several fragmentary documents show that a plurality of Years, MU$^{ḪI.A}$, were kept in the $^{É}$*ḫeštā* and received offerings together with deified parts of the house, such as the window, the bolt of the gate, $^{D}$*Zuppa* (a divinized object?), and the hearth.[26] Güterbock (1964, 67) suggested that these Years had the form of a hieroglyphic symbol: "Wird das abgelaufene Jahr dort beigesetzt, etwa in Gestalt eines (hieroglyphischen) Symbols?" The hieroglyphic sign for ANNUS is PITHOS, PITHOS.SCUTELLA (actually, a lid!), which in this particular case could have been of precious metal. The Year was symbolized by the pithos ($^{DUG}$*ḫaršalli*-).[27]

A first analysis of this rite was given by Volkert Haas and Ilse Wegner (1992, 245–48), who also thought that the "former years" were deposited in the temple of "the goddess of death," Lelwani. Giulia Torri (1999, 25–27) countered this thesis by noting that petitioners made requests to Lelwani, usually with accompanying vows, that the goddess bestow "long years, months, days," "years, months, days not to be counted"; for each granted request, Lelwani would have received the images of "years, months, days in gold and silver." It was Lelwani who decided the fate of humans; consequently, they invoked the goddess to obtain her favor. In the Hattian-Hittite ritual KBo 37.1, Lelwani, together with the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess, was asked to build a new palace for the king and thereby ensure a solid foundation for the kingship (Klinger 1996, 638–39, obv. 3–6).

The name $^{É}$*ḫeštā*/*ī* has been connected with *ḫaštiyas per* "house of bones," mentioned in the Apology of Hattusili III (Goetze 1925, 104, ad IV 75) and therefore interpreted as "ossuary, mausoleum"—that is, "a focus for mortuary worship, ancestor cult, and chthonic ritual centered around the infernal goddess Lelwanis" (HED 3, 321–22, with bibliography).[28]

This "house," however, was the temple of the goddess Lelwani (Torri 1999, 10–20) and must distinguished from the É.NA$_4$ "Stone-house," which was the mausoleum.[29] The (Old Hittite?) manuscript KBo 17.15 of the festival celebrated in the $^{É}$*ḫeštā*/*ī* lists the nine Hattian deities of its pantheon, among whom are the Sun-goddess (of the underworld), together with the Hattian Isdustaya and Papaya (Neu 1980, 72, obv.$^{?}$ 8–17).[30] These beings were the two Fate-goddesses, who had the task of establishing the length of mortals' lives (Archi 2013, 1–6). The mention of the goddesses who presided over fate, together with the custom of invoking "long years" from Lelwani, makes it quite probable that the rite of delivering the Year to the $^{É}$*ḫeštā* had the aim of placing under the protection of the Fate-goddesses the year the king was entering.

While the presentation of the Year to the Fate-goddess Lelwani concerned the request to exercise kingship for another year, another cyclical rite was bound to the succession of the seasons and the primary requirements for the survival of the human race: agricultural production. A pithos ($^{DUG/GIŠ}$*ḫaršiyalli*-) placed in the temples of the major local gods was filled (*šuḫḫa*-) with grain in the autumn and kept sealed until the

25 KBo 20.10 II 11–12, restored with KBo 55.230 II 2; VSNF 12.1 obv. 10–11 (see Houwink ten Cate 2003, 208). This cultic act gives the name to the celebration of the day according to the colophon in IBoT 2.1 VI 8–11: DUB III$^{KAM}$ *mān* MU-*an INA* $^{É}$*ḫeštā ḫamešḫi INA* EZEN$_4$ AN.TAḪ.ŠUM$^{S[AR]}$ *pēdanzi QATI*.

26 The passages with MU$^{ḪI.A}$ are KBo 17.40+ I 7; KUB 41.27 IV 3; KUB 58.28 IV 8; and IBoT 2.1 VI 4; 3.1, 49, while KBo 25.171 I 9 has the phonetic writing *uittaš piran*; see Torri 1999, 22–23.

27 Melchert (1988, 228) writes: "The HLuwian sign for 'year' represents a just opened pithos, showing the jar itself and its round lid above it. Sign 402 is certainly a reasonable representation of a round lid with a small knob in the middle (again viewed from above)."

28 Against this thesis, see n32.

29 Cf. Archi 2007, 50–52; Singer 2009, 170–71. On the É.NA$_4$, see van den Hout 2002, 80–86. The mausoleum of Tuthaliya IV was at Yazılikaya, that of Suppiluliuma II at the Südburg in Hattusa.

30 The texts concerning the festival in the *ḫešta*-house have been edited by Haas and Wäfler (1976, 1977).

spring, when it was opened (*kinu-*) to use that grain for making bread, in this way establishing continuity from one harvest to the next. This agrarian rite was deeply rooted in central Anatolia, going back at least to the Hattian period, and documented by a great number of texts, in particular those relating to the restoration of cults in minor places.[31]

"When spring comes [and] it thunders, they open the pithos" (KBo 2.7 rev. 16) is the usual formula that opens the spring festivals. The rite of opening the pithos must therefore be performed also in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, an expanded spring festival, for the two major lords of the thunder of Hattusa: the Storm-god of Hatti and the Storm-god of Zippalanda. "The intendants of the right ($^{LÚ<.MEŠ>}$*ABUBIDU/TI* ZAG-*naš*) bring [the pithos of the Storm-god] of Zippalanda (5th day) . . . The intendants of the Storm-god of Zippalanda open the pithos of the Storm-god of Zippalanda in that day (6th day)." "The king goes in the temple of Ziparwa. His festival (takes place). They open the pithos of *šeppit-*grain of the Storm-god of Ḫatti on that day (12th day)." This rite was attributed also to the Storm-god of Aleppo, Teššup, who was the Syrian counterpart of the Hittite Tarhun(t), and to the southeast Syrian gods [X and Š]anda(?) on the twenty-seventh and twenty-ninth days of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, when these deities were included in the Hittite pantheon (VSNF 12.1 rev. 10–11, 13–14: $^{DUG}$*ḫaršiyalli ginuwanzi*; see Houwink ten Cate 2003, 209, 213–14).

## 4. THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

On the fifth day of the *nuntarriyašḫa-* festival, while the king goes to Arinna, the queen celebrates six former queens—Walanni, Nikkalmadi, Ašmunikal, Da/Duduhepa, Henti, and Tawananna, the wives of Tuthaliya I, Arnuwanda I, Tuthaliya II, and Suppiluliuma I. This rite was introduced, therefore, in the time of Mursili II. "The diviner brings eight Sun-goddesses of Arinna in the *ḫalentuwa-*house: three statues (and) 5 sun(-discs)," those of the abovementioned former queens, which are washed and anointed. At this point, the queen offers to them lambs and breads (Nakamura 2002, 89–90, 188, 192–95). These statues and discs represented the Sun-goddess and were dedicated by the former queens. The duplicate KBo 2.15 V 10–16 prescribes, in fact, that the queen offer to the Sun-goddess together with (her daughter) Mezzulla (Nakamura

31 This rite has been highlighted in Archi 1973, 16–18; many texts have been edited recently by both Joost Hazenbos (2003) and Michele Cammarosano (2018). The opening of the *ḫaršiyalli-* is also mentioned in rituals of the Lower Land; see, e.g., ABoT 1.1 I 11–12 and KUB 9.27+ 12–13 (Popko 1978, 85–86). Popko (1996, 99–100) has produced evidence for the use of these pithoi also as containers of bread; for wine, see the edict of Hattusili III concerning the property of Arma-Tarhunta, where the king declares that he has not neglected the cults of Ištar of Samuha but has placed for her one pithos for grain and another one for wine (KUB 21.17 II 11–14). According to a later manuscript of a festival for the Storm-god (KUB 10.11+ IV 25–V 13), a pithos with the wine for offerings was kept in a particular room (*tunnakeššar*).

In the study mentioned above, I tried to show that these rites of the spring and autumn festivals must go back to time immemorial, being an expression of local agrarian rites. Also deeply rooted in folk traditions must have been the processions of the images of the gods to the stelae placed in deified mountains (male) and near deified sources (female), which they represented in the temples, to reintegrate their numinous power. I stated that "les textes sont en grande partie attribuable au règne de Tutḫalija IV qui dut entreprendre, surtout au nord, une œuvre de restauration des cultes, après que son père, Ḫattušili III, eut refoulé le Kaška de la région du fleuve Halys" (Archi 1973, 8). "Restoration" is the opposite of "reform." Concerning these so-called cult inventories, Cammarosano (2015, 207) believes there was "a broader view of the alleged 'cult reform' of Tuthaliya (which) reached its climax in the 1970s," when in an "influential article" Emmanuel Laroche (1975) attributed to Tuthaliya IV a "réforme réligieuse." Cammarosano even referred to Hazenbos (2003, 11–13), who had defined this process as "reorganization," adopting the same terminology used already by Goetze (1933b, 159–60): "Kultreorganisation," a term quite different from "reform." A clear statement on these different theses appeared in Archi 2006, 150–53, where it was further suggested that, in some cases, Tuthaliya IV introduced some gods according to the religious feelings of his time. As a case in support, I cited the group of texts CTH 510, where besides the Luwian Storm-gods $^{D}$*Pihami* and $^{D}$*Pihaim*(*m*)*i* are listed the deified Syrian river Baliḫ with its Luwianized name $^{ID}$*Baluḫašša*, together with the Storm-god of Ḫarran and the Syrian god $^{D}$*Milku*. The Storm-god *piḫaimmi* and the Syrian god Milku are included in the Late Hittite ritual of Emar (Archi 2002, 49–51). This explanation seems to me still the most reasonable one for the presence of these gods (together with the Storm-god of "the land of Assur") in CTH 510, while Cammarosano agrees with the thesis of Schwemer (2008, 151–52) that in the area west of Kaneš/Nesa along the middle Kızılırmak there persisted the memory of gods introduced by the Assyrian merchants five hundred years earlier.

2002, 200–201; cf. Kümmel 1967, 16). This rite remembered the pious veneration demonstrated by former queens toward the supreme goddess.

The thirty-second day of the same festival was devoted, instead, to the cult of the male and female ancestors of the royal family, forty-four in total, including the princes (Nakamura 2002, 137–38, 267–75). The fragment KUB 11.10 + KBo 60.303 lists the "houses" required to deliver these offerings (their names are few and badly preserved). It has been suggested that this rite took place in the $^{É}$*ḫešta-*, considered to be the *Totentempel*. As a matter of fact, the connection of that institution with this rite is undocumented, and in any case the $^{É}$*ḫešta-* was not a *Totentempel*.[32]

Each ancestor received a wicker table, and we may reasonably presume that at the moment a scribe, reading from a tablet, pronounced the name of an ancestor, offerings were deposited on his or her table (see KUB 11.8+9 III 14–23): "Total: 44 kings they provide on the day of (the burning) with the $^{GIŠ}$*warḫuštu-* wood. To each of all these tables inside from the wall [. . .], each wicker table and small tables, meat. . . . Which one [gi]ves to eat to the gods (i.e., the ancestors): bread, fruit [. . . . .] they eat" (Nakamura 2002, 270–71). Mentioning the name of the gods who were receiving an offering was the usual practice (KBo 19.128 III 8–12): "And those gods who are established in the first tablet (of this festival), one calls them all by name for a libation" (Otten 1971, 6–9); see also KUB 20.24 III 9 (and passim): "The scribe calls the god X; (offerings)."

This rite occurred in the late autumn, and it is difficult to avoid thinking that the Hittites, who had received from the Hattians the Sun-goddess of Arinna (linked also to the netherworld) and whose kings were buried alongside the sanctuary of this goddess, might have adopted some elements from them as well as some rites concerning the royal ancestors, although such rites were widespread.[33]

One must distinguish the cult of the ancestors from the cult of the statues of the most glorious kings—statues that were placed in the temple of the Storm-god (of Aleppo): those of Hattusili I, Tuthaliya I, and Suppiluliuma I, as well as that of Mursili II, added later (according to the texts collected under CTH 660). Another statue of Hattusili I was placed in the temple of the War-god ZA.BA$_4$.BA$_4$ (KBo 4.9 II 11), the king who established his capital in Hattusa and waged war both to the west and to the east, reaching Aleppo. These statues received offerings—together with the holy places of the temple to which each belonged: the hearth, Ḫurtalliya, the (cultic) throne, the window, the bolt of the gate—also on the occasion of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival (VSNF 12.2 VI 14). The initiative to place the statues of these ancestors was probably taken by Hattusili III, who, having usurped the throne, chose to restore Hattusa as the capital. He traced his genealogy back to his grandfather Suppiluliuma, then directly to "Hattusili, king of Kussar." His son Tuthaliya IV imitated this technique by going back to Tuthaliya I. The data concerning these statues have been aptly tabulated by Torri (2008, 173–75). The texts of CTH 660 probably concern the cult of Teššup, the Storm-god of Aleppo. The celebration of Teššup in his temple in Hattusa fell on the twenty-first day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival (the twenty-seventh day in the time of Tuthaliya IV; VSNF 12.1 rev. 10–11). Maciej Popko (2002, 78) has keenly noted that, according to this festival, some attributes of Teššub of Aleppo had been introduced in Hattusa: $^{GIŠ}$MAR.GÍD.DA, his chariot, together with the two divinized bulls, Šeri and Ḫurri, who pulled it, and even ḪUR.SAG$^{MEŠ}$, the (two) mountains on which he stood, therefore Nanni and Ḫazzi (Ṣapuna) in the Syrian tradition.[34] It is in the thirteenth-century manuscripts of this group that the statues of the ancestors are mentioned. Popko (2002, 78–79) has given the correct interpretation of the presence of these statues:

32 See the radical statement by Popko (2007): "Ein Zusammenhang zwischen $^{É}$*ḫišta* und den Listen der verstorbenen Könige bleibt also unbewiesen, folglich gibt es kein Grund um in diesem Gebäude einen Totentempel bzw. einen Tempel der Ahnenverehrung der in Hattusa regierenden Dynastie zu sehen." The $^{É}$*ḫešta-* appears in KUB 59.29 obv. 3 in connection with $^{GIŠ}$*warḫuštu-*, the wood used to make bonfires on the occasion of the offerings to the ancestors; the king, however, goes out from the *ḫalentuwa* (lines 10–11) before starting the offerings to the ancestors (see Nakamura 2002, 267).

33 For some references to such cults in Syria, cf. Archi 2007, 49–50.

34 An oracular text, KUB 18.12+22.15 obv. 4, mentions "Hattusa, the city of Storm-god of Aleppo"; a festival was established for "the Storm-god of Aleppo in Hattusa" (KUB 5.6+ IV 9; see Popko 2002, 74, and 79 for the suggestion that this temple was in Büyükkale). According to Torri 2008, 176, the temple should be identified with Temple 5.

> Die ihren (d.h. der Könige) Bildern dargebrachten Opfer werden meistens als Beweis des Kultes der gestorbenen Könige gedeutet, aber diese Auffassung ist m.E. kaum zutreffend. Jenen Kult beleuchten die Texte, die unter CTH 661 gebucht sind. Hingegen ist in den diskutierten Texten eher von den Königen die Rede, die zum Ruhm der regierenden Dynastie besonders beigetragen haben und deswegen als Helden verehrt wurden. Aus diesem Anlass fanden sich ihre Bilder im Adyton des Tempels von Teššub, des Beschützers der Dynastie. Sie wurden dort als Elemente der Ausstattung betrachtet und in Rahmen des dynastischen Kultes samt Götterbildern und Kultgegenständen beopfert.

The topography described in this festival excludes the possibility that the image of Tuthaliya (I) could be that of the stele in Building A in the temenos of Temple 5.[35]

## 5. CONCLUSION

There is scholarly consensus in attributing to Suppiluliuma I the reorganization of the religious celebrations at Hattusa after the crisis that compelled Tuthaliya II/III to transfer his capital from Hattusa to Šapinuwa. Most of these festivals date back to the earliest period, when the Hittites first established their seat of power inside the bend of the Kızılırmak River. The festivals, mostly of Hattian origin, were now organized into two cycles of about thirty-five days each, to be celebrated in the spring and autumn, respectively. Arinna, the Hattian holy city, continued to play a central role.

Two Tutelary-gods, Zithariya and one from the city of Ḫatenzuwa, represented by hunting bags, were worshipped in a chapel at Hattusa (É $^{KUŠ}$*kurša-*). Other Hattian gods, such as Kappariyamu and Kantiputti, were also represented by this emblem. Zithariya and Ḫatenzuwa accompanied the king on his military campaigns, symbolizing that hunting and war—two royal privileges—were closely connected.

The rite of the pithos, filled with grain in the autumn and opened in the spring to make the bread to be offered to the deities, was, according to the cult inventories, practiced throughout all the cities and villages of central Anatolia. It was the same ritual celebrated during the autumn and spring festivals in Hattusa—a rite that clearly went back to time immemorial.

Annually, the image of a new "Year" (MU), represented by a hieroglyphic symbol, was hung at Hattusa, while the old one was deposited in the *ḫešta-*house, the temple of Lelwani. Because this goddess was the one that bestowed humans with "long years," she was invoked in a Hattian-Hittite ritual celebrated on the occasion of the building of a new royal palace.

The cult of the members of the royal family (both males and females) was celebrated with a solemn ceremony in front of Lelwani's temple during the autumn festival. The cult of some illustrious ancestor, such as Hattusili I (whose statue was placed in the temple of the War-god, perhaps by Suppiluliuma I) or Tuthaliya I, should be kept distinct from the rite performed in the *ḫešta-*house, which may have continued the Hattian tradition celebrated at Arinna.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter other than the following one are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

VSNF Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Neue Folge

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# 2 HOW ARE UNRELATED VERBS RELATED? *TUḪḪUEŠŠAR* AND ITS FRIENDS AND RELATIONS

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

There has been considerable discussion over the years with varying results concerning *tuḫš-*, *tuḫḫuš-*, *tuḫḫuiš-*, and the nouns *tuḫḫu*(*wa*)*i-* and *tuḫḫueššar*. The verbs of this complex have been argued to represent a single verb. Other scholars see up to three verbs represented in the examples. *Tuḫš-* and *tuḫḫuš-* were first discussed by Johannes Friedrich (1927, 200), who saw a single verb and gave the translations "schneiden, trennen and beenden." Paul Kretschmer (1929, 299) came across a *tuḫš-* in a different context.[1] Without referring to Friedrich's discussion, he translated *tuḫḫueššar . . . tuḫša* as "Federwisch . . . weiht(?) sich (damit)." When Friedrich wrote his *Handwörterbuch*, he booked one verb "abschneiden, trennen, beendigen" and separated out a second verb (Med. 1) to fit the passage quoted by Kretschmer—but, not accepting Kretschmer's suggestion, instead translated "sich (in nicht genauer bekannter Art) kultisch reinigen" (Friedrich 1952, 226–27). Subsequently, Hans Güterbock (1964, 106–7) argued for there being only one verb "to cut (etc.)," and this suggestion was followed by Erich Neu (1968, 175–77 with nn9 and 11). Ahmet Ünal and Annelies Kammenhuber (1975, 177), revived Friedrich's view of two verbs, and Sedat Alp (1983b, 14–19), more or less following Friedrich, argued for the existence of the second verb, which he translated "sich lotionieren." Norbert Oettinger (1976, 133–34; 1979, 527 with n21) also sees multiple verbs. However, his division is different; he argues for a verb *tuḫḫuš-*$^{tta}$ "aufhören, zu Ende sein, fertig werden" separate from *tuḫš-*$^{a}$ "abschneiden, trennen"; "sich kultisch reinigen" he relegates to a footnote without explicitly rejecting it. Johann Tischler (HEG III 411–14) follows Güterbock in allowing only one verb. On the other hand, Alwin Kloekhorst (2008, 890–91, 893–94) follows Oettinger in separating off a second verb, dividing *tuḫḫuš-*$^{zi}$ "to end" from *tuḫš-*$^{a(ri)}$ "to cut off, separate." He explicitly rejects the existence of a translation "sich kultisch reinigen." This is pretty much where things remain at the moment. With editorial work recently begun on the T volume of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary, it is time to reexamine these words, and what better time to write this article than when celebrating the sixty-fifth birthday of the executive editor of this dictionary?

## 2. POSSIBLE MEANINGS FOR THE VERB(S)

So how many verbs are there, and what do they mean? We will review the meaning that seems most appropriate in each passage where the verb or verbs occur(s).

1 Friedrich (1952, 226) credits the translation to Emil Forrer, whom Kretschmer thanks for sending him the text. However, Kretschmer does not indicate that the translation is Forrer's, and since the transliteration mistakenly reads DUR-*aš* instead of TUR-*aš*—a mistake certainly not attributable to Forrer, who already in his sign list of 1922 correctly read TUR (Forrer 1922, no. 286)—one can assume the transliteration and translation are Kretschmer's.

### MEANING 1

A meaning "to end, finish" is easy to illustrate. It occurs several times as an active verb:

(1.1) *māḫḫan=ma ŠA* DINGIR-*LIM uktūri ŠA* ḪA.LA *ḫukeššar tuḫḫuszi* "But when he finishes the regular slaughter of the portion of the deity."[2]

(1.2) *tuḫḫuszi* also occurs in broken context at the end of a paragraph, with *nekuz* "night" in the previous line and *mān lukkatta* "when it dawns" beginning the new paragraph.[3]

Mostly, however, *tuḫḫuš-* occurs in the middle voice. The subject can be a unit of time:

(1.3) UD-*MU MAḪRÛ tuḫḫušta* § *INA* UD.2.KAM=*ma* . . . "The first day is finished § On the second day. . . ."[4]

(1.4) ("Grand total forty sheep.") UD.3.KAM *tuḫḫušta* "The third day ends. §§ When it dawns, . . ."[5]

The subject can also be a festival:

(1.5) § EZEN $^{d}$IM MU-*ti mēneyaš* UD.2.KAM *tuḫḫušta* §§ "The second day of the annual(?) festival of the Storm-god is finished."[6]

(1.6) EZEN ITU.KAM *tuḫḫušta* §§ "The festival of the month is finished. §§"[7]

(1.7) *kuptiš tuḫḫušta* § *lukatta=ma* . . . "The *kupti*-(ritual) is finished. § In the morning, . . ."[8]

At other times, a place (where a portion of a festival is performed) is the subject:

(1.8) $^{É}$*ḫalentiu tuḫḫušta* "The (festival in) the palace is finished."[9]

Often, the subject of the verb is not given; rather, the festival or its part is only the implied subject:

(1.9) (The cups are collected, the high officials leave.) *tuḫḫušta* "It is finished."[10]

(1.10) [*n=at=kan INA*] É.DINGIR-*LIM dāi tuḫḫušta* §§ "(S)he places [it in] the temple. It is finished."[11]

It alternates in duplicates with the Akkadogram *QATÛ*:

(1.11) UD.KAM-*MU MAḪ*$^{A}$[$^{Ḫ?}$*RÛ*] *QATI* (var. *tuḫḫušta*) §[12]

(1.12) §§ UD.2.KAM *tuḫḫušta QATI* "The second day is finished. (The composition) is finished."[13]

The Sumerogram TIL is also employed for *tuḫḫušta*.

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2 KBo 15.33 iii 14–15 (ritual for the Storm-god of Kuliwišna, MH/MS), ed. Glocker 1997, 70–71. KBo 20.39 left col. 16 (OH/MS) is broken but is probably similar, as the verb *ḫuek-* occurs in the previous line.

3 KUB 55.42:9 (MS). KBo 25.2 ii 10 (OS) also contains *túḫ-ḫu-uš-zi*, unfortunately in unclear context.

4 KUB 41.17 i 24–25 (Tapalzunauli's ritual against plague, NS), ed. Souček 1963, 168, 171; Fuscagni 2016, §§5–6.

5 KUB 27.70 ii 18–19 (festival at Karaḫna, OH/NS), ed. McMahon 1991, 64–65.

6 "§ The second day of the seasonal(?) festival of the Storm-god is finished. §§" KBo 20.72 iii! 13 (cult of Ḫuwaššanna, MS), ed. Lombardi 1999, 237, 240.

7 VS 28.28 iv? 4 (festival of the month, NS), translit. Klinger 1996, 610.

8 KUB 9.2 i 11–12 (ritual of Dākūya, Ašnunigalli, and Māti, NH), ed. Strauß 2006, 274–75.

9 KBo 17.11 i 8 + KBo 30.25 i 24 (festival, OS), ed. Neu 1970, 12–13.

10 KUB 58.11 rev. 11 (cult of Nerik, NH), ed. Haas 1970, 216–17.

11 KUB 33.70 iii 5 (missing deity ritual, OH/NS), ed. Görke 2015a, §4.

12 KUB 56.59 ii 20–21 (Dandu's ritual against plague in the army, NH), w. dupl. KUB 7.54 ii 26 (NH), ed. Bawanypeck 2005, 140–41. Note the comment of Souček 1963, 171n53.

13 KUB 32.129 iv 12–13 (Kuwanni's ritual, NS), ed. Görke 2015b, §Kol.

### MEANING 2

Another meaning for verbs in this group is the act of harvesting grapes from a vineyard. This action is typically done by severing the stem of a grape bunch from the grapevine and extracting the grape bunch. So the verb appears to mean "sever and extract," although it seems smoother to translate as "harvest (grapes)." A clear example is in a Middle Hittite letter:

(2.1) *ŠA* $^{URU}$*Gašaša=ma=mu kuit ŠA* $^{GIŠ}$GEŠTIN *uttar ḫatrāeš nu* EGIR-*an tiya n=aš tuḫšandu n=at lē dammišḫandari* "Concerning the matter of the grapes of Gašaša, which you wrote to me about: Give support. Let them harvest them. Let them not be damaged."[14]

(2.2) *nu ŠA* É $^{d}$UTU-*ŠI* $^{GIŠ}$GEŠTIN-x *tuḫšatt*[*en*] "Harvest the grapes of My Majesty's estate."[15]

This specific meaning occurs only in the active voice. It also occurs in the infinitive in the Old Hittite Laws:

(2.3) *tuḪḪušuanzi* (Old Script), *tuḫšūwanzi* (New Script), *tuḫšuwa*[*nzi*] (New Script)[16]

and in a Middle Hittite letter:

(2.4) *ŠA* $^{GIŠ}$KIRI$_6$.GEŠTIN $^{URU}$*Gašaša=ma=mu kuit uttar hatrāeš* [*tu*]*ḫšuwanzi=war=aššan karū ar*[*ant*]*eš mān=wa=kan antuḫšā*[*tar parā ḫ*]*ūdak naitti* § "And concerning the vineyards of Gašaša, which you wrote to me about, saying, 'they are ripe for harvesting, if only you would quickly send workers (lit. 'people').'"[17]

Also attested is a verbal substantive:

(2.5) 1 EZEN $^{GIŠ}$GEŠTIN *tuḫšūwaš* "One grape harvest festival."[18]

An active iterative-durative form occurs in the New Script version of the Laws:

[*takku mianda*]*n*(?) $^{GIŠ}$GEŠTIN-*an kuiški kar*(*a*)*šzi karš*[(*andan*) $^{GIŠ}$GEŠTIN-*an*] *apāš dāi* SIG$_5$-*ann=a* $^{GIŠ}$GEŠTIN [(*ANA*) *BĒ*]*L* $^{GIŠ}$GEŠTIN *pāi t=an=za tuḫšannai* [*kuitm*(*an apē*)]*l* $^{GIŠ}$GEŠTIN SIG$_5$-*atta* "[If] anyone cuts down a [fruit-bearing(?)] vine, he (the culprit) shall take the cut-down vine and give a good vine to the owner of the vine, and he (the latter) shall harvest it until [hi]s vine recovers."[19]

Closely related is

(2.6) *kangati=ya=kan tepu tuḫšai* "He will pluck a bit of *kangati*-herb."[20]

In another example, we have not plants but body parts, but the meaning still seems to be "cut off and remove":

(2.7) ("Let them drink the blood; let them eat[21] the fat.") $^{UZU}$SA *tuḫšanniandu* "Let them pluck out the tendons/blood-vessels; (let them break the bones)."[22]

Somewhat similar to what is happening to the bunch of grapes is a meaning "to remove from its original context":

14 HKM 31:8–12 (letter, MH/MS), ed. Hoffner 2009, 156.

15 HKM 34:8–9 (letter, MH/MS), ed. Hoffner 2009, 161.

16 KBo 6.2 iii 21–22 (OS); KBo 6.3 iii 24–25 (OH/NS); KBo 6.6 i 30–31 (OH/NS), ed. Hoffner 1997, 68–69.

17 HKM 37:13–15 (letter, MH/MS), ed. Hoffner 2009, 163.

18 KUB 38.12 i 23 (NH), ed. Darga 1973, 8, 14.

19 KUB 29.24 i 3–6 (Laws §113), with dupl. KBo 6.10 i 27–30, ed. Hoffner 1997, 108–9.

20 KUB 15.42 iii 31 (purification ritual, MH/NS).

21 Following Fuscagni 2017 in reading *a*!(sign *za*)-*az-za-ku-wa-an-du* > *ed-*.

22 KBo 20.73 iv 10–11 (incantation, OH or MH/MS), ed. Fuscagni 2017, §9 ("abschneiden").

(2.8) *nu=wa=kan kāš* KU$_6$ [*m*]*āḫḫan aruṉa͗z tuḫḫuštat* "And just as this fish was plucked out from the sea" (example 2.11 immediately follows).[23]

Pieces of prepared foodstuffs could also be "cut off and removed":

(2.9) (He takes cheese) *n=an* [. . .] *tuḫšanna nāi* "and he turns it [toward . . .] for breaking off."[24]

For whatever reason, unlike the usage with the grape-clusters where a *-wanzi* infinive was employed, in example 2.9 an *-anna* infinitive was used.

(2.10) ("He offers three thick-breads and *tūruppa*-bread to the Storm-god and the male gods. . . . He roasts the *tūruppa*-s with the flame.") *n=uš arḫa tuḫšannai* "He repeatedly breaks (pieces) off them (lit. 'repeatedly breaks them off') and he places (them) before the Storm-god and his male gods and before the Sun-god and his male gods. And he says as follows: 'O Sun-god, male gods of the Sun-god, Storm-god, male gods of the Storm-god'" *kūš tuḫšumen n=at arḫa tuḫšan ēštu ŠA* $^{\text{f}}$*Zi. idālu uttar alwanzatar* "'We have broken (pieces) off these. Let them be broken off (i.e., 'removed'; see below)—(namely) the evil words (and) sorcery of Zippalandawiya.'"[25]

Interestingly, while the participle is the expected stem *tuḫš-*, the first-person plural present active verb uses a stem *tuḫšu-*.

In example 2.10, we see that evils could be the object of this verb, so a meaning "to remove" seems most appropriate:

(2.11) *kinuna tuḫ*$^{uḫ}$*šandu* [*ap*]*edaš* UD-*aš* EME.[ḪI].A *ḫūrtāuš* "Now let them pluck out slander (lit. 'tongues') (and) curses of those days."[26]

(2.12) *nu=wa=šmaš=kan*[27] *tuḫšan* (vars. *tuḫ*$^{uḫ}$*šan*) *ēštu* NÍ.TE-*aš apēdaš* UD.KAM-*aš* EME.ḪI.A "Let the slander (lit. 'tongues') of those days be removed from your persons."[28]

In the middle voice, but with similar meaning, compare

(2.13) [*tu*(*ḫ*)$^{uḫ}$(*š*)]*aru apel* UD-*aš* EME.ḪI.A *tuḫšaruw=a* [(*apel*)] ˹UD˺-*a*[*š ḫ*]*ūrtāš* "Let the tongues of that day be removed. And let the curses of that day be removed."[29]

People could also be "removed":

(2.14) ("If it is not acceptable to [her] father and mother") *n=an=z=*(*š*)*an pitte*[*nuz*]*i kuiš n=an=ši=k*[*an*] *tuḫšan*˹*zi*˺ "they shall separate her from him who caused her to elope."[30]

Note the parallel in the middle voice:

(2.15) ("If her father and mother refuse [to compensate the first man]") *n=an=ši=kan tuḫšan*˹*ta*˺ "they shall separate her from him."[31]

23 KBo 39.8 i 40–41 (Maštigga's ritual, MH/MS), ed. Miller 2004, 66.

24 KUB 9.28 ii 2–3 (ritual, MH/NS).

25 KBo 15.10 ii 23–27 (ritual, MH/MS), ed. Szabó 1971, 22–25 ("schneidet . . .ab, . . . abgeschnitten"); cf. HEG III 462 ("zerteilt").

26 KBo 39.8 i 41–42 (Maštigga's ritual, MH/MS), ed. Miller 2004, 66 ("let . . . detach"). See our example 2.8 for the immediately preceding context with a different usage of *tuḫš-*.

27 Collated by Miller (2004, 67n107).

28 KUB 12.34 i 9–10 (Maštigga's ritual, MH/NS), w. dupls. KBo 39.8 i 48–49 (MH/MS), KBo 43.7 i (6)–8 (MH/MS), ed. Miller 2004, 66–68.

29 KBo 39.8 ii 13–14 (Maštigga's ritual, MH/MS), w. dupl. KUB 12.34 i 27 (MH/NS), ed. Miller 2004, 71.

30 KBo 6.5 iii 4–5 (Laws §28, OH/NS), ed. Hoffner 1997, 38.

31 KBo 6.3 ii 10 (Laws §28, OH/NS), ed. Hoffner 1997, 37–38.

(2.16) ("If a daughter has been betrothed to a man and he pays a bride-price for her, but afterward the father and mother contest it") *n=an=kan ANA* LÚ-*LIM tuḫḫuišša*[*nzi*] (var. *tuḫšanzi*) "they may separate her from the man (but they shall restitute the bride-price double)."[32]

Note the otherwise unique stem *tuḫḫuišš-*, ascertained to be the same verb by the variant with the expected stem *tuḫš-*. The signs *-uš-* and *-iš-* are differentiated only by one wedge.

Yarn and rope can be the object of the verb *tuḫš*:

(2.17) *n=ašta ANA* EN.SÍSKUR *ḫūmandaziya* SÍG *āntaran* SÍG *midann=a arḫa tuḫšanzi* "They remove the blue wool and red wool from everywhere on the patient."[33]

In examples 2.18 and 2.19, unable to write the third-person singular present active **tuhszi* with its consonant cluster, the Hittite scribe wrote the word *tuḫḫušzi-*. Note, however, the longer stem *tuḫḫuišš-* (or perhaps *tuḫḫuš*$^{!}$*š-*) in example 2.16 above.

(2.18) ("He ties on a yarn-band twice, on the middle of the king's and queen's hands and feet, and on their(!) neck)" *arḫa=ya=an=kan* [*UL*] *tuḫḫušzi* . . . "He does not remove it. (Wherever he attaches the yarn-band twice to the four corners of the building, [to the gate], to the threshold, the doorbolt, upper and lower [. . .])" *arḫa=ya=at=kan* [*tuḫḫ*]*ušzi* "He [remo]ves them (and places them down in a basket. § [Wh]at he attaches to the middle of the king's and queen's hands and feet and to their(!) neck once, and attaches once to the four corners of the building, the [gate], the threshhold, the lower and upper doorbolt)" *n=an=kan arḫa UL tuḫḫušzi* GE$_6$*-antaz=šmaš=kan anda=pat šeszi* . . . § *maḫḫann=a lukkatta n=an=kan arḫa tuḫḫušzi* "He does not remove them; he sleeps the night with them. . . . § But when it is morning, he removes them(!) (and places them(!) down in a basket)."[34]

(2.19) ("She places [the red wool and the *welku*-plant] on the shoulder . . ." §) *nu* MUNUS ŠU.GI $^{SÍG}$*mitan uelk*[*uya ANA BĒL* SISKUR] *šer arḫa tuḫ*$^{uḫ}$*ḫušzi* "The 'Old Woman' removes the red wool and the *welk*[*u*-plant from the patient]."[35]

(2.20) "[The Storm-god sa]id [to Ḫannaḫanna]: 'The great gods and the lesser gods searched for him and [they did not find] him. This [bee] will go and [find] him? His wings are small. He himself is small.'" *namma=war=aš ḫanti tuḫšanzi* "Furthermore he is stub-nosed (lit. 'cut off on his face')."[36]

As we saw above in example 2.15, some instances of this usage are in dynamic middle voice, with no apparent difference in meaning from those using the active voice:

(2.21) ("The string of blue wool (and) red wool which lies on the bodies of the two patients . . . the 'Old Woman' . . .) *nu=šmaš=kan* [(*š*)]*ūil arḫa tuḫ*$^{uḫ}$*šari* (vars. *tuḫšari*) "removes the thread from them."[37]

(2.22) *n=an=kan ANA* EN.SÍSKUR [*arḫa t*]*uḫšari* "She (the 'Old Woman') removes it (the tied-on red wool) from the patient."[38]

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32 KBo 6.5 iii 9 (Laws §29, OH/NS), w. dupl. KBo 6.3 ii 12–13 (OH/NS), ed. Hoffner 1997, 39.

33 VBoT 24 i 22–24 (Anniwiyanni's ritual, MH/NS), ed. Bawanypeck 2005, 54–55 ("schneidet").

34 KBo 4.2 i 28–29, 31–32, 36–39 (Ḫuwarlu's ritual, pre-NH/NS), ed. Bawanypeck 2016, §§6–8.

35 KUB 32.113 ii? 14–15 + KBo 8.76:8–9 (Maštigga's ritual, MH/MS), ed. Miller 2004, 130–31.

36 KUB 17.10 i 39 (Telipinu myth, OH/MS). The understanding follows Melchert 2016, 210–12. Melchert points out that the *-aš* can be only animate nominative singular or accusative plural, and "the gods," the only possible animate plural antecedent, cannot be antecedent for both the plural verb and the plural object. Therefore he argues that *tuḫḫanzi* is a MH copyist's hypercorrection of an OH *tuḫḫanza* participle.

37 KBo 39.8 ii 9–10 (Maštigga's ritual, MH/MS), w. dupls. KBo 2.3 i 24 (MH/NS), KUB 12.34 i 23 (MH/NS), ed. Miller 2004, 70–71; also *šuil tuḫ*$^{uḫ}$*ša* KUB 41.1 iii 12 (LNS). Similarly *n=ašta* $^{GIŠ}$NÁ-*az* $^{SÍG}$*ašaran tuḫ*$^{uḫ}$*ša* KBo 52.26 ii 31 (LNS).

38 KBo 46.38 i 5–6 (ritual, NS); cf. Neu 1968, 176 (as 112/r).

(2.23) (The carpenter climbs the rope twice up to the roof beam.) *INA* 3 ˹KASKAL-*NI*˺=[*ma* $^{SÍ}$] $^{G}$*piddula*˹*n*˺ *tuḫš*[*ār*]*i*! *maḫḫan=ma=kan* $^{LÚ}$NAGAR $^{[SÍ]G}$[*pi*]*ddulan tuḫšāri* "But on the third time he removes the loop. When the carpenter removes the loop (. . . The carpenter comes back down the rope)."[39]

Several obscure references add little to our discussion and need not further detain us.

## MEANING 3

In an entirely different context are the following examples. In all of them, the verb immediately follows the mention of *tuḫḫueššar*. These examples are in the middle voice and occur with the particle *-kan*:

(3.1) § UGULA $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM *tuḫḫešnit* $^{GIŠ}$ZAG.GAR.RA GU[D UDU] NINDA.GUR$_4$,RA *šuppiyaḫḫi* § UGULA $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM *tuḫḫueššar* LUGAL-*i parā ēp*[*zi*] LUGAL-*uš=kan tuḫ$^{uḫ}$ša* § "§ The supervisor of cooks consecrates the altar, cattle, sheep, (and) bread with *tuḫḫueššar*. § The supervisor of cooks holds the *tuḫḫueššar* out to the king. The king *t.*-s (§ The king breaks *danna*-bread to $^{d}$IB)."[40]

(3.2) ("The priest of Ea holds (some) *tuḫḫuieššar* substance. The priest of Ea [hold]s out the *tuḫḫuieššar* to the king.") LUGAL-*uš=kan tuḫ$^{uḫ}$ša* "The king *t.*-s."[41]

(3.3) UGULA $^{LÚ}$MUḪALDIM *tuḫḫueššar* LUGAL-*i parā ēp*[*zi*] LUGAL-*uš=kan tuḫ$^{uḫ}$ša ta pūriuš=šu*[*š*] *ānši* DUMU.É.GAL GADA-*an* LUGAL-*i parā ēp*[*zi*] *nu=šš*an LUGAL-*uš tuḫḫūeššar* GADA-*i dāi* "The supervisor of the cooks holds out *tuḫḫueššar* to the king. The king *t.*-s. He wipes his lips. A palace servant holds out a cloth to the king. The king puts the *tuḫḫueššar* onto the cloth. (The palace servant carries it out. Then the king sacrifices eight sheep and one grain-fed cow. §)"[42]

(3.4) UGULA $^{LÚ}$MUḪALDIM *tuḫḫuēššar* LUGAL-*i parā ēpzi* LUGAL-*uš=kan tuḫ$^{uḫ}$ša pūriuš ānši* § "The supervisor of the cooks holds out *tuḫḫueššar* to the king. The king *t.*-s. The king wipes his lips. § (The chief of the palace servants gives the king the cloth of the golden-spear man; the king wipes his hand.)"[43]

(3.5) ("The palace servant holds out *tuḫḫueššar* to the queen.") MUNUS.LUGAL*=kan tuḫ$^{uḫ}$ša* "The queen *t.*-s (§ and the palace servant gives the *tuḫḫuēššar* back to the priest of $^{d}$LAMMA").[44]

(3.6) $^{LÚ}$SANGA $^{d}$*Inar* DUMU-*li tuḫḫueššar parā ēpzi* DUMU-*aš tuḫ$^{uḫ}$ša* DUMU-*aš anda paizzi* "The priest of Inar holds out *tuḫḫueššar* to the prince. The prince *t.*-s."[45]

Less frequently, the same wording occurs but without *–kan*:

(3.7) [UGULA $^{LÚ.}$]$^{MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM *tuḫḫeššar* [LUGAL-*i pa*]*rā ēpzi* LUGAL-*uš tuḫ$^{uḫ}$ša* DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL *ANA* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL *MÊ QATI pianzi* [G]AL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL LUGAL-*i* GADA-*an pāi* [LUG]AL-*uš* ŠU.MEŠ*=ŠUNU ānši* "The supervisor of cooks holds out *tuḫḫueššar* [to the king]. The king *t.*-s. Palace servants give hand-washing water to the king and queen. The chief of the palace servants gives the king a cloth and the king wipes their hands. §"[46]

(3.8) ("§ [The chief] of the palace servants h[olds] out [*tuḫḫueššar*] to [the king]") [LUG]AL-*uš tuḫ$^{uḫ}$*[*ša*] "The [ki]ng *t.*-s. (§ The chief of the palace servants takes away the *tuḫḫueššar* from the king with a cloth. §)"[47]

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39 KUB 55.28 iii 9–11 (building ritual, NS), ed. Ünal 1988, 100–101; cf. CHD P, s.v. $^{(SÍG)}$*pittula-*, "unties(?) (lit. 'separates')."

40 KBo 30.77 iii 12–15 (*Nuntarriyašḫa*-festival, OH/LNS), ed. Nakamura 2002, 261, 264 ("Der König schneidet [sie]").

41 KBo 39.86 v 13 (offerings to royal images, NS).

42 KUB 20.59 i 16–20 (*ANDAḪŠUM*-festival), ed. Popko and Taracha 1988, 88, 92 ("der König reinigt sich").

43 KBo 19.128 i 32–34 (festival, OH?/NS), ed. Otten 1971, 2–5 ("Der König *tuḫša*"); Alp 1983a, 164–67 ("Der König lotioniert sich").

44 KBo 4.9 ii 31 (*ANDAḪŠUM*-festival, OH?/NS), ed. Badali and Zinko 1989, 17, 48 ("schneidet [davon] ab"); tr. Klinger 2008, 199 ("schneidet [etwas] ab").

45 VS 28.12 i 5–7 (*ANDAḪŠUM*-festival, OH?/NS).

46 KUB 11.35 ii 3–8 (Winter festival, OH/NS).

47 KUB 10.4 i 4 (*ANDAHŠUM*-festival, OH?/NS).

In two examples, the identical phrase occurs with *=kan* and the reflexive particle *=za*:

(3.9) *nu* LUGAL-*u*[(*n šu*)]*p*[(*piyaḫ*)*ḫi* (*tuḫḫuišar* LUGAL-*i par*)]⌜*ā*⌝ *ēpzi nu=z=kan tuḫša* "He makes the king ritually pure. He holds *tuḫḫuišar* out to the king. The king *t.*-s himself (or '*t.*-s for himself'). [(A palace servant gives the king a towel)]. §"[48]

(3.10) ("The supervisor of the cooks gives *tuḫḫūēššar* to the king.") LUGAL-*uš=za=kan tuḫ*$^{uḫ}$*ša* § "The king *t.*-s himself (or '*t.*-s for himself')."[49]

In two other examples, we are presented again with the middle-voice verb with *=kan* and *=za*, but with *tuḫḫueššar* in the nominative-accusative in the sentence:

(3.11) *nu=za=kan* LUGAL[-*uš*(?)] / [*t*]*uḫḫuišar tuḫ*$^{uḫ}$[*ša*] "The king *t.*-s *tuḫḫuiššar* for himself. (§ The chief of the palace servants holds out a cloth to the king. The king [wipes] his hands.)"[50]

(3.12) [. . .] *tuḫḫuišar tuḫ*$^{uḫ}$*ša nu* KA×U-*it* x[. . .] "[The king] *t.*-s *tuḫḫuiššar* [for himself(?)] and with the mouth [. . .]."[51]

Since the case ending on LUGAL is not preserved in either example, one could potentially restore LUGAL[-*i*] in these sentences and thus have *tuḫḫueššar* as the subject: "*tuḫḫueššar t.*-s itself for the king."

An active form of the verb supposedly occurs in close association with *tuḫḫueššar*, according to Maciej Popko and Johann Tischler.[52] However, as pointed out by Mitsuo Nakamura (2002, 148–49, with comment 160 §4), the TÚḪ sign is lost, and the form as restored would not be from *tuḫš-* but from *tuḫ*(*ḫ*)-.

## 3. DISCUSSION

First, one should remember that all the words discussed here (except for those under meaning 3) are written with an initial TÚḪ sign. This sign could equally be read TAḪ. It is only because of modern scholarly tradition that all these words are read as *tuḫ-*. Some of the words discussed here could begin with *taḫ-* and others with *tuḫ*, the Hittite reader easily knowing how to pronounce the word from its context. Since we do not know the vowel quality associated with most of the words, we cannot yet do this. Curiously, the scribes sometimes glossed the TÚḪ/TAḪ sign with another sign to give a clue to the reading of the somewhat unusual TÚḪ/TAḪ sign. Unfortunately and most curiously, their having done so does not help us read the vowel, since the glossing sign is also bivalent UḪ/AḪ. The vocalization for meaning 3 can be ascertained through the passage *tuḫḫueššar . . . tu-uḫ-ša* (KBo 58.185 left col. 6, 8), etc.

Concerning the examples listed under meaning 1, the translation has been clear from the first discussion by Friedrich (1927, 200). However, from then until at least Tischler's *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar* (HEG III 411–14), it has usually been considered the same verb as those listed under meaning 2. Oettinger (1979, 527), though, noticed that examples meaning "to end" in the third-person present middle voice were consistently written *tuḫḫušta*, whereas those with meanings we have listed under meaning 2 are written *tuḫšari*. Recently, Kloekhorst (2008, 893–94) has followed Oettinger in listing a *tuḫḫuš-* "to end" separately from the other *tuḫš-*. But he still thinks they are the same verb in origin, a possibility I leave to others to discuss. Kloekhorst also argues that *tuḫḫušta* is not middle third-singular present but active third-singular preterit because there exists the active third-singular present *tuḫḫušzi*. However, I fail to see why. The contexts are ritual or festival texts, which are written in the present tense. So why should we

48 KBo 17.11 i 24 + KBo 30.29:3–4 (Storm-festival, OS), w. dupl. KUB 34.123 i 11–12 + KBo 21.25 i 41–42 (OH/MS), ed. Barsacchi 2017, 32, 41 ("egli lo divide[?]"); Alp 1983a, 210–11 ("[Der Köni]g lotioniert sich"), 218–19 (without join fragment KBo 30.29).

49 KBo 8.112 i 9 (festival, NS); cf. KBo 21.54:20 (NS).

50 KUB 10.11 ii 4–5 (ritual, NH).

51 KUB 58.61 i 7 (festival fragment, NS).

52 KUB 58.22 i 1 + KUB 44.8 i 10 (NS), ed. Popko 1986, 220 ("Er [rein]igt [mit *tuḫḫuiššar*]"); HEG III 414 ("und er schneidet (es) jeweils ab").

then insist on "the third day has finished" when "the third day finishes" makes perfect sense? His active example shows that "to finish" occurs in the present tense in these texts. Since it is active in voice, it should, however, be translated as transitive: *maḫḫan=ma ŠA* DINGIR-*LIM uktūri ŠA* ḪA.LA *ḫukeššar tuḫḫušzi* "But when he finishes the regular slaughter of the portion of the deity" (example 1.1 above). Thus we have an active transitive present, *tuḫḫušzi*, and a middle intransitive present, *tuḫḫušta*. All examples falling under meaning 1 have a root *tuḫḫuš-*.

The passages presented as meaning 2 have yielded general agreement. Examples 2.1–2.13 can all be understood as carrying the meaning "cut off and remove"; examples 2.14–2.16 can also be translated "cut off [in a metaphoric sense] and remove [from the presence of]," although "separate (from)" makes a better translation. The meaning in example 2.17 has sometimes been understood as "to cut," following on from the grape-bunch analogy. This meaning works especially well when the yarn is said to be tied on. Since no cutting implement is mentioned, "to untie" is also possible. But in several cases the yarn was "placed" or "lies," so perhaps simply "to remove" might be the best translation in all cases involving yarn. There are both *-ḫi-* forms *tuḫšai* KUB 15.42 iii 31 (Middle Hittite/New Script) and *-mi-* forms *tuḫḫušzi* (in Middle Script and New Script). The middle present third singular is written *tuḫšari* (5×) or *tuḫšāri* (1×) and *tuḫša* (1×). Examples grouped under meaning 2 show primarily the root *tuḫš-*. However, there is one example of *tuḫšu-* in Middle Hittite/Middle Script (example 2.10), one Old Script *tuḫḫuš-* (example 2.3), one Old Hittite/New Script *tuḫḫuiš-* (or perhaps *tuḫḫuš*$^{i}$*š-*) (example 2.16), and one *tuḫḫuš-* (example 2.18) (where we might have the unwritable **tuḫšzi*).

In summary, it seems most likely that the examples clustered under meaning 1, which all have the same meaning "to end" and all have the root *tuḫḫuš-*, represent the same verb. The verb represented in the examples under meaning 2 is a different one; there, the meaning is "to separate off and remove" and the root is usually (though not always to all speakers) *tuḫš-*.

What then of passages under meaning 3? All have in common the mention of *tuḫḫueššar* in close proximity. All are in the middle voice. Only the king or queen or prince is the subject of the verb. Sometimes it is made clear by the addition of the reflexive particle *-za* that this action is something the king does to or for himself.[53] In two examples (3.11 and 3.12) *tuḫḫueššar* occurs in the same sentence as *tuḫš-*, but because of a particularly inopportune lacuna in both examples, it is unclear whether the middle-voice verb is dynamic—with "the king" as the subject, as usual, and *tuḫḫueššar* as the object—or whether *tuḫḫueššar* is the subject of an intransitive, with "king" in the dative. In many examples, after the action, the king needs to wash or wipe his hands or lips. The verb sometimes occurs immediately after the king's or someone/something else's being made ritually pure (*šuppi*). The verb in this usage is attested only in the third-person present middle voice. With two exceptions in the same passage (VS 28.10 iv 19, 21, MS), it is always written *tuḫša* (either *túḫ-ša* or *túḫ*$^{uḫ}$*-ša*)—that is, more than forty times as *tuḫša* and only twice as *tuḫšari*. In principle, a *tuḫša* and *tuḫšari* variation ought to be meaningless, but the >40:2 ratio here, combined with the 2:10 ratio in meaning 2 passages, is interesting nonetheless. Neu (1968, 177n11), who believes that all the verbs displayed in our meanings 1–3 represent the same verb, noticed the preponderance of *tuḫša* in this usage. He compares this spelling to *paršiya* "er zerbricht (es)" as a very early form, which does not get a *-ri* attached as other verbs do in the course of the language's development. Neu seems to be suggesting that *tuḫša* here is a sort of frozen form; but note that the verb *tuḫš-* in our meaning 2 examples generally do have the *-ri* attached. So *tuḫša* in the phrase with *tuḫḫueššar* remained a frozen form, while the verb *tuḫš-* "to separate, break off" developed. Although formally *tuḫša* could belong to the paradigm of the other verb(s), it appears that the Hittites usually kept this action quite distinct. Is then the meaning also distinct, or is this even a separate verb? Also, *tuḫša* never takes *=ašta* or *arḫa* (as one might expect with a translation "break/cut off") even in Old Hittite/Middle Script. Basically, this *tuhš-* is something one does with *tuḫḫueššar*. To understand *tuḫš-* further, one needs to look at *tuḫḫueššar*.

53 Neu (1968, 177n11) argues against a dative-middle "to cut off for oneself," since in his opinion the frozen form *tuḫša* predates the appearance of the dative-middle in the language.

## 4. WHAT IS THE MEANING OF *TUḪḪUEŠŠAR*?

As we have seen above, someone—a priest, the supervisor of cooks, a palace servant—holds *tuḫḫueššar* out to the king/queen/prince. The king/queen/prince *tuḫša*—that is, does the action *tuḫs-*. In 1929, Kretschmer came across this phrase.[54] Without referring to Friedrich's discussion of verbs *tuḫš-* (see above), he translated *tuḫḫueššar . . . tuḫša* as "Federwisch . . . weiht(?) sich (damit)." Simultaneously, Albrecht Götze, thinking that *tuḫḫueššar* was *tuḫḫuiš-* "smoke" + *eššar*, suggested translating *tuḫḫueššar* as "censor."[55]

Alp[56] pointed to the following passage:[57]

(4.1) "I take dough made of barley flour. I mix the dog excrement into (it)" *nu tuḫḫuēššar ŠA* UZ$_6$ *pankur* $^{NA_4}$IM.BABBAR *kalwišnan*$^{SAR}$ *tapalkuštanan*$^{SAR}$ *ḫaḫḫašittin*$^{SAR}$ *euwan* $^{GIŠ}$*ḫašduēr kuēl imma* GIŠ-*ruwaš ḫaḫḫallaš alil* § *nu kī ḫūman ANA* ZÍD.DA ŠE *išni menaḫḫanda immiyami* "*tuḫḫueššar*, the *pankur*-hair of a nanny-goat, gypsum, . . . (various herbs), brushwood, the flower of some kind of tree or shrub, I mix all of this into the dough made of barley flour."

This, Alp argued, proves *tuḫḫueššar* is a substance, not an instrument. Götze (1947, 85) subsequently accepted this conclusion.

Liane Jakob-Rost (1972, 69) wrote that it designated some sort of liquid, since it is once poured out with water and, on several occasions after the king/queen/prince *tuḫš-*s, (s)he is handed a towel and wipes his/her hands/lips:

(4.2) [UGULA] $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM GAL-*it wātar ḫarz*[*i*] / [*t*]*a ANA QATI* LUGAL *wātar parā* [*t*]*uḫḫuēšnit* 3-*ŠU laḫūwāi* "[The supervisor] of the cooks hold[s] water with a cup [a]nd he pours the water out onto the king's hands three times with *tuḫḫueššar*."[58]

(4.3) LUGAL-*uš*=*kan tuḫ$^{uḫ}$ša* § GAL.DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL *ŠA* $^{GIŠ}$ŠUKUR.KÙ.SIG$_{17}$ GADA LUGAL-*i parā ēpzi* LUGAL-*uš* ŠU.MEŠ=*ŠU ānši* § "The king *tuḫš-*s. § The chief of the palace servants holds the cloth of the golden spear out to the king, and the king wipes off his hands. §"[59]

(4.4) [LUGAL-*u*]*š* KÁ-*aš tiyazi nu*=*šš*[*i*] UGULA $^{LÚ}$MUḪALDIM [*tuḫ*]*ḫuišar parā ēpzi* [LUG]AL-*uš*=*šan QĀTAM dāi* GAL DUMU.É.GAL LUGAL-*i* GADA-*an pāi* LUGAL-*uš* ŠU.MEŠ=*ŠU ānši* "[The kin]g steps to the gate. The supervisor of cooks holds out [*tuḫ*]*ḫueššar* to him. The king puts his hand on it. The chief of the palace servants gives the king a towel. The king wipes his hands."[60]

In the last of the foregoing examples, the king does not need to *tuḫša* the *tuḫḫueššar* but merely to touch it to receive a towel with which to wipe off his hands.

(4.5) LUGAL-*uš*=*kan tuḫ$^{uḫ}$ša ta pūriuš*=*šu*[*š*] *ānši* "The king *tuḫš-*s and wipes hi[s] lips."

However, this passage continues:

(4.6) DUMU.É.GAL GADA-*an* LUGAL-*i parā ēp*[*zi*] *nu*=*ššan* LUGAL-*uš tuḫḫūeššar* GADA-*i dāi n*=*at*=*kan* DUMU.É.GAL § *parā pēdai* "The palace servant hold[s] out a cloth to the king. The king places *tuḫḫueššar* on a cloth, and the palace servant carries it out."[61]

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54 Kretschmer 1929, 299. See n1 above.

55 Götze 1930, 69n2 ("Räuchergefäß").

56 Alp 1940, 13n1 ("*tuḫḫueššar* ist kein Räuchergefaß, sondern eine Substanz, die zum Zweck der kultischen Reinigung dient").

57 KUB 24.14 i 5–10 (Ḫebattarakki's ritual, NH), ed. Melzer and Görke 2016, §§2–3.

58 KUB 41.40 i 18–20 (festival, OH/NS), ed. Alp 1983b, 16; Zeilfelder 2000, 498.

59 KBo 4.9 ii 22–25 (*ANDAḪŠUM*-festival, OH?/LNS), ed. Badali and Zinko 1989, 17, 48; tr. Klinger 2008, 199; cf. similarly with the queen, KBo 4.9 ii 31–36.

60 KUB 30.41 i 11–14, ed. Poitz 2011, 87, 95 ("[*tuḫ*]*huisar*-Reinigungssubstanz").

61 KUB 20.59 i 16–21 (*ANDAḪŠUM*-festival, OH/LNS), ed. Popko and Taracha 1988, 88, 92.

So this last passage rules out the word denoting a liquid (Güterbock 1986, 211). Two other passages with a different context also rule out *tuḫḫueššar*'s being a liquid of some sort:

(4.7) *peran* KASKAL.SAḪAR-*az* 2-*milaš tuḫḫuēššar* (var. *tuḫḫuišar*) *tiyammanda išḫiyan kitta* "In front, toward the dusty road a second/another(?) *tuḫḫueššar* bound with a cord is placed/lying."[62]

(4.8) [*w*]*ātar* DUG*teššummiya lāḫuan andan tuḫḫuišar išḫiyaˈnˀ* [(*k*)]*itta n=aš=ˈšanˀ ḫaššī PĀNI* dU.GUR *kitta* "Water is poured in a cup in which bound *tuḫḫueššar* is placed, it is placed on the hearth before dU.GUR."[63]

Liquids obviously cannot be bound with a cord (Güterbock 1986, 211).

A number of examples, while not especially helpful in understanding what *tuḫḫueššar* is, are useful in showing what the Hittites used it for. *Tuḫḫueššar* is used to make something ritually pure (*šuppi-*).

(4.9) LÚMUḪALDIM *tuḫḫuīšnit* NA4*ḫuwaši=ya* EGIR-*pa šuppiaḫḫi* "The cook makes a stele ritually pure (*šuppi-*) with *tuḫḫueššar* again."[64]

(4.10) UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUḪALDIM *dannarandan* DUGGAL *ḫarzi nu=ššan wātar lāḫūwan anda=ma=kanˈtuḫˀḫueššar kitta* § UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUḪALDIM NA4*ḫuwaši ˈšuˀppiyaḫḫi* EGIR=*ŠU* UDU.ḪI.A MÁŠ.GAL S[ILA4?] MÁŠ.TUR *šuppiyaḫḫi* "The supervisor of the cooks holds an empty cup into which water has been poured and *t.* placed. § (With it) the supervisor of the cooks ritually purifies a stele, and after that he ritually purifies sheep, goat(s), l[ambs(?)] (and) kid(s)."[65]

(4.11) LÚSANGA dU *U* LÚSANGA dUTU ˈDINGIRˀ.MEŠ *šuwaruwaˈzˀ tuḫḫūešnaz=ˈiyaˀ* [KÙ-*a*]ˈ*nzi*ˀ "The priest of the Storm-god and the priest of the Sun-goddess [ritually puri]fy (*šuppiyaḫḫ-*) the divine(-image)s with *šuwaru* and *tuḫḫeššar*."[66]

(4.11a) ("The man of the Storm-god [stands] on the right. [He holds(?)] a *NAMMANTU*-vessel.") *anda=ya=kan tuḫḫ*[*uiššar*] *kit*[*ta*]*ri ta* [*šuppi*]*aḫḫeškizzi* "*Tuḫḫu*[*eššar*] lies in it. He purifies."[67]

(4.12) UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUḪALDIM *tuḫḫuešnit* GIŠZAG.GAR.RA GU[D UDU] NINDA.GUR4.RA *šuppiyaḫḫi* § UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUḪALDIM *tuḫḫueššar* LUGAL-*i parā ˈēpˀ*[*zi*] LUGAL-*uš=kan tuḫuḫša* "The supervisor of cooks makes the altar, catt[le, sheep,] (and) bread ritually pure with *tuḫḫeššar*. § The supervisor of cooks hold[s] the *tuḫḫeššar* out to the king. The king *tuḫš*-s."[68]

(4.13) UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUḪALDIM ZAG.GAR.RA *tuḫḫuešnit* 3-*ŠU šuppiyaḫḫi* UDU.ḪI.A=*ya šuppiyaḫḫi* UGULA LÚ.<MEŠ>MUḪALDIM *tuḫḫēššar* LUGAL-*i parā ēpzi* LUGAL-*uš=kan tuḫuḫša pūriuš ānši* "The supervisor of cooks thrice makes the altar ritually pure with *tuḫḫueššar*; he makes the sheep ritually pure as well. The supervisor of cook<s> offers to the king *tuḫḫeššar*. The king *tuḫš*-s and wipes (his) lips."[69]

With the close context in the last two examples between someone's making something ritually pure with *tuḫḫueššar* and the king's *tuḫša*-ing immediately thereafter, one suspects the king is making something (probably himself, given the middle-voice verb) ritually pure. Those examples of *tuḫša* with the reflexive particle *-za* probably simply emphasize the "himself" that is already implicit in those without the *-za*.

62 KUB 9.28 iii 14–16 (ritual for the Heptad, MH/NS), w. dupl. KBo 19.132 rev.? 5 (MH/NS).

63 KBo 17.40 iv 11–12 (festival, OH/MS), w. dupl. KBo 17.15 rev.! 17 (OS), ed. Haas and Wäfler 1976, 88–89, 82–83.

64 KUB 20.99 ii 6–7 (festival at Šarišša, NS), ed. Zeilfelder 2000, 497.

65 KUB 20.85 i 11–17 (Spring-festival at Tapala, LNS), ed. Zeilfelder 2000, 498.

66 KUB 58.60 vi 11–13 (festival, NS), ed. Soysal 2002, 469n10.

67 KUB 58.22 i 1 + KUB 44.8 i 10 (*Nuntarriyašha*-festival, NS), ed. Nakamura 2002, 148–49, with comment 160 §4, reading *ta* [*šu-up-pí-*]*aḫ-ḫe-eš-ki-iz-zi*, correcting the reading *ta*-[*aš tuḫ*]$^{ub}$-*ḫe-eš-ki-iz-zi* of Popko 1986, 220 ("Er [rein]igt [mit *tuḫḫuiššar*]"), and HEG III 414 ("und er schneidet [es] jeweils ab").

68 KBo 30.77 iii 12–15 (*Nuntarriyašḫa*-festival, OH/LNS), ed. Nakamura 2002, 261, 264.

69 KBo 19.128 i 31–34 (festival, OH?/NS), ed. Otten 1971, 2–5; Zeilfelder 2000, 500.

It should be mentioned that as a parallel the king of Mari anoints himself. However, the substance he uses appears to have been fine oil.[70]

Another example may cast doubt on or confirm this supposition, depending on how one interprets it:

(4.14) GAL $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪ[ALDIM A-]*tar araḫza udai nu ḫaššāz* [(*ḫul*)]*liš dāi nu and*[*a*] *peššiezzi ta āppa šarā* [(*dāi*)] *nu* LUGAL-*un* ˹*šu*˺*ppiya*[*ḫḫi*] *tuḫḫuišar* LUGAL-*i parā ēpzi* [(*nu=z=ka*)]*n tuḫša* DUMU.É.GAL GA[DA-*a*]*n* LUGAL-*i pāi* "The chief of the co[ok]s brings [wat]er from outside, and he takes up a pine cone from the brazier and throws it i[n] (to the water) and takes it back up, and he makes the king ritually pure (*šuppi-*). He holds out *tuḫḫeššar* to the king, and (the king) *tuḫš*-s himself/for himself. A palace servant gives a cloth to the king."[71]

One way of taking this example is to understand that the king has already been made ritually pure by the action of the chief of the cooks using the hot pine cone that was thrown into water. In other words, the king is already ritually pure before he *tuḫša*-s, and this purification was accomplished by the chief of the cooks. Therefore *-za ḫaššuš tuḫša* must mean something other than "the king makes himself ritually pure." A different way of taking the phrase "he makes the king ritually pure (*šuppiyaḫḫ-*)" is to regard it as a statement of what he (the chief of the cooks) is about to do: by giving the king *tuḫḫueššar* and the king *tuḫš*-ing, he (the chief of the cooks) makes the king pure. This understanding would explain the asyndeton between the two sentences, following Harry Hoffner and Craig Melchert (2008) §29.49: "If the subsequent of two or more juxtaposed clauses expresses the same thought in a different form, usually no conjunction is employed." This example shows the only place between sentences in this paragraph where a conjunction is not employed. So the idea of asyndeton here seems highly likely, with a translation "he makes the king ritually pure—that is, he holds out *tuḫḫeššar* to the king and the king *tuḫša*-s."

(4.15) [GAL $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$M]UḪALDIM*=kan anda uizzi nu=kan* [GUNNI-*za*] *ḫulliš* UGU!!? *dāi n=at=kan* [*ueten*]*i peššiēzzi* [*uet*]*enaz=at=kan šarā dāi n=at=kan* EGIR-*pa ḫaššī anda peššiēzzi* § [GAL $^{L}$]$^{Ú.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM *ištanani parā tuḫḫešnit* [*š*]*uppiyaḫḫi* GAL $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM *tuḫḫišar* [*AN*]*A* LUGAL-*i parā ēpzi* LUGAL-*uš=kan* [*tuḫ*]*šari nu* GAL LÚ.MEŠ x x [*A*]*NA*? DUMU?.NIT[A]?[72] *parā ēpzi nu=ššan tuḫḫuišnaz*ˡ [*ku*]*it tuḫšari n=at=* [*š*]*a*[*n*] x *kat*ʾ*ta dāi* "The [chief of the c]ooks comes in. He picks up a pine cone [from the hearth]. He throws it i[nto water]. He picks it up from the [wat]er and throws it back into the hearth. § The chief of the cooks ritually purifies with *tuḫḫueššar* toward the altar.[73] The chief of the cooks holds out *tuḫḫeššar* to the king. The king *tuḫš*-s. The chief . . . holds out to(?) the prince(?) (or, with Kloekhorst, 'the chief of the cooks . . .-s. But he holds (it) out to the king'). What he *tuḫš*-s from the *tuḫḫueššar* (or 'What *tuhš*-s from the *tuḫḫueššar*') he puts down [. . .]."[74]

The most recent entry in the hunt for a meaning is by Kloekhorst (2008, 893), who states: "*tuḫḫueššar* is used for cleaning, is especially associated with cooks, can be cut, can be used to pour water with and is used in purification substances. Therefore I want to suggest that it denotes a sponge." He translates LUGAL-*uš tuḫša* as "the king cuts off (from it)"—that is, "from the sponge." "Cutting off" is not the obvious thing one does to a wet sponge. A sponge in central Anatolia would likely have been an expensive import, and cutting it up would seem to have been a wasteful thing to do. Also, sponges come from the depths of the sea. One would think that if sponges were being used in Hittite ritual, some mention would have been recorded: "just as this sponge was plucked from the depth of the sea, so. . . ." Finally, if the verb is "cut off," one

70 CAD P, 248 s.v. *pašāšu* 2 (Gt-stem); reference courtesy of JoAnn Scurlock.

71 KBo 21.25 i 39–42 + KUB 34.123 i 9–12 (Storm-festival, OS?), w. dupl. KBo 17.11 i 23–24 + KBo 30.29:2–4 (OS), ed. Barsacchi 2017, 32, 41.

72 Kloekhorst (2008, 893) reads this as LUG[AL]-*i=ma* and translates "The head of the cooks [. . .] and holds (it) out in front of the king." See next footnote.

73 CHD P, s.v. *parā* 1 rr, translates a single reference to *parā šuppiyaḫḫ-* with *-kan* as "to clean/wash out(?)." It takes a direct object. In our text *ištanani* is a dative-locative, and there is no *-kan*. Kloekhorst understands *ištanani parā* as "in front of the altar," but *parā* is not *peran*. We follow Barsacchi 2017, 116: "purifica in direzione dell'altare."

74 VS 28.10 iv 11–21, ed. Barsacchi 2017, 114, 116; second paragraph ed. Kloekhorst 2008, 892–93; translit. Groddek, Hagenbuchner, and Hoffmann 2002, 20. The latter two transliterations differ from the one in Barsacchi and offered here.

would expect the king to be handed a knife to perform this action, but in no passage is a knife mentioned. Further, if indeed *tuḫḫueššar* means "sponge," one would expect *ḫaššuš tuḫša* to mean "the king squeezes," from an otherwise unknown verb *tuḫš-* "to squeeze," or "the king sponges" (i.e., "rubs himself, or something else, with a wet sponge"), although the connection between the noun and verb could represent only a folk etymology. Could one "pour water" *tuḫḫuešnit* "with a sponge"? Squeezing water out of a wet sponge could conceivably be construed with a verb usually meaning "pour," but it would be a bit of a stretch. It is true that cooks sometimes hold out *tuḫḫueššar* or use it to purify.[75] (Kloekhorst cites only the examples that mention "cooks.") However, also handling *tuḫḫueššar* in the same manner as the cooks are the GAL *MEŠEDI* "chief of the royal bodyguard,"[76] GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL "chief of the palace servants,"[77] DUMU.É.GAL "palace servant,"[78] LÚSANGA $^{d}$É.A "priest of Ea,"[79] LÚSANGA $^{d}$LAMMA/$^{d}$Inar "priest of the Protective Deity,"[80] LÚ $^{d}$U "man of the Storm-god,"[81] and LÚ*ḫeštumna-* "man of the *ḫešta*-house."[82] A far larger problem is the tacit assumption that cooks are associated with sponges because they use them to clean the kitchen and that sponges will therefore be used in rituals to clean—for example, Kloekhorst translates: "The chief of the cooks cleans in front of the altar with a *t*." (Kloekhorst, 2008, 892–93, from VS 28:10 iv 16–17). The verb is *šuppiyaḫḫ-*. However, *šuppiyaḫḫ-* means "to make *ritually* pure." *Tuḫḫueššar* is never used with the verb *parkunu-*, the ordinary sort of cleaning that would be done in a kitchen by a cook (or, if early modern times are any indication, more likely by a scullery boy/maid). Finally, a sponge seems out of place in the following passage. Would a hot sponge give off a fragrant smell?

> (4.16) [Ú.ḪI.A(?) *z*]*ēantari* [$^{d}$o-o-o?] *waššiyaš* MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš* [o-o-o-o] $^{GIŠ}$*alanzanan* [$^{GIŠ}$*ḫatalkiš*]*naš* ˹x˺? $^{GIŠ}$*ša*(!)*maliyaš* [*laḫḫuwa*]*rnuzzi* [*kaluišna*]*n tuḫḫueššar šumanzan*[*a*(-). . . ?] / [. . .] $^{NA_4}$*paššuelaš šer šu*[*ḫḫa*]*i* § [*nu*=*ššan š*]*uppi wātar papparišš*[*an*] [o o o o o] *n*=*ašta waršulaš* [o o o o o *n*]=*aš*=*kan* [*ANA*] DINGIR-*LIM* [*tuēkke*]=*šši*(?) *anda pait*" "[Herbs(?)] are cooking. The goddess [PN] "Queen of the Remedies" pours out [. . .], *alanzana*-wood, [foli]age of [hawtho]rn (and) of *šamaliya-*, [*kalwišna-*], *tuḫḫeššar* [and?] rush [. . .] on the top of the (hot) pebbles. Ritually pure water is sprinkled over them. The smell [went out] and went to the body of the god."[83]

Here *tuḫḫueššar* is listed among woody plants and perhaps plant products. When they are sprinkled on hot coals, they give off a fragrant smell. In examples 4.2, 4.8, and 4.10, *tuḫḫeššar* is placed in water. The text does not say why, but again perhaps it gives off some property into the water—it may give the water a fragrant smell or otherwise make the water more efficacious.

Güterbock (1964, 106) again connected *tuḫḫueššar* to *tuḫḫui-/tuḫḫuwai-* "smoke" and suggested that it was "a substance to produce smoke, 'incense' (or a similar resin used for that purpose)." He understood that while *tuḫḫueššar* might be related to *tuḫḫui-* "smoke," the verb *tuḫš-* cannot then be related (following Kammenhuber 1952, 70). Thus he dismissed a separate verb *tuḫš-* "to purify in some way with *tuḫḫueššar*"[84] and suggested that *ḫaššuš tuḫša* means "the king cuts off (a piece of incense/resin) for himself." He admitted it is odd that if this word denotes incense, the word "burn" is never mentioned in the same context with

75 GAL $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM "chief of the cooks" KUB 58.50 iv 8; UGULA $^{LÚ(.MEŠ)}$MUḪALDIM "supervisor of cooks" IBoT 3.1 obv. 22, lower edge 42, KUB 25.20 iv? 13; $^{LÚ}$MUḪALDIM "cook" KUB 58.50 iv 9, 12.

76 IBoT 4.76 iii 2, 5.

77 KUB 10.4 i 2, 5.

78 KBo 4.9 ii 26, 29, 32.

79 KBo 39.86 v 11–12.

80 IBoT 4.76 iii 2, 5, 7; VS 28.12 i 5.

81 KUB 10.1 ii 19.

82 KUB 58.50 iv 14.

83 HKM 116 ii? 18–28 (ritual in myth, NH), ed. Güterbock 1986, 207–8; restorations are based on the parallel text KUB 7.23:7–9.

84 So Friedrich 1952, 226. Güterbock further argues that *tuḫš-* "to purify with *tuḫḫueššar*" does not exist because "the only form cited by Friedrich, HW under his first verb *tuḫš-, tuḫ$^{uḫ}$-ša-ru* . . . actually belongs to *tuḫš-* to cut." While he is correct about this *tuḫšaru*, Friedrich does, of course, correctly cite the *tuḫša*, which is the form we are concerned about.

*tuḫḫeššar*. Indeed, example 4.15 would seem to indicate that it released its aroma by being heated with hot coals, but not burned. Later, Güterbock settled on the translation "resin" (Güterbock 1986, 211).

## 5. WHAT IS THE RELEVANCE OF *TUḪḪU*(*WA*)*I*?

In an effort to understand what *tuḫḫueššar* is, Susanne Zeilfelder (2000, 501–2) argued that *tuḫḫu*(*wa*)*i-* was not simply smoke but "offering-smoke, a special type of smoke that was pleasing to the gods."[85] Since *tuḫḫu*(*wa*)*i-* is a smell pleasing to the gods in the form of a specific type of smoke, the word derived from it, *tuḫḫueššar*—which, as we have seen, is never associated with burning—must be a smell pleasing to the gods in the form of a more or less solid but volatile substance, probably a concoction made of some combination of resin, fat, alcohol, and lipids. Zeilfelder may well be correct about what *tuḫḫueššar* is, but the argument based on the meaning of *tuḫḫu*(*wa*)*i-* cannot be used to support such a translation. The passages containing the noun are the following.

(5.1) (Akkadian) LUGAL.GAL *Tabarna* LUGAL $^{URU}$*Ḫaššiš* <$^{URU}$*Ḫaššiš*> LUGAL $^{URU}$*Ḫaḫḫiš* $^{URU}$*Ḫaḫḫiš ki uḫalliqqi išātam ittadi u qú-ut-ra ana* $^{d}$UTU *šamē u* $^{d}$U *ukallim* "The Great King Tabarna vanquished the King of Ḫaššu, <the city of Ḫaššu>, (and) the King of Ḫaḫḫu and city of Ḫaḫḫu. He set a fire and showed smoke to the Sun-deity of Heaven and to the Storm-god" = (Hittite) LUGAL.GAL *Tabarnaš* $^{URU}$[*Ḫaššuwan*] $^{URU}$*Ḫaḫḫann=a ḫarni*[*nku*(*n*)] *n=aš* IZI-*az kattan* [*warnunun*(?)] *tuḫḫuwain=ma* (var. [*QU*]*TRU*) *nepi*[*šaš* $^{d}$UTU $^{d}$U-*ni=ya tekkuššanun*(?)] "I, the Great King Tabarna, des[troye]d the towns [Ḫaššuwa] and Ḫaḫḫa. [I burned] them down with fire and [showed] smoke [to the Sun-deity of] Heave[n and to the Storm-god]."[86]

(5.2) *nu=wa=za kāša* GU[D.MAḪ-*an*?] / [$^{L}$]$^{Ú}$*tarpa llin teḫḫun* [*nu=wa*] *kēl ŠA* GUD.MAḪ x[. . .] / [*t*]*uḫḫuwain=ma=wa kēl Š*[*A* G]UD.MAḪ $^{d}$UTU *AN-E auš*[*du*] "I have just now placed a bu[ll] as a substitute. Of this bull [. . .]. [Let] the Sun-god of Heaven see the [s]moke o[f] this (burned) [b]ull."[87]

(5.3) (The king speaks to the Moon-god:) [*nu=wa mān . . . amme*(*l* ?)] *tuḫḫūwain* (var. *tuḫḫuwa*<<*ši*>>*in*) IGI.ḪI.A-*it uwanna šanaḫt*[*a . . .*] / [. . .-*š*(*at nu=wa=kan kāša*) *u*]*kila* UGU *uwanun nu=wa=tta kūš* [*tarp*]*alliš* / [. . . *k*]*ēl* (var. adds *QUTRU*) *au nu=wa kūš akkan ndu ammuk=ma=w*[*a* (*l*)]*ē akmi* "[If] you (O god) have sough[t] to see [m]y smoke with (your) eyes . . . I have just come up [in p]erson, and these [subs]titutes [stand(?)] for you. You may (rather) see <the smoke> [of t]hese (substitutes). Let these die, but do not let me die."[88]

(5.4) $^{GIŠ}$*luttāuš kammarāš IṢBAT* É-*ir tuḫḫuiš* [*IṢBAT*] . . . $^{d}$*Telipinuš āppa parna=šša uit nu=za* KUR=*SU kappūēt* $^{GIŠ}$*luttai kammaraš tarnaš* É-*ir tuḫḫuiš tarnaš* "Fog seized the windows; smoke [seized] the house. . . . Telipinu returned to his home and cared for his land, so fog released the windows, smoke released the house."[89]

(5.5) EGlR-*anda=ma=wa=za=kan* $^{d}$UTU-*ŠI* Ù-*an ašta nu=wa=kan zašḫiya* ŠÀ $^{URU}$TÚL-*na tuḫḫūwaiš mān kuiški kišanza* "Thereafter His Majesty saw a dream, and in the dream something like smoke was occurring in Arinna."[90]

(5.6) *nu=nnaš tuḫḫuin dandu* "Let them receive the smoke (signals) from us (or 'our smoke signals')."[91]

The bilingual passage (our example 5.1) and the variant reading in the Hittite version clearly establish that *tuḫḫu*(*wa*)*i-* is equivalent to the Akkadian *qutru* "smoke." Zeilfelder bases her argument on our examples 5.1, 5.2, and 5.4. Example 5.2 can support her understanding, while example 5.1 might do so when pressed, since its smoke is in fact said to be pleasing to the gods; however, the enemy city is not said to be

85 "Opferrauch . . . angenehmer Duft."

86 Akkadian: KBo 10.1 rev. 22–24; Hittite: KBo 10.2 iii 37–40 (annals of Ḫattušili I, NS), w. dupls. KUB 23.20:14–15, KUB 23.31 rev. 8–10; ed. Imparati and Saporetti 1965, 79–80, 83, 54–55.

87 KBo 15.7 obv. 7–9 (royal substitution ritual, NH), ed. Kümmel 1967, 36–37.

88 KUB 24.5 obv. 14–16 + KUB 9.13:3–4 (royal substitution ritual, NH), w. dupl. KUB 36.93 obv. 6–10, ed. Kümmel 1967, 8–9.

89 KUB 17.10 i 5, iv 20–21 (Telipinu myth, OH/MS), ed. Rieken et al. 2012, §§4, 38; tr. Hoffner 1998, 15, 17.

90 KUB 5.24 ii 14–16 + KUB 16.31 ii 3–5 (dream in oracle question, NH), ed. Mouton 2007, 199–200.

91 KBo 8.35 iii 6 (treaty, MH/MS). On *tuḫḫuin da-*, see Hoffner 1967, 185.

an offering. Example 5.4 has nothing to do with sweet-smelling smoke that is pleasing to the gods as far as I can see. Zeilfelder acknowledges that her meaning is not exclusive, but there are three further understandable examples.[92] Example 5.3 is the reference to smoke from a cremation, but the fact that smoke is not mentioned in the long royal funerary ritual, at least as far as it is preserved, would seem to indicate that this smoke is neither sweet smelling to the gods nor particularly important in the ritual. Example 5.5 is the smoke of a burning Hittite town, not an enemy town, seen in the nightmare of the king. The smoke signals of example 5.6 mentioned in a treaty are just smoke. So only one or two of six examples could potentially refer to a special type of smoke pleasing to the gods. That it is, in these two cases, pleasing to the gods is undeniable, but that the smoke was in any way special is doubtful. Since in four of six passages the smoke is just smoke, there is nothing in the meaning of the word to indicate "sweet smelling to the gods."[93]

## 6. DISCUSSION

While Zeilfelder's translation of *tuḫḫueššar* is the best one suggested so far, several other possibilities can be proposed. In example 4.13, a hot pine cone is thrown into water, where it no doubt hissed and bubbled. Then it was taken out and used to make the king ritually pure. The king *tuḫḫueššar tuḫša.* Is the *tuḫḫueššar* the pine cone that has been converted by the heating in coals and the cooling in water? Pine cones are resinous. Note that Kutamuwa is depicted as holding a pine cone still on its branch.[94] If the connection to cooks, while not as strong as Kloekhorst puts forward, is indeed relevant, it may be because pine cones would be in the kitchen to harvest pine nuts from them. If *tuḫša* is related to "cut off, harvest," could the king be pulling out pine nuts, breaking off the cone's scales, or breaking the cone off the branch? Alternatively, if *tuḫša* is a separate verb from "*tuḫš-* "cut off, harvest," perhaps it means using the fire-transformed and wet pine cone to "sprinkle and thereby make oneself(?) ritually pure." Aspersing with a pine cone would explain the odd *ištanani parā tuḫḫuešnit* of example 4.15, shaking water from a transformed pine cone onto the altar. The problem with this text is that the pine cone was last heard of as thrown back onto the hearth, so it seems unlikely that it has morphed into the *tuḫḫueššar* of the next paragraph. But what was the purpose of throwing the hot pine cone into the water? Did this action extract the *tuḫḫueššar*? Or is the pine cone action only accidentally connected with the *tuḫḫueššar* action?

Alternatively, could *tuḫḫueššar* be the head of an opium poppy? "Opium is the air-dried milky exudation obtained from excised unripe fruits" of the poppy plant (Duke 1985, 344). Since *tuḫḫueššar* can enter water and be removed from it, the word would not denote the opium itself but the fruit. If *tuḫḫueššar* is the (unripe) head of an opium poppy, perhaps *tuḫḫueššar . . . haššuš tuḫsa* means that the king breaks off the head from the stem or in some other way releases the opium sap.

In conclusion, *tuḫḫueššar* appears to be a plant or plant part that is solid enough to be tied up. Does the king/queen/prince need to wipe his/her hands or lips because the *tuḫḫueššar* that he/she has held is wet

92 *tuḫḫuīn zuwāizzi/zuwāit* "it *z.*-s/*z.*-ed the smoke" KBo 12.89 iii 8, 17 (conjuration against diseases, MS?), translit. Starke 1985, 243; in this broken context it cannot be understood, since the verb is unique to this passage.

93 Note also Kloekhorst's (2008, 886–89) discussion of the verb *tuḫḫai-*, which has been translated "have birth pains" or "gasp." The former translation is based on what a pregnant mountain in a mythological text is heard to do. Kloekhorst (2016, 165–77) quite correctly points out that it does so beginning in the eighth month of pregnancy. He further notes that the only other attestation of this verb is in a ritual text where the subject of the verb is a house, so neither traditional translation is appropriate. Remembering that it is a mountain that is *tuḫḫai*-ing, he argues quite convincingly that we should be thinking "volcano" here and the verb should be translated "smoke," derived from the same Indo-European root as the noun *tuḫḫu*(*wa*)*i-*. Of course, normal houses do "smoke" because of their hearths, ovens, and cooking fires. Clinching the argument is his understanding of the related noun *tuḫḫiyatt-*, a hapax in the Zukraši passage "If you (ruler of Ḫaššu) do not come out, I will [. . .] you like a bear and you will die of *tuḫḫiyatt*." Thinking of how one gets a bear out of a cave/den, he translates, "I will [smoke] you out like a bear and you will die of smoke/the act of smoking out." Again, with this related/synonymous verb and noun, smoke is just smoke. In support of Kloekhorst's understanding of the Zukraši text, note that in his annals Ḫattušili I says he burned the city of Haššu and showed its smoke to the gods (using the noun *tuḫḫuwai-/QUTRU*); see our example 5.1), just as he threatened to do in the Zukraši text.

94 Struble and Herrmann 2009, 18–19, 24–25 (with a picture of a real pine cone on a branch and mention of pine cones held by genii on Neo-Assyrian reliefs).

(even if water has not been mentioned in the preceding lines)? However, the verb *papparš-* "to sprinkle" is not used with *tuḫḫueššar*, as one might expect if it were wet after having been taken out of the water. Perhaps, then, one can conclude that the user needs a cloth to wipe off something wet or sticky that the *tuḫḫueššar* has exuded. From its form, the word appears to be a formative derived from the word "smoke," but since it is never associated with the verb "to burn," it probably exuded a smell in addition to the stickiness. It is used to make living beings and objects ritually pure. It is frequently associated with the verbal form *tuḫša*, to which it cannot be related etymologically but with which it may have been associated by folk etymology. One can come up with various ways in which the verb *tuḫša* could be the same verb as *tuḫš-* "to separate off," which formally it certainly can be, assuming the latter is not actually *taḫš-*. Is the king cutting off a piece of the *tuḫḫueššar* (*tuḫša*, like *paršiya*; see above), as most translators have suggested? Or is the king separating himself (note the middle voice and occasional *-za*) from the ritually impure by his touching/association with *tuḫḫueššar*? These meanings depend on the meaning of *tuḫḫueššar* and cannot, therefore, be resolved without knowing the meaning of *tuḫḫueššar*. Also, the distribution of forms *tuḫša* when associated with *tuḫḫueššar*, on the one hand, and *tuḫšari* when "cut-off, harvest" is clearly meant, on the other hand, gives one pause and suggests that *tuḫša* is very likely to be a different verb. What remains clear is that LUGAL-*uš tuḫša* means "the king ritually purifies through contact with *tuḫḫueššar*." However, how that purification is accomplished is as yet uncertain.

Finally, I hope I have shown that there are three clear meanings of *t-ḫ-š* verbs and that it is clear from the distinction of spellings that the Hittites thought of them as three separate words from the beginning of our texts, whatever their ultimate origins. I also hope that this contribution has summarized the problems and shown what of previous scholarship is improbable. I have tried to posit a few new suggestions, while not discarding the best of the previous ones. And I hope to have clarified the parameters—but unfortunately, with the approaching need to write the Chicago Hittite Dictionary's *tuḫḫueššar* article, we are still seeking a definitive understanding of *tuḫḫueššar* and *tuḫša*.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

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# 3 MADDUWATTA'S IN-LAW TROUBLES

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

One of the most thoroughly studied yet still intriguing Hittite historical texts is KUB 14.1 + KBo 19.38 (CTH 147), "The Indictment of Madduwatta."[1] This document is the initial portion of a draft list of charges against the western Anatolian vassal ruler Madduwatta concerning offenses he was said to have committed against Hatti during the reign of the current Hittite Great King, almost certainly Arnuwanda I, but more significantly under the latter's predecessor and adoptive father, Tudhaliya I/II.

The alleged crimes of Madduwatta include collusion with a former enemy, King Kupanta-Kurunta of Arzawa, whose earlier devastating defeat of Madduwatta had been avenged by Tudhaliya (§§8–10). But later, while Hatti was (still?) at war with Arzawa, Madduwatta had entered into an alliance with Kupanta-Kurunta, a pact to be sealed by the marriage of the rogue vassal's daughter to the enemy ruler. When confronted with the Great King's knowledge of this arrangement, Madduwatta maintained that he had been setting a trap for the Arzawan enemy (§16), a ploy similar to the false claims he had made regarding his plans for the town of Dalawa (§§13–15).

While this scheme was a prevarication, the marriage between the western Anatolian ruling families nonetheless came to naught (§20'), for reasons that have never been clear to Hittitologists, since the lower left-hand portion of the single-columned tablet containing much of the discussion of the matter—the sole textual witness—has been broken away, such that the final lines of the obverse and the initial lines of the reverse, as well as the entire lower edge, have been lost. The adjacent lines have also been severely damaged. I estimate that around ten lines (between obv. 88 and rev. 4), or one-third of the original account of some 32–34 lines, have entirely disappeared.

However, a breakthrough in the interpretation of this incident came about while I was studying this composition in a class with my student Timothy Leonard. When we consulted the photo of CTH 147 on the Hethitologie Portal Mainz, we were able to read the first preserved word in obv. 86 as ˹*ḫu-u-ur-ki-il*˺ "perversion."[2] Thus, as we shall see, a political arrangement was undone by a question of sexual morality.

I present here a reedition of the relevant paragraphs[3] in the hope that this investigation will be of interest to my friend and valued colleague Theo.

1 Edited in Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011, 69–100, AhT 3; translated in Beckman 1999, 153–60, no. 27; originally edited by Albrecht Goetze (1927).

2 The upper half of all five signs is visible. Indeed, the word can be read, albeit not as clearly, on the photo published in Goetze 1927, pl. 3.

3 I have made a number of corrections to my previous work on this piece mentioned above.

OBVERSE

§16

75 ˹a˺[-*ap-pa-m*]*a* $^{m}$[*Ku-pa-an-ta-*$^{d}$LAMMA-*aš A-NA*] *A-BI* $^{d}$UTU$^{ŠI}$ *me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-ta*
*ku*[-*u*]-˹*ru*˺-*ur e-eš-*˹*ta zi-ga-aš-ši*˺ $^{m}$*Ma-ad-du-wa-at-ta-aš me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-ta* ˹*tág*˺-*šu-la-a-eš*

76 [ o o o o o o o o o o o o o *n*]*u-uš-ši* DUMU.MUNUS-*KA A-NA* ˹DAM˺-*ŠU pa*]-˹*it*˺-*ta*
*A-NA* $^{d}$[UTU]˹$^{ŠI}$˺-*ma ki-iš-ša-an ḫa-at-ra-a-eš ka-*˹*a*˺-*ša-wa-az*
$^{m}$*Ku-pa-an-ta-*$^{d}$LAMMA-*an*

77 [ o o o o o o o o o o o o o o ] *nu-wa-aš-ši* ˹*ki-iš*˺-*ša*[-*an*] *ḫa-*˹*at-ra*˺-*a-mi kat-ti-mi-wa e-ḫu*
*nu-wa-at-ta* DUMU.MUNUS-*YA A-NA* DAM-*KA pí-iḫ-ḫi*

78 [*ma-a-an-wa-ra-aš-ma-kán kat-ti-mi ú-iz*]-˹*zi*˺ *nu-wa-*˹*ra-an*˺ [*e-ep*]-*mi* [*nu*]-*wa-ra-*˹*an*˺-*kán ku-e-mi*
*nu-mu ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* $^{m}$*Ma-ad-du-wa-at-ta-aš QA-TAM-MA ḫa-at-ra-a-it*

---

§17

79 [*nu-za* $^{d}$UTU$^{ŠI}$ *ki-iš-ša-an* EGIR-*pa me-mi-iš-ki*]-*nu-un nu-wa A-NA* $^{m}$*Ma*[-*ad-d*]*u-wa-at-ta*
$^{m}$*Ku-*˹*pa-an*˺-*ta-*$^{d}$LAMMA-*aš ke-e-ma me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-ta li-in-ga-an ḫar-zi*

80 [ o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o *nu-wa-aš*]-*ši ŠA* ŠÀ-*ŠU* [DUMU.MUNU]S-*SÚ*
*A-NA* DAM-*ŠU ḫar-zi nu-wa a-pa-*˹*a*˺[-*aš*] *A-NA* $^{LÚ}$*ḪA-AT-NI-ŠU ŠA* ŠÀ-*ŠU-ya*

81 [DUMU.MUNUS *me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-ta i-da-a-lu ša-an-ḫi-iš-ki-zi nu-wa-aš*]-*ši*
EGIR[-*an ḫi*]-*in-kán ḫa-an-te-eš-ki-zi nu-wa ú-iz-zi nam-ma ta-me-e-da-ni*
*ge-en-*˹*zu*˺

82 [*ḫar-zi . . . nu-w*]*a* $^{m}$*Ma-ad-du-wa-at-ta tu-e-ek-ku-uš an-da me-ek-ki a-ar-ḫu-un*

83 [. . . *ki-iš-ša-an-na-aš-ši* EGIR-*pa ḫa-at-r*]*a-a-nu-un ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-wa-at-ta a-aš-šu*
*nu-wa QA-TAM-MA i-ya*

---

§18

84 [. . .]-˹*ni*$^{?}$ *kar*$^{?}$˺[- o o *p*]*í-iḫ-ḫu-un* $^{m}$*Pár-ta-ḫu-*˹*ul*˺ *-la-aš ku-it* TI-*an-za e-eš-ta*

85 [. . . -*wa* . . . $^{f}$ . . .]-*tu-u-ma-an* DUMU.MUNUS-*SÚ-ya ḫar-ta nu-wa ú-uk* $^{m}$*Pár-ta-ḫu-ul-la-aš*

86 [. . .] ˹*ḫu-u-ur-ki-il*˺ *le-e iš-ša-at-ti* $^{m}$*Ma-ad-du-wa-at-ta-ša-mu ki-iš-ša-an me-mi-iš-ta*
*ŠA* KUR$^{TI}$-*wa-an-na-ša-at iš-ḫi-*˹*ú*˺[-*ul*]

87 [. . .] $^{m}$*Ma-ad-du-wa-at-ta-ša-*˹*wa-mu ki-iš*˺-*ša-an*

88 [*me-mi-iš-ta*$^{?}$ . . .]-*na-ya-ša* x [ o o o o o o ] x x

(about ten lines lost)

REVERSE

4 [. . . $^{m}$*Ma-ad-du-wa*]-*at-ta-aš ki-iš-ša-an*

§20'

5 [*ḫa-at-ra-a-it*$^{?}$ . . .]-˹*a*$^{?}$˺ *ka-a-ša zi-ik*

6 [. . . *A-NA* $^{m}$*Ma-ad-du-wa-a*]*t-ta* $^{m}$*Ku-pa-an-ta-*$^{d}$LAMMA-*aš*

7 [*ki-iš-ša-an ḫa-at-ra-a-it*$^{?}$ . . . -*aš*$^{?}$]-˹*ša*˺-*wa-mu ku-it me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-ta*

8 [. . . DUMU.MUNUS-*KA ar*]-*ḫa da-a nu-wa-ra-an-za A-NA* DAM-*YA ú-uk*

9 [*Ú-UL da-aḫ-ḫi*$^{?}$ . . . *ma-a-na*$^{?}$-*wa-r*]*a-aš kat-ti-mi ú-iz-zi nu-wa-ra-an e-ep-mi*

10 [*nu-wa-ra-an-kán ku-e-mi* . . .] x *ḫa-li-iḫ-la-i*

---

§16
[But later Kupanta-Kurunta] was an enemy [to] the father of My Majesty, while you, Madduwatta, were at peace with him. [. . .] And you gave him your daughter in marriage. But you wrote thus to [My Majesty], "Now [I will . . .] Kupanta-Kurunta, and I will write to him as follows, 'Come to me, and I will give you my daughter in marriage.' [If he comes to me], then [I will seize] him [and] kill him." And when Madduwatta wrote to me thus,

§17
[then I, My Majesty, was thinking it over as follows], "Kupanta-Kurunta has sworn these things to Madduwatta, [but] he has the latter's own begotten [daughter] in marriage. [Would] he (Madduwatta) [be plotting evil against] his son-in-law and his own [daughter]? Would he be arranging his death? And furthermore, would he proceed [to have] an emotional tie to an outsider? [. . . And] I have very much gotten to the heart of the matter(?), O Madduwatta." [. . . I wrote back to him as follows], "Do as seems right to you."

§18
[. . .] I gave. Because Partahulla was (still) alive, [he said, "Kupanta-Kurunta(?)] had [taken (in marriage)(?) [f]. . .]tuman and his daughter. I, Partahulla, [said to him], 'You shall not commit perversion!' But Madduwatta said to me as follows, 'It is the rule/custom of our land.' [. . .] Madduwatta [said(?)] this to me, ['. . .']"

(gap of about ten lines)

§20'
[. . . Madduwatta wrote(?)] thus [to Kupanta-Kurunta, ". . .] you now [. . ." Then] Kupanta-Kurunta [wrote(?) thus to Madduwatta, ". . .] Because [you . . .] against me, take [your daughter(?)] away! I [will not take(?)] her in marriage. [. . . If] she comes to me, I will arrest her [and kill her(?), . . . even if] she falls to her knees."

## 2. COMMENTARY

§16
Since this paragraph begins by recounting the situation under "the father of My Majesty" (obv. 75), while Madduwatta presents his exculpatory claim to "My Majesty" (obv. 77), this business may have continued across the change of rule of Hittite Great Kings, but the scribal editor may also have simply failed fully to adapt material from the time of Tudhaliya into its new context.

§17
These lines present the thoughts of the Great King concerning the trustworthiness of Madduwatta, whose sincerity in betraying his own family members seemed doubtful. The vocative "O Madduwatta" is part of these musings, as shown by the opening of the reply to the vassal that immediately follows ([EGIR-*pa ḫa-at-r*]*a-a-nu-un*, obv. 83).

§18
The sorting out of just who says what to whom here is tricky, especially given the inconsistent use of the quotative particle. I would restore some verb of speech at the beginning of both lines obv. 85 and 86.[4] Furthermore, I believe that Madduwatta addressed his statement about his land's regulations or customs to Partahulla rather than to the Great King, since his message is introduced by the verb *mema-* "to speak" and

4 There is certainly plenty of space. The average number of signs in the well-preserved lines obv. 60–65 is forty-eight, suggesting room for about thirty-five additional signs in both obv. 85 and 86.

not by *ḫatrai-* "to write," which is employed for almost all other communication between Hatti and western Anatolians in the latter sections of this text.[5] That is, Partahulla rebuked Madduwatta in person.

This man Partahulla is unattested elsewhere (Laroche 1966, 137, no. 947]), so his role in the dealings of Madduwatta and Kupanta-Kurunta is unclear, but it seems as though his criticism caused Madduwatta to reconsider his marriage plans.

For *hurkel*, see the lexica (EDHIL 364; HED 3, 401–2; HW² III 754–56). With the possible exception of the *ḫurkilas pesnes* examined by Jaan Puhvel (1986), all the attestations of this word indicate some sort of improper sexual pairing by a man, either with an animal (bestiality), or with a woman or boy belonging to a prohibited category of familial relationship (incest).[6] Those varieties of incest mentioned in the Hittite Laws are intercourse with a man's mother, daughter, or son (§189); with his stepmother (§190); with his brother's wife, his stepdaughter, mother-in-law, or sister-in-law (§195); and with any sisters and their mother (§191), none of which relationships seem to apply to Kupanta-Kurunta and [ᶠ. . .]tuman or Madduwatta's daughter. But we need not think that the presentation of possible cases of incest in the Laws is exhaustive, nor that sexual mores in western Anatolia were necessarily identical to those in Hatti.

§20'

It is unfortunate that textual loss prevents us from following in any detail the breakdown of the planned marriage. I assume that after Madduwatta had informed Kupanta-Kurunta of moral objections to the union, the latter responded with something like, "You can't break this off! I don't want her anyway!"

For the concessive meaning of *ḫaliḫlai-*, see already Neu 1968, 33.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

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5 The use of *mema-* to describe communications between Tudhaliya and Madduwatta in earlier sections (e.g., obv. 17, 19, 22) occurs in reference to a face-to-face investiture of vassal status on the latter by the Hittite monarch. In §36', where *mema-* is found in rev. 84 and 86, the Hittite envoy Mulliyara is clearly in the presence of Madduwatta.

6 On this lexeme, see Hoffner 1973; Peled 2010. Given the likely derivation from PIE $*h_2\underset{\wedge}{u}er$- "turn" (see, e.g., Rieken 1999, 478), I prefer the semantically similar translation "perversion." On sexual offenses in Hatti, see also Cohen 2002, 88–93.

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# 4 VITA AND DOUBLE EAGLE IN THE ICONOGRAPHY OF HITTITE SEALS

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## DEDICATION

It is my great pleasure to contribute to this volume celebrating the career of Theo van den Hout. I first met Theo in my senior year as an undergraduate at the University of Chicago when he was teaching the introductory Hittite language sequence. As anyone who has had a class with Theo can attest, his warmth and kindness, his encouragement of curiosity in the classroom, and his obvious and genuine enjoyment of teaching leave a lasting impression on his students. Though I was studying for a different major, after graduation it was his class that I would remember most fondly. We stayed in touch during my two years in the working world, and I applied with his support to study in the Hittitology program at the then-named Oriental Institute (now the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures). Conversations I have had with other graduate students have emphasized the extreme importance of a good academic adviser, and Theo is in my mind a paragon of what an adviser should be. Perhaps even more than the classes he taught, it is the innumerable, wide-ranging, and impromptu conversations he entertained with his students about Hittite life and history that I will treasure the most. Thus, I dedicate this small contribution to Theo, my adviser, mentor, and *Doktorvater*.[1]

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This study examines the distribution of the VITA sign (L.369) and its allographs (L.440, L.441) to suggest a connection of these signs with the double eagle in the Late New Kingdom. The VITA sign is one of the most common symbols on Anatolian seals of the Hittite era; it frequently appears in combination with the $BONUS_2$ sign as a benediction wishing "life and goodness" (or similar) on the bearer of the seal.[2] Previous studies have followed the original analysis of Hans Güterbock, who considered the similarity in form and function of VITA and the Egyptian ankh to indicate that Anatolia borrowed the sign from Egypt, possibly

1 I thank Dr. Annick Payne and Dr. Mark Weeden for reading and commenting on a draft of this contribution, though it must be emphasized that the conclusions are my sole responsibility. I also thank the Corpus der hethitische Festrituale project at the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literaturen—Mainz, which granted me time and support to complete this contribution.

2 It is uncertain whether the $BONUS_2$-VITA combination on seals was meant to be read or was used as an auspicious decoration. Güterbock (in Bittel and Güterbock 1935, 79) stated only that the signs have some "magische oder symbolische Bedeutung." Weeden (2014, 85) wrote that "it is not clear that a text as such is associated with these [$BONUS_2$, VITA] elements," and he referenced as support Ilya Yakubovich (2010, 279), who placed these signs in the pretextual Stage II of the Anatolian hieroglyphic script. However, the development of the VITA sign into multiple, contextually sensitive allographs by the Late New Kingdom suggests that at least some of the "higher-resolution" variants, and certainly those used in personal names, had a phonetic value.

via Syria.[3] This solution is awkward, given VITA's frequency and centrality in Hittite royal iconography: the sign is attested on royal seals from the very beginning of the Anatolian hieroglyphic script, starting with the Tabarna seals likely from the reign of Telipinu. Also, if VITA had been borrowed from Egypt or Syria, the Hittites were unaware of the fact—or chose to ignore it—in spite of the close and cordial relations between the kingdoms that pertained from the post-Qadesh period to the end of the Hittite state. There are no "Egyptianizing" arrangements of VITA—showing it, for example, grasped in the hand or associated with water (see below)—in spite of the intensive contact between the Hittites and Egypt, both directly and among their Syro-Levantine vassals. I propose instead that the VITA–ankh connection is unlikely based on the iconographical development of VITA during the Hittite New Kingdom period. Evidence from Hittite seal impressions shows a traceable relation, or conflation, of the VITA sign with the double eagle, a figure also found from the earliest stages of Anatolian iconography that was adopted as a symbol of imperial power during the Hittite period. Attestations of VITA and the double eagle reach their peak on the digraphic seals of Tudḫaliya IV, before the abrupt end of both symbols with the fall of the Hittite kingdom. The failure of the signs to be adopted into the iconography and syllabary of Neo-Hittite Syria suggests that they were intimately connected with the administrative practices (there being almost no preserved seal impressions from the Neo-Hittite states) and ideology of the Hittite imperium.

## 2. RESEARCH HISTORY

The earliest interpretations of the VITA sign as, for example, a seal or a labrys (a double-headed axe attested in Bronze Age Anatolian and Aegean imagery) were mostly guesses based on the sign's shape—guesses limited by the small corpus of Hittite seal impressions known at the time.[4] The modern interpretation of VITA as a symbol for "life" can be traced back to Hans Güterbock's 1935 study of the Hittite digraphic seals (a class of royal seals that bear both cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscriptions). Güterbock began with the proposition that the hieroglyphic and the cuneiform inscriptions of a digraphic seal should be related in meaning, and he noted that the frequently attested cuneiform benediction SIG$_5$ TI (Sumerograms for "goodness" and "life") did not have a recognized hieroglyphic parallel. He suggested that the correspondingly frequent pair of hieroglyphic signs "Dreiecke" and "Kreuzschleife"—the modern BONUS$_2$ and VITA, respectively—were a good match. He also noted the visual similarities between VITA and the Egyptian ankh, itself meaning "life," suggesting that the Anatolian hieroglyph may have been ultimately borrowed from the ankh, perhaps through a Syrian intermediary (Güterbock, in Bittel and Güterbock 1935, 79).

## 3. REVISITING THE VITA–ANKH CONNECTION

Güterbock's interpretation of VITA as derived in form and meaning from the Egyptian-Syrian ankh was widely accepted, as evidenced by the sign's designation according to the conventions of Anatolian hieroglyphic studies by the Latin word for "life."[5] However, the intervening ninety years of research since Güterbock's original proposal have revealed no new evidence for early, vigorous, non-Syrian-mediated Egyptian-Anatolian exchange. It can now be more confidently stated that VITA predates the earliest Hittite-Egyptian contacts. Thus, if the VITA–ankh connection is to be maintained, it is only through the Syrian intermediary version of the theory.

Two fairly recent, major studies on the influence of Egypt on the glyptic iconography of the Bronze Age Syro-Levant (Eder 1995; Teissier 1996) afford a better understanding of the ankh in the Syrian context. The studies' conclusions concerning the ankh can be summarized as follows:

3 Güterbock in Bittel and Güterbock 1935, 79; see also Güterbock 1940, 46; 1942, 32, 42.

4 Cf. the bibliography for L.369 (Laroche 1960, 195), where Laroche gave: "Interprétations périmées: Forrer, HB (1931) 8 «sceau»; cf. aussi Meriggi, RHA 9 (1932) 12; 27 (1937) 79, 109 et suiv.—Gelb, HH 1 (1931) 36: li.—Alp, Namen (1950) 24 et suiv.: ti.—Bossert, ŠuK (1932) 12: nœud autour d'une double hache (égéenne?).—Parrot, Syria 28 (1951) 184: support." Later bibliography for L.369 can be found in Marazzi 1990, 235.

5 First designation of L.369 as VITA in Mora 1987, 10.

1. The ankh was one of the most common symbols of the Syro-Levantine inventory, and by far the most common Egyptian-borrowed symbol in the Middle and Late Bronze Age Syro-Levantine corpus (appearing over seven times more often than the next most common Egyptian glyph) (Teissier 1996, 104). The ankh was also one of the earliest attested borrowings from Egypt, with a rudimentary form of the ankh appearing at least as early as Kanesh Ib in *kārum*-period Anatolia, and possesses a history of traceable development in the early Middle Assyrian iconography, which culminated in the prevalent and manifold varieties of the Late Bronze Age (Eder 1995, 146–47). However, despite (or perhaps because of) its frequency and antiquity, the ankh did not appear in the symbolic concatenations attested in Egypt (being, for example, without its association with the *djed* and *was* hieroglyphs). Instead, the ankh was used mostly as an independent sign in Syro-Levantine iconography (Teissier 1996, 104).
2. The majority of Syro-Levantine ankhs are recognizably Egyptian in derivation, though a few exhibit characteristics that are rare, but not unattested, in Egypt. Morphologically, almost all recorded Syro-Levantine ankhs have the classic Egyptian "almond"-shaped top loop, with few to none appearing with a closed top loop (see the illustrations in Teissier 1996, 105–6, 159). Almost all Syro-Levantine ankhs also appear in the Egyptian style with a single, fused bottom "leg."[6]
3. The ankh, as a symbol of life and abundance, was especially associated with the similarly themed "nude goddess" figure on Syro-Levantine seals, who often proffers it in the Egyptian style to the ruler, though sometimes the symbol simply appears next to the ruler's face and head.[7]
4. Syro-Levantine ankhs exhibited the symbolic relationship between "life" and "water" also attested for the sign in Egyptian culture by, for example, falling as a stream from the hand of a god, or spouting water into a supplicant's cup. Christian Eder (1995, 148) concluded that it is precisely this connection between the ankh and water that is probative of the Egyptian origins of the Syro-Levantine symbol.
5. The Syro-Levantine ankh appeared in iconographic arrangements that were either novel or disproportionately popular compared to their Egyptian antecedents. When proffered by the gods, for example, ankhs were normally physically grasped by the offering god. In the Syro-Levantine context they were sometimes gripped through the top loop, as consistent with Egyptian iconography, but at other times were held upright by the base in what Teissier (1996, 104) describes as a distinctly "un-Egyptian manner." A very popular arrangement in the Syro-Levantine, but not Egyptian, context was a chain of multiple ankhs strung end to end and encircling a figure: this arrangement may have had its origins in a creative interpretation of the Egyptian purification ritual motif (Eder 1995, 148). The Syro-Levantine ankh also frequently appeared equidistant between two figures in the middle to lower field of a scene: sometimes the ankh was directly above a table laden with food, but sometimes it substituted for the table itself (Teissier 1996, 104). At other times the ankh in the middle was very large and flanked by adoring figures, a portrayal reminiscent of the "tree of life motif" (*Lebensbaumstandarte*) found elsewhere in Syro-Mesopotamian iconography (Eder 1995, 148).

The new research on Egyptian–Syro-Levantine glyptic exchange offers a mixed result for Güterbock's hypothesis of a Syrian source for Hittite VITA. In favor of Güterbock's idea is point 1 of the conclusions above: the fact that the ankh was the oldest and most widely attested borrowing from Egypt, coupled with its attestation in Kanesh Ib, buttresses the chronology of a possible pre-Hittite adoption of the sign-form. The ankh's already having lost most of its Egyptian religio-symbolic context in Syria is also important if one wishes to explain the great divergence in use between the Egyptian ankh and the Anatolian VITA. Indecisive for or against Güterbock's hypothesis is point 3: The appearance of VITA above a god's hand could be reminiscent of the Syro-Levantine nude goddess offering the ankh to supplicants, but the multiplicity of symbols held by Hittite gods, and the fact that symbols above the hand normally identify or name the holding god in Anatolian iconography, speak against a Syro-Levantine borrowing. Firmly against the

6 Teissier compared the one example she highlights for having split, outwardly turning ends to the Egyptian penis sheath (Teissier 1996, 158, 159n49), meaning this variant is perhaps not an ankh at all.

7 Eder 1995, 147. Teissier (1996, 104) considered both the offering scenes and the placement of the ankh near the head/face to be Egyptianizing.

hypothesis of a borrowed VITA are points 2, 4, and 5. The use of VITA on Hittite seals shows no obvious connection with water (point 4). The special arrangements of the ankh in Syrian iconography (point 5) are absent: the Hittite VITA is not used as a food table, does not appear chained end to end, and is never directly grasped by the base or otherwise. The characteristic position of VITA in Hittite iconography as "figure support" (see section 6, "Controlled Contexts with VITA and Double Eagle") is unattested in the Syro-Levantine corpus. The human and divine figures therein were loath, it seems, to tread on the holy symbol of the ankh. At most one can argue the Hittite VITA was a *Lebensbaumstandarte* figure, though this argument is difficult to prove since VITA is never adorned by flanking figures. Most decisive, however, is the morphology of the ankh described in point 2: VITA rarely—to the point of never—appears with the almond-shaped head, it is never grasped or hung by the top loop, and its most common form in the Syro-Levantine iconography—the ankh with a solid, fused leg—is the least common form on Hittite seals.

A further difficulty connecting VITA and the Syro-Egyptian ankh stems from the historical development of the sign in the Hittite context. If Anatolian scribes and seal cutters adopted the ankh into their symbolic inventory, they not only seemingly ignored the sign's semiotic context but also lost any recollection of the borrowing. At no time during the period of Hittite suzerainty over Syria or direct Egyptian-Hittite relations, with the attendant exchange of letters, messengers, specialists, and dignitaries between the courts, is there evidence that the Hittites recognized the ankh as one of their own symbols. The VITA sign was never employed in any of the tropes in which the Syrian or Egyptian ankhs appeared—for example, being extended to a supplicant via sunrays, hung on divine arms, held by the top loop, or ferried down from heaven in the claws of the Nekhbet vulture (the latter being a surprising omission given the association of VITA and Hittite double eagle under discussion).[8] Indeed, I argue that, if anything, the graphical development and use of VITA in the Late Hittite period was away from, rather than toward, the Egyptian and Syro-Levantine forms of the ankh. Very few instances of VITA in the Hittite Late New Kingdom can still be plausibly recognized as an ankh, the Hittite sign having bifurcated into a highly abstract, geometrical form and a "winged-and-footed" variety.

The final difficulty in the VITA–ankh equation is the unclear meaning of the VITA sign. While the understanding of the Anatolian hieroglyphic script has advanced considerably since Güterbock's original theory, the meaning "life" for the VITA sign has yet to be confirmed beyond its tentative equation with cuneiform TI in the digraphic seals. Part of the problem is the lack of suitable evidence, since, while VITA frequently appears as a decorative element or as a benediction on seals, it does not appear in phrases (the absence of the symbol for whatever reason in the Iron Age inscriptions, even in words potentially related to "life," being keenly felt here) and only rarely appears as a phonetic element in names.[9] But in the names in which it does appear, the expected phonetic reading of Hittite *ḫuiš-/ḫuš-* or Luwian *ḫuit-* does not work (cf. section 9, "Excursus: Reading the VITA Sign"). This suggests that a different reading of the sign is required—one perhaps based on a word with a different semantic range than the meaning "life/life-giving essence" originally assumed from the sign's superficial similarity with the ankh.[10]

8 For the attestation of the Nekhbet vulture–ankh combination in the Syro-Levantine glyptics, see Eder 1995, 149, and 149–54 for the ankh and the Horus falcon and sun disk.

9 Cf. (*185)*hu-sa-za* in CEKKE §28, a hapax that might mean "life," "spirit," or "soul"; see the discussion with previous literature at https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=2156. The determinative *185, which is a semicircle with a triangle inside, offers no obvious comparison to the VITA sign. For other words etymologically related to "life," see (LEO)*hwa/i-tara/i* MARAŞ 1, §11, and *hwa/i-tà-ni-ia-za* "game(?)" ŞIRZI §4, both of which reflect */hwid-/ < PAnat **Ḫu̯ed-* "to live," "life." The obscure lemma REL-*ti-sà-ma-* (REL-*ti-sà-ma-za* EĞREK §2, REL-*ti-sà-mi-na* AŠŠUR d, §9), which is written in both instances with a clear REL sign and not *HWA/I*, should be kept separate from the discussion. More distantly related words, such as *hatura-* "health" (Waal 2021), likewise offer no connection to the VITA sign.

10 Indeed, one must explain how and why the Egyptian/Syrian ankh would be adopted in the first place for such a basic concept as "life (or similar)." Admittedly, "life, (life-)force" as an abstract concept is difficult to depict, so a borrowing of an established symbol for the concept could be entertained. However, this scenario runs up against the fact that there is no evidence of borrowing among any of the other Anatolian hieroglyphs. Indeed, the lack of borrowings seems to be characteristic of the Anatolian hieroglyphic script, being a pictographic system based on the acrophonic or "rebus" principle, where a sign represents a concept or the first syllable of the word underlying the concept. In such a system, the direct borrowing of foreign signs without also borrowing the foreign word is impractical. There is no attestation of the word *ʿnḫ* or *balāṭu*(*m*) in

In summary, there are considerable iconographical, historical, and linguistic difficulties with Güterbock's hypothesis of the form and meaning of VITA's being borrowed from the ankh. The theory cannot be conclusively disproven, since the borrowing of a sign-shape does not necessarily mean the adoption of the sign's semantic referent or semiotic context. It could have been the case that the inventors of the Anatolian hieroglyphic script took the shape of the ankh sign in the Syro-Levantine iconography they saw at Kanesh and elsewhere, without grasping its meaning or use. But for the purpose of understanding Anatolian hieroglyphs and Hittite seals, the question is moot: if the Egyptian and Syro-Levantine ankh did not influence the original use or later development of the Hittite VITA, then VITA should be treated no differently from any sign of original Anatolian device.

## 4. REEVALUATING VITA: CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

The corpus of hieroglyphic seal impressions has grown immensely since Güterbock's original thesis, thus allowing new evaluations of the VITA sign to be tested against hundreds of data points. The present study is based on systematic analysis of the seals published in Herbordt, Bawanypeck, and Hawkins 2011 (abbreviated as "H.(Gr.)"), Dinçol and Dinçol 2008 (= "D.–D."), Herbordt 2005 (= "H.(Pr.)"), Boehmer and Güterbock 1987 (= "B.–G."), Beran 1967 (= "Be."), and Güterbock 1942 (= "G."), with reference to other publications as needed. Unless otherwise noted, analysis is restricted to the New Kingdom seals, which comprise the great majority of seals published in these volumes. Older seal impressions are considered separately, because, while fewer in number, they contain a wider stylistic repertoire compared to the consensus of the later seals (cf. the importance of stylistic regularity in the discussion of "controlled context" below).

The methodology for analyzing VITA must account for the natural variation of sign-forms inherent to the Anatolian hieroglyphic script, which can vary from a detailed pictographic representation of the sign-referent to a set of abstract lines, the "graphic etymology" of which is impossible to know without prior knowledge of the sign's variants.[11] The VITA sign developed a great variety of forms by the time of the Late Hittite seal corpus, and the sorting of their relationships is made difficult by the paucity of attestations in verbal contexts, thereby precluding the preferred methodology based on logograms.[12] Recourse will be made instead to a semiotic interpretation based on the contextual interchange of sign-forms.

When two sign-forms of similar shape appear in the same context, it can be assumed that they signify the same, or a closely related, idea. An equation of sign-forms requires that three criteria be met: a plausible relation of shapes, free substitution within a controlled context, and the existence of intermediary forms. Plausible relation of shape is met when a sign appears similar enough to another to warrant a recognition of the similarity by the viewer. It is both an objective criterion, in that the two signs must have a similar geometry, and a subjective one, dependent on the cultural expectations of the viewer. In some cases, it is easy to trace how the Luwo-Hittite viewer saw two signs as similar. For example, not much imagination is required to see a lion's head and a full-figured lion as variants of the same sign. Less apparent are other cases involving metonymy, such as the sign for the god Šarruma, which can range from a full representation of his body to simply his lower half. In his study of the deity, Emmanuel Laroche (1963, 279) suggested that interpreting the latter form requires knowledge that Šarruma was likely related in the minds of the original

Hittite or Luwian, meaning the borrowing of the ankh's shape and semiotic reference would need to have been accompanied by a simultaneous translation—not an impossible scenario, but neither a compelling one.

11 Cf. the *ta* (ASINUS), *ma* (OVIS), and *mu* (BOVIS) signs of the Late Empire–period KARATEPE inscription, in which both the original animal heads with necks and the schematized derivatives appear.

12 Cf. the methodological prescriptions of Weeden (2014). He correctly argues for the primacy of the lexical interpretation of a sign (see Weeden 2014, 97—"Concluding Remarks"), with ideographic and pictographic interpretation used only as a last resort. The VITA sign, however, being attested only in the infancy of the hieroglyphic script and, moreover, seemingly restricted to the sigillistic genre, which even in later periods refused to employ Anatolian hieroglyphs for anything but names and titles, is a sign that requires this methodology of last resort. The present section on methodology can be interpreted as my attempt to show how nonlexical (here called "semiotic") interpretation can be done "the right way." Cf. also the methodological considerations of Payne (2024) for another very useful perspective on dealing with the iconicity of the Anatolian hieroglyphic script.

viewers by a folk etymology with the Hittite verb *šarra-* "to cut, divide (in half)"—thus the truncated nature of the sign.

Similarity of shape is a necessary but insufficient condition for equating two signs. The *sa* and *hi* signs, for example, are in some periods of the script almost indistinguishable, but seem to be unrelated. Hence the necessity of the second and third criteria. Establishing free substitution of two sign-forms requires that they interchange in a meaningful or "controlled" context where they should otherwise not. A controlled context can be one of two types: graphemic or artistic. Free substitution in a graphemic context means that two sign-forms can be used for the same syllable, determinative category, or word; that is, the two sign-forms are variants (allographs) of the same underlying sign. Free substitution in an artistic context means the sign-forms are interchangeable within a given scene or arrangement.[13] In an artistic context, the more complex the scene, the better for establishing substitution. Complexity in an artistic context is a matter of both the number and variety of elements used and the sociocultural register of the context. For example, the presence of religious iconography, or use in an official administrative context (both of which conditions apply to all the seal impressions under consideration) enforces much more stylistic coherency than, say, graffiti. If signs substitute freely in a controlled graphemic or artistic context, it is likely they are more than casually connected.

Nor is free substitution in a controlled context enough to equate two sign-forms securely. In a graphemic context, the sign-forms could be two graphically unrelated ways of indicating the same syllable—for example, *sa* versus *sá*, which seem to be two signs for the same sound. In an artistic context, the sign-forms could be just two among a palette of options for that scene: for example, an eagle, a gryphon, a pomegranate, and so forth can all appear as repeating elements in the outer ring of Hittite seals, but their doing so does not mean they are the same. In addition to a similarity of shape (the first-listed criterion) and occupation of the same context (the second-listed criterion), the signs must show a range of intermediate forms, whether historical or synchronic, connecting the variants (the third-listed criterion). When these three criteria are met by two forms, they can be deemed as belonging to the same sign.

When evaluating a sign and its variants, the distinction between synchronic and inherited equivalence should be kept in mind. It is theoretically possible that two sign-forms became so far separated that at a certain point they were no longer recognized as the same (although scribal education backed by cultural continuity counteracts this trend). Estimating the synchronic "intelligibility" can be done in different ways. If, for example, two signs could be used in some but not all of the same contexts, it is more likely they have an inherited but not synchronic equivalence. Conversely, the presence of a large number of intermediate forms, allowing for the relative frequency of a sign, in the same chronological stratum of a corpus would logically indicate a stronger synchronic equivalence.

While the above methodology makes implicit use of concepts from linguistics, it should be remembered that Anatolian hieroglyphs, as with any pictographic script, represent as much a graphic as a linguistic medium, thereby allowing for a great scope of artistic expression. In practical terms, this visual malleability can lead to a merging of two sign-forms that creates a "sign-complex" of synchronically interchangeable but historically unrelated variants: this phenomenon seems likely for VITA and the double eagle. In the following discussion of VITA, its allographs, and the double eagle, it is possible and even probable that some of the sign-substitutions, intermediate forms, and similarity of sign-shapes began as a result of artistic whimsy. But this likelihood does not vitiate the continuity of the sign-complex in the Late Hittite period. When two signs merge, their semiotic relationship can be compared to folk etymology in linguistics: convergence, as opposed to inherited equivalence between two forms.

13 Payne (personal communication) points out to me a caveat: that deliberate substitution of graphically unrelated signs can sometimes occur, as in, e.g., HAMA 8, §2, where MANUS+MANUS is substituted for DEUS as the determinative of Ba'alat. Hawkins's commentary to the text explained the substitution as shifting emphasis to a different aspect of the divine: the sign DEUS, recognized as depicting the two eyes of an all-seeing god, is replaced by MANUS+MANUS, a pair of hands depicting the protective embrace of the gods, a well-known trope from the *Umarmungszene* of Hittite iconography (Hawkins 2000, 410). The HAMA example is an edge case that emphasizes the need for all three criteria to be fulfilled, including the test for basic similarity in shape, for establishing a semiotic equivalence.

## 5. DEFINING VITA (AND ALLOGRAPHS) AND THE DOUBLE EAGLE

The recognized forms of VITA comprise the sign proper, L.369, and two allographs L.440 and L.441. The latter two were connected with each other already in Laroche's 1960 sign list but not combined with L.369 until Güterbock 1980 and the 1990 sign list of Massimiliano Marazzi.[14] Susanne Herbordt (2005, 422) is cautious about equating L.440 and L.441 with VITA; she describes them only as "Heils- oder glückbringendes Zeichen," without reference to L.369. The present study adopts the position of Güterbock 1980 but argues for a contextual and space-sensitive distribution of the three allographs.

L.369, L.440, and L.441 have the same basic layout, consisting of a centerpiece that is either joined or split at the bottom and a crosspiece that is pinched toward the center or broken into two flanking triangles.[15] Numerous intermediate forms make their distinction difficult, in some instances no more than a judgment call. The defining feature of L.369 is an unbroken crosspiece, either solid or hollow. The centerpiece of L.369 is solid or has a narrow loop at the top and is closed or split at the bottom. In some cases—for example, H.(Pr.) 361 and 666 in figure 4.1—the sign has a solid base, with or without "feet."[16]

Figure 4.1. L.369 (from left to right): B.-G. 244; H.(Pr.) 674; H.(Gr.) 111; H.(Pr.) 670, 361, 666.

L.441 has the same range of centerpieces as L.369 but is distinguished by a broken crosspiece composed of two inward-pointing triangles. The base of L.441 can be solid or divided, with the feet flat or upturned. In some cases the feet are quite small—for example, H.(Pr.) 494 in figure 4.2—and there are a handful of cases where the feet are replaced by two flanking circles, which are probably the remnants of upturned feet (cf. L.441 in the ring register of G. 5, where the "circle feet" variant shown in fig. 4.2 alternates with a "curled feet" variant).

Figure 4.2. L.441 (from left to right): H.(Pr.) 347, 406, 202, 494; G. 5.

L.440 has the same broken crosspiece as L.441, though the triangles do not always point inward: compare H.(Pr.) 159 (fig. 4.5 below), which diverges by having a more or less narrow isosceles triangle for a centerpiece. The center triangle can have a flat base (fig. 4.3, H.(Pr.) 74) or a divided one (fig. 4.3, H.(Pr.) 114, 598). There are a few cases where a narrow triangle is flanked by two small circles (fig. 4.3, H.(Pr.) 25), and more cases where a shorter, wider triangle is flanked by large circles (fig. 4.3, H.(Pr.) 133). The "triangle with

14 Güterbock 1980, 52n13: "I now take L440 and L441 as more recent forms of the older L369"; Marazzi 1990, 269. Curiously, the sign list of Marazzi 1998 no longer recognizes L.440 and L.441 as variants of L.369.

15 The highly variable components of the signs recall the immense number of variations of the *wa/i* sign discussed in d'Alfonso and Payne 2016.

16 That H(Pr.) 666 appears as an element of the name VITA+*ra/i* makes it virtually certain that the footed version of L.369 is a free variation.

circles" has not received a sign designation in the previous sign lists, the shapes being interpreted as separate signs (i.e., a $BONUS_2$ next to circles, rings, or rosettes), but based on distribution they should likely be considered L.440 variants (designated here as L.440.x).

Figure 4.3. L.440 (from left to right): H.(Pr.) 74, 114, 598. L.440.x: H.(Pr.) 25, 133.

The double eagle is a motif attested in third-millennium Mesopotamian and pre-Hittite Anatolian iconography, as well as in Hittite monumental architecture.[17] When it appears on seals, it is designated as L.127. Its composition is a bicephalic bird of prey with outspread wings and talons and heads looking in opposite directions. Often there are two outward-curling "sprues" on each side below the wings, which are sometimes interpreted as instances of the royal *lituus* (Hittite *kalmuš*). The realism of the double eagle can vary depending on the size and artistic quality of the seal: there is least one case of a highly stylized eagle (fig. 4.4, H.(Pr.) 523), which is unrecognizable save for the bird's heads. The defining feature of L.127 seems to be wings that point upward at the tip (see the transitional form H.(Pr.) 664 in fig. 4.4 with this feature, but with an undivided head; alternatively, the form could be interpreted as an L.369 with an unusual crosspiece, but nearly every other attestation of L.369 has its crosspiece level). There are also a few signs that have the same basic layout as the double eagle, with a foot and upward-pointing "wings" with sprues but lacking a divided, bicephalic centerpiece. Based on their distribution, it is likely these signs should be interpreted as abstract variants of L.127 (designated here L.127.x).[18]

Figure 4.4. L.127 (from left to right): H.(Pr.) 700, 664, 523. L.127.x: H.(Pr.) 636, 575.

## 6. CONTROLLED CONTEXTS WITH VITA AND DOUBLE EAGLE

Two controlled contexts in the Anatolian seal corpus feature VITA and the double eagle prominently: (1) as repeating motifs in the nondigraphic ring registers, and (2) in "support position" in the main register. Ring registers are bands of decorated or inscribed space running around the outside edge of a seal (most commonly found on stamp or ring seals) and separated from the inner space of the seal by a line. On digraphic seals, the ring register contains the cuneiform inscription; on nondigraphic seals, the ring register is filled

17 The primary reference for the art history of the double eagle motif is Pedde 2009. Also to be consulted are Hameeuw 2021 and Fuhr-Jaeppelt 1972, 194–206. The motif's appearance on Hittite seals will be the subject of a forthcoming paper by Benedetta Bellucci, the preliminary results of which were presented at the 69th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Helsinki (July 8–12, 2024).

18 Herbordt (2005) described these signs variously as a "dreiblättrige Pflanze" (H.(Pr.) 636; p. 226) or a "dreigliedrige Pflanze(?)" (H.(Pr.) 575; p. 216). "Trilobed plants" are known from elsewhere in the seal corpus, but the distribution of the variants with sprues suggests that these at least should be classified with L.127.

by a repeating motif of decorative elements, hieroglyphs recapitulating the name or title of the seal holder, or a mixture of both (fig. 4.5).

Figure 4.5. Examples of ring registers (from left to right): details from H.(Pr.) 344, 347, 159.

Support position is an arrangement found in the inner, or main, register of a seal. Inscriptions containing the name and titles of the seal holder are written in the main register from top to bottom, either as a single inscription or as two mirrored inscriptions, with titles flanking the name to the left and right. Decorative elements, such as images or signs like VITA that are not part of the main inscription, appear in support position below and in line with the name and titles or flanking the titles on the outside. Occasionally the supporting element is matched by another decorative element either in "capping position" above the name or title column or, sometimes, in the center of the seal among the signs (fig. 4.6).

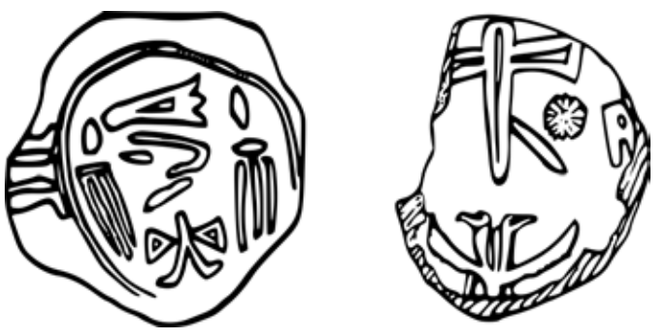

Figure 4.6. Examples of support position (from left to right): L.441: H.(Pr.) 202. L.127 (below L.369): H.(Pr.) 513.

## 7. DISTRIBUTION OF VITA AND DOUBLE EAGLE IN THE ANATOLIAN SEAL CORPUS

Examining the distribution of VITA and double eagle in ring registers and support position allows the following observations.

### 7.1. SPACE-SENSITIVE DISTRIBUTION OF VITA ALLOGRAPHS L.369, L.440, AND L.441

In the first controlled context under consideration, the ring registers of the seals of the Hittite New Kingdom, the BONUS$_2$-VITA combination is the most frequent decorative motif, found in 102 of approximately 280 ring registers.[19] BONUS$_2$ appears in a repeating pattern flanked by variants of the VITA sign, most frequently L.440.x ($n$ = 44), L.440 ($n$ = 41), and L.441 ($n$ = 7).[20] That there is a marked tendency for narrower ring registers to contain L.440.x suggests this variant was preferred in tighter spaces. (For example, L.440.x

19 Double ring registers are counted as separate rings. Güterbock (1942) did not separate seals by date, so selection of New Kingdom seals was done based on analogous seals in Beran 1967, which republished a selection of seals from Güterbock 1942. The current total number of ring registers in New Hittite seals will thus vary based on individual preference for dating certain seals.

20 In the following lists, inner rings are marked with "in." and outer rings with "out."

L.440.x, BONUS$_2$: H.(Pr). 25 (narrow triangle), 41, 133 (in. ring), 246 (narrow triangle), 297 (in. ring), 334, 344 (in. ring), 347 (in. ring), 351 (in. ring), 390, 391, 592, 679, 693; D.-D. 103b, 104b, 106b, 107b, 108, 110b, 187b, 199b, 287h; B.-G. 164, 165, 214B, 215 (ring II, IV), 243 (in. ring); G. 22, 25, 29, 48, 59 (in. ring), 60 (in. ring), 61, 93, 98 (in. ring), 110 (in. ring), 111, 114, 200, 203, 204 (in. ring).

never appears in the outside ring of a double ring register, but it predominates in the narrower inner ring, with 13 occurrences there compared to only 2 for L.440.) The "true" VITA, L.369, does not appear at all in a repeating motif flanking BONUS$_2$ in the ring registers.

VITA also appears in ring registers alongside the names and titles of the seal holder. While ring registers showing the repeating BONUS$_2$-VITA motif tend to be modest in size, name and title ring registers are usually larger, presumably to accommodate the increased number and detail of the signs. In these registers, the distribution of VITA allographs observed with the BONUS$_2$ combination is reversed, with L.441 ($n$ = 9) appearing more frequently than L.440 ($n$ = 2).[21]

The relatively high frequency of L.440/L.440.x (with a preference for L.440.x in the narrowest rings), the low frequency of L.441 (and complete absence of L.369) in the smaller BONUS$_2$-VITA ring registers, and the greater number of L.441 in the larger name and title ring registers suggest there was a hierarchy of VITA allographs. It can be hypothesized that L.440.x/L.440 represent simpler, more geometric, "lower-resolution" allographs reserved for smaller or less important spaces and that L.441 and L.369 were more elaborate, "higher-resolution" allographs preferred for larger spaces.

The distribution of VITA allographs in the second controlled context, in support and/or capping position in the main register of seals, is congruent with the hypothesis of a space-sensitive, hierarchical allography. Main registers afford more space than ring registers, and a corresponding increase in the use of more elaborate VITA allographs can be observed. Among the instances of support and/or capping position found on the inner register of seals ($n$ = 241), VITA appears 125 times, with L.441 being the most frequently appearing allograph ($n$ = 81), followed by L.440 ($n$ = 33), L.369 ($n$ = 8), and L.440.x ($n$ = 3).[22] The appearance of L.369 in support position when it is absent from ring registers indicates that it should be classified among the more elaborate, higher-resolution allographs.

The choice of VITA allographs was principally but not entirely determined by space. Free substitution was possible in the same context on the same seals: one seal, H.(Pr.) 592, has L.441 and L.440 in antithetical support positions flanking left and right, and another, H.(Pr.) 587, has an alternating pattern of L.441,

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L.440, BONUS$_2$: H.(Pr.) 96, 98, 108, 112, 159, 160, 207 (out./in. ring), 254, 312 (out./in. ring), 344 (out. ring), 381, 406, 408, 448, 535, 593, 678, 694; D.-D. 101b, 102b, 185b, 186b, 191b, 192b, 287e; B.-G. 163, 175, 215 (ring I, III), 243 (out. ring); G. 54, 56, 59 (out. ring), 60 (out. ring), 112, 132, 201, 205.

L.441, BONUS$_2$: H.(Pr.) 347 (out. ring), 404, 424; D.-D. 285b; G. 31, 98 (out. ring), 110 (out. ring).

A note of caution on the L.440 data: in most cases of L.440/440.x and BONUS$_2$, the central triangle of the L.440/440.x is identical in size and shape to the BONUS$_2$. The inward-pointing, flanking triangles of the L.440 allow the centerpiece to be distinguished from the BONUS$_2$, though on some seals (e.g., H.(Pr.) 159) the flanking triangles all point in the same direction, making it impossible to tell where the L.440 ends and the BONUS$_2$ begins. With L.440.x, the flanking circles offer no direction, and in many cases the triangles of L.440.x tend to be shorter, approaching an equilateral shape, and the flanking circles larger, occasionally with details suggesting they should be interpreted as rosettes. For these reasons, the data on L.440.x have been kept separate.

21 L.441, name/title: H.(Pr.) 153, 154, 155, 210, 212, 213; G. 47/49/50/51/52 (impressions of the same seal), 53, 55. L.440, name/title: H.(Pr.) 74 (in. ring); G. 204 (out. ring).

22 Note: In the following list, citations with L.441/440/369/440.x in support position are marked (s.), capping (c.), middle (m.), and flanking left (l.) or right (r.). Signs appearing in support and capping positions are counted separately, but mirror-image pairings are not. A seal number boldfaced if it appears in the list twice with different signs (this convention extends to the list of double eagle attestations; see below), e.g., in H.(Pr.) 136, where L.441 appears in support (s.) and L.440 appears capping (c.).

L.441: H.(Pr.) 24 (c.), 27 (s., c.), 28 (s.), 46 (s.), 74 (s.), 76 (s.), 77 (s.), 108 (s.), 109 (s.), **136 (s.)**, **145 (c.)**, 151 (s.), 166 (s.), 179 (s.), 192 (s.), 201 (s.), 202 (s.), 211 (s.), 242 (s.), 248 (s.), 250 (s.), 260 (s.), 261 (s.), 269 (s.), 290 (s.), 297 (s.), 306 (s.), 309 (s.), 334 (s.), 336 (s.), 340 (s.), 341 (s.), 347 (s.), 358 (s.), 361 (s.), 374 (s.), 384 (s.), 386 (s.), 406 (s.), **430 (m.)**, 472 (r.), 480 (s.), **484 (c.)**, 491 (c.), 494 (c.), 498 (c.), 510 (c.), 524 (s.), **526 (c.)**, **592 (l.)**, 602 (s.), 627 (s.), 632 (s.), 634 (s.), 650 (s.), 665 (s.), 672 (s.), 673 (s.), 694 (m.); D.-D. 172b (s.), 172d (s.), 189b (s.), 210b (s.), 221b (s.), 315b (c.), 317b (s.); B.-G. 199 (s.), 240 (s.), 263 (s.), 264 (s.); G. 6 (s.), 26 (c.), 45 (s.), 57 (s.), 76 (s.), 92 (c.), 93 (c.), 96 (s.), 202 (c.), 226 (c.).

L.440: H.(Pr.) 4 (s.), 109 (s.), **136 (c.)**, 152 (s.), 155 (s.), 172 (s.), 254 (s.), 259 (c.), 388 (s.), 409 (c.), **502 (c.)**, 511 (c.), 590 (s., c.), **592 (r.)**, 598 (s.), 639 (s., c.), 648 (s.), 665 (s.); D.-D. 196b (s., c.), 197b (c.), 206b (s.), 234b (s.), 287a (s.); G. 12 (s.), 31 (s.), 53 (s.), 82 (c.), 132 (s.), 148 (s.), 171 (c.), 202 (s.), 205 (s.).

L.369: H.(Pr.) 358 (s.), **513 (c.)**; D.-D. 277b (s.), 278 (s.); B.-G. 161 (s.), 169 (s.), 308 (s.); K. 44 (= seal 44 in Kennedy 1959) (s.).

L.440.x: H.(Pr.) 83 (s.), 352 (s.), 351 (s.).

BONUS$_2$/L.440, BONUS$_2$ in the same ring register. On the whole, however, controlled context and space considerations were the most important factors determining which VITA allograph was used.[23]

### 7.2. INTERCHANGEABILITY OF VITA AND DOUBLE EAGLE IN THE LATE NEW HITTITE PERIOD

In two of the three arrangements discussed—namely, the ring registers and support position, which are both high-focus contexts—the only other sign appearing with any significant frequency is L.127, the double eagle. The double eagle is the most common sign in the name and title ring registers, with 11 occurrences (compared with 9 for L.441 and 2 for L.440).[24] In support and capping position, the double eagle is the second most frequent ($n$ = 74),[25] after L.441 ($n$ = 81) but ahead of L.440 ($n$ = 33), L.369 ($n$ = 8), L.127.x ($n$ = 4),[26] and L.440.x ($n$ = 3), so that of the total observed 241 attestations of support and/or capping position in the New Hittite seal corpus, 203 are of a double eagle or a VITA allograph (the remainder consisting mostly of rosettes and plantlike decorations). Among the 8 instances of bracketed pairings of signs in support and capping position (see fig. 4.7), 2 are paired VITA allographs[27] and 6 are a VITA allograph paired with the double eagle.[28] It is worth noting that VITA and the double eagle are among the limited palette of signs that can appear on seals supporting the "warrior" and "priest" figures, though their doing so is not yet attested frequently enough to establish a controlled context.[29]

Figure 4.7. Examples of VITA and double eagle in bracket pairings (from left to right): H.(Pr.) 484, 502, 513.

The predominance of VITA and the double eagle in name and title ring registers and support position, to the near exclusion of all other signs, strongly suggests that the forms were semiotically equated. Based on its distribution in the high-focus contexts of support/capping position and ring registers with names, the double eagle should be grouped with the higher-resolution forms of VITA. The one case in which the double eagle does not interchange with VITA—namely, in the repeating BONUS$_2$ motif in the ring registers—is

23 A seal is, of course, a manufactured object and not just found "as is," so a more precise description of allographic choice would reflect not only space but also focus—that is, how much space the seal cutter chose to devote to a particular sign vis-à-vis the rest of the elements, a choice that depended on where the attention of the viewer was meant to be focused. Larger, more detailed allographs were high-focus elements, and smaller, more geometric allographs low-focus ones.

24 Double eagle: H.(Pr.) 91, 206 (with gryphon), 479, 607, 629, 650, 676, 755; D.-D. 98d, 208b, 209b.

25 The seal number is boldfaced if it appears in the list twice, with different signs (see the VITA attestations above): H.(Pr.) 1 (s.), 12 (s.), 22 (s.), 23 (s.), 43 (s.), 59 (s.), 89 (s.), 91 (s.), 106 (s.), 107 (s.), 112 (s.), 115 (s.), 143 (s.), 144 (s.), **145 (s.)**, 205 (s.), 221 (s.), 226 (s.), 240 (s.), 245 (s.), 265 (s.), 266 (s.), 268 (s.), 307 (c.), 310 (s.), 322 (s.), 323 (s.), 339 (s.), 362 (s.), 363 (s.), 384 (s.), 429 (s.), **430 (s.)**, 431 (s.), 439 (s.), 460 (s.), 463 (s.), 467 (s.), **484 (s.)**, **502 (s.)**, **513 (s.)**, **526 (s.)**, 527 (s.), 537 (s.), 547 (s.), 552 (s.), 553 (s.), 558 (s.), 565 (s.), 589 (s.), 608 (s.), 614 (s.), 619 (s.), 622 (s.), 659 (s.), 664 (s.), 669 (s.), 683 (s.), 684 (s.), 700 (s.), 701 (s.), 702 (s.); D.-D. 98b (s.), 211b (s.), 215b (s.), 237b (s.), 248b (s.), 300b (s.), 300f (s.), 300j (s.), 300k (s.), 311b (s.), 337b (s.).

26 L.127.x: H.(Pr.) 575 (t.), 636; D.-D. 224b, 226b (with additional abbreviations "t." and "b." for "top" and "bottom" from here on).

27 H.(Pr.) 136 (L.440 [t.], L.441 [b.]), 592 (L.441 [l.], L.440 [r.]).

28 H.(Pr.) 145 (L.441 [t.], L.127 [b.]), 430 (L.441 [m.], L.127 [b.]), 484 (L.441 [t.], L.127 [b.]), 502 (L.440 [t.], L.127 [b.]), 513 (L.369 [t.], L.127 [b.]), 526 (L.441 [t.], L.127 [b.]).

29 Cf. the double eagle in H.(Pr.) 409, 482, 579, B.-G. 208; L.369 in B.-G. 244; L.441 in H.(Pr.) 219, 229, 317, 404, 494, 495, 496.

likely because the double eagle was either too high-resolution a sign (unsurprising, given its level of detail) or simply incongruous with the shape of BONUS$_2$ in a way that VITA was not.

### 7.3. DIACHRONIC DISTRIBUTION OF L.369

The L.369 form of VITA is surprisingly rare in the Late Hittite seal corpus and correspondingly much more common in the Early Hittite seal corpus.[30] This distribution was already remarked on by Leonardo Massi, who argued that the frequency of L.369 diminished due to the mutation of its most common form in the Early Hittite corpus, the BONUS$_2$-over-VITA combination (e.g., fig. 4.8, D.-D. 51), into the title BONUS$_2$.VIR$_2$.[31]

Massi observed that the BONUS$_2$-over-VITA was mutually exclusive with BONUS$_2$.VIR$_2$ (a highly significant fact given the number of attestations of both) and that the VIR$_2$ sign is very similar in shape to the lower half of L.369, and thus potentially derived from it. Though Massi did not discuss them, there are transitional forms confirming his hypothesis, such those on the older seals D.-D. 24b and 36f and the newer seal D.-D. 211b (see fig. 4.9; cf. also D.-D. 243a).

Figure 4.8. L.369 on older Hittite seals (from left to right): in regular support position (D.-D. 7 [sixteenth century]); BONUS$_2$-over-L.369 combination in main and ring registers (D.-D. 51 [fifteenth to fourteenth century]).

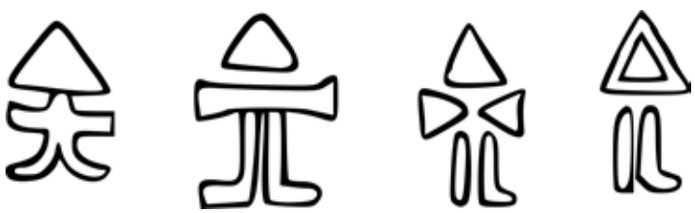

Figure 4.9. Transitional forms of BONUS$_2$-over-VITA and BONUS$_2$.VIR$_2$ (from left to right): BONUS$_2$-over-VITA from D.-D. 24b, 36f, 211b; BONUS$_2$.VIR$_2$ from D.-D. 218b.

L.369 did not disappear completely in the New Hittite seal corpus but was reserved for high-resolution contexts meant to draw focus to the sign, such as in personal names and, occasionally, support position. Yet even in personal names, where a seal cutter would presumably not economize on details, the VITA sign can appear in its lower-resolution allograph with flanking triangle crosspieces and solid, footless base. This phenomenon suggests that in the New Hittite period the older, likely original L.369 variety of VITA was no longer the apex of the L.369–440–441 allographic complex.

30 Cf. the early examples of L.369 in D.-D. 5b, 7b, 16b, 17b, 20b, 24b, 36f, 51b, 60b, 64b, 66b, 70b, 72b, 75, 90b; B.-G. 107, 118, 128, 154; Be. 130, 135.

31 Massi 2009, 10–12. It should be noted that the present study takes no position regarding Massi's thesis of the social or professional implications of BONUS$_2$-over-VITA and BONUS$_2$.VIR$_2$ combinations.

### 7.4. DIACHRONIC DISTRIBUTION OF TI AND VITA/DOUBLE EAGLE ON THE DIGRAPHIC SEALS

The cuneiform TI sign is present in the main register of digraphic seals from Tudḫaliya III to Muwatalli II,[32] absent under Muršili III and Ḫattušili III, and its position usurped by VITA and the double eagle in the seals of Tudḫaliya IV and Arnuwanda III.[33] In the earliest seals, the TI sign is used in the main register as a textual element, without much consideration for its arrangement with the iconic or hieroglyphic elements of the rest of the inscription. A change occurs in later seals, possibly as early as a seal of Šuppiluliuma I (H.(Gr.) 8), and certainly by the seals of Muršili II (H.(Gr.) 23, B.-G. 175–79), where the TI sign becomes a graphic element, either as a support figure or as a flanking figure on each side of the royal titles. (See the arrangement of H.(Gr.) 23 [fig. 4.10], a seal of Muršili II where the inscription "TI $SIG_5$ TI" contains an unusual second TI, added to preserve the bilateral symmetry of the seal.)

Figure 4.10. The cuneiform TI sign as graphic element: seal of Muršili II (H.(Gr.) 23).

Use of the cuneiform TI sign in the main register ends with the seals of Muršili III and Ḫattušili III. Despite the relatively large number of preserved seal impressions of these kings, they show no attestations of support elements of any kind. In contrast, the seals of Tudḫaliya IV make frequent and increasingly elaborate use of support elements, but TI remains completely absent from the main register. Now VITA (always in its high-resolution L.369 allograph) and the double eagle appear for the first time on the royal seals, where they are depicted interchangeably (fig. 4.11, H.(Gr.) 90.1 and 93.1) and in complex arrangements (fig. 4.11, H.(Gr.) 111). VITA continues to be used on the seals of Arnuwanda III (appearing on at least one such seal), but neither VITA nor the double eagle (nor the cuneiform TI) are preserved on the digraphic seals of Kuruntiya or Šuppiluliuma II.

The substitution of VITA for cuneiform TI on the seals of Tudḫaliya IV and Arnuwanda III supports Güterbock's original proposal of a general semantic equivalence between cuneiform TI and VITA, but this phenomenon should not be extrapolated to the signs' original semiotic equivalence. (VITA is not cuneiform TI borrowed into Anatolian hieroglyphs.) The similarity of the *shape* of TI and late forms of VITA (the depiction of TI on seals being identical to L.440 with an inverted $BONUS_2$ at its apex; cf. H.(Gr.) 23 in fig. 4.10) is likely coincidental, but the similarity of *use* is a result of semiotic convergence. The use of VITA in support position in the main register of nondigraphic seals predates the use of cuneiform TI as graphic element on digraphic seals—and in fact probably influenced the "graphically aware" positioning of TI on the seals of the Early New Kingdom. The formal similarity of the late allographs of VITA to cuneiform TI, compounded with a preexisting similarity in their semantic range, converged with the total replacement of the TI with VITA/double eagle on the seals of Tudḫaliya IV.[34]

32 Tudḫaliya III: H.(Gr.) 7, Be. 203(?); Šuppiluliuma I: H.(Gr.) 8–9; Muršili II: H.(Gr.) 23–25, 34, B.-G. 175–79; Muwatalli II: H.(Gr.) 38. For Be. 203(?), Beran tentatively dated the seal to Tudḫaliya IV (see the discussion of group XVIII in Beran 1967, 77–78). However, the seal is very small and simplified and does not contain the aedicula or titulature of Tudḫaliya IV's seals, and it looks more like the very early anonymous Tabarna seals (cf. Be. 234–42); it would also be the only exception to the cuneiform TI/VITA chronological distribution. Thus Be. 203(?) is either deliberately archaizing or should be redated.

33 VITA: H.(Gr.) 89, 90, 91, 111, 114 (Tudḫaliya IV); Be. 161 (Arnuwanda III). Double eagle: H.(Gr.) 93, 94, 96, 97, 101, 112 (Tudḫaliya IV).

34 The curious, lone example of a TI being used in the register of a *non*digraphic seal, H.(Pr.) 216, where it appears in support position immediately below a VITA sign, suggests that the relation of VITA and the TI was proceeding toward a full semiotic equivalence, a trend arrested by the fall of the Hittite kingdom and the discontinuation of the use of cuneiform in Anatolia.

Figure 4.11. Support elements on the seals of Tudḫaliya IV (from left to right): main registers from H.(Gr.) 90.1, 93.1, 111.

## 8. TRANSITIONAL FORMS OF THE DOUBLE EAGLE AND VITA COMPLEX

The mixture of the double eagle and VITA forms on the Late New Hittite seals was a cross-fertilization consisting of the selective adoption of sign elements rather than a full identification of one sign with the other. VITA could borrow the sprues (cf. H.(Gr.) 111 in fig. 4.11) and spread feet (cf. H(Pr.) 202) from the double eagle; the eagle could borrow the fused base (cf. H.(Pr.) 523) and single "head" (cf. H.(Pr.) 664) from VITA. It is possible that one can recognize an L.441 form with a divided head (cf. H.(Pr.) 201, though with caution, as the lower half of the sign is not preserved). All forms of VITA and the double eagle seem to have an allographic hierarchy, with divided bases and detailed wings used in higher-resolution forms, and solid and footless bases with smaller, more geometric wings in lower-resolution forms (fig. 4.12).[35] Exceptions occur when the VITA sign is used in personal names with an appended *-ra/i* "thorn," when it can have the expected detailed crosspiece and head but a solid, footless base. It can perhaps be surmised that the "thorn" was considered to be one of the legs of the signs, thus obviating the need for a divided base.[36]

## 9. EXCURSUS: READING THE VITA SIGN

At present, three names are attested that use the VITA sign: VITA*+ra/i*,[37] *á-wa/i*-VITA*+ra/i* (or VITA*+ra/i-wa-á*),[38] and VITA*-ti*-VIR.*ZI/A*.[39] (A fourth name, *ma-ha-á*-VITA*+ra/i*, is probably *ma-ha-á* plus VITA(*+ra/i*) as a decorative element in support position.[40]) As mentioned in section 3, "Revisiting the VITA-Ankh Connection," there are no known attestations of an Anatolian name **Huira, *Huitra, *Huitiziti*, or similar, meaning a new reading of VITA should be sought. What is needed is an Anatolian name with an ending *-ra* or *-ri*[41]—specifically,

35 The equation of VITA and the double eagle is dependent on how similar one considers the basic shape of the signs. The controlled contexts show the signs could plausibly interchange. The intermediary forms offer a route between the formal extremes. The question is whether the two shapes are similar enough (the first-listed criterion of the method defined in section 4, "Reevaluating VITA: Corpus and Methodology") to warrant equation in the first place. The answer is ultimately a judgment call on the part of the reader. For me, the probative form is the "VITA with feet and sprues" found on the elaborate royal seals of Tudḫaliya IV (e.g., H(Gr.) 111). It is difficult to interpret the sprues, which are rarely if ever found on other versions of VITA, as anything but analogues of the similarly positioned curling feather below the wings of the double eagle.

36 Cf. Payne 2024, sub 1.3 "Differential Iconicity," for a discussion of the *ara/i* sign, which, in a similar development, had its wing reinterpreted as the double-bar graphical element used to indicate *a*-vocalization.

37 H.(Pr.) 664–77; D.-D. 317b; Be. 142; K. 44 (= seal 44 in Kennedy 1959); Ankara 6 (= seal 6 in Dinçol and Dinçol 1980).

38 H.(Pr.) 81.

39 P. 25 (= seal 25 in Porada 1981).

40 H.(Pr.) 216.

41 Jin 1994 was checked for this purpose.

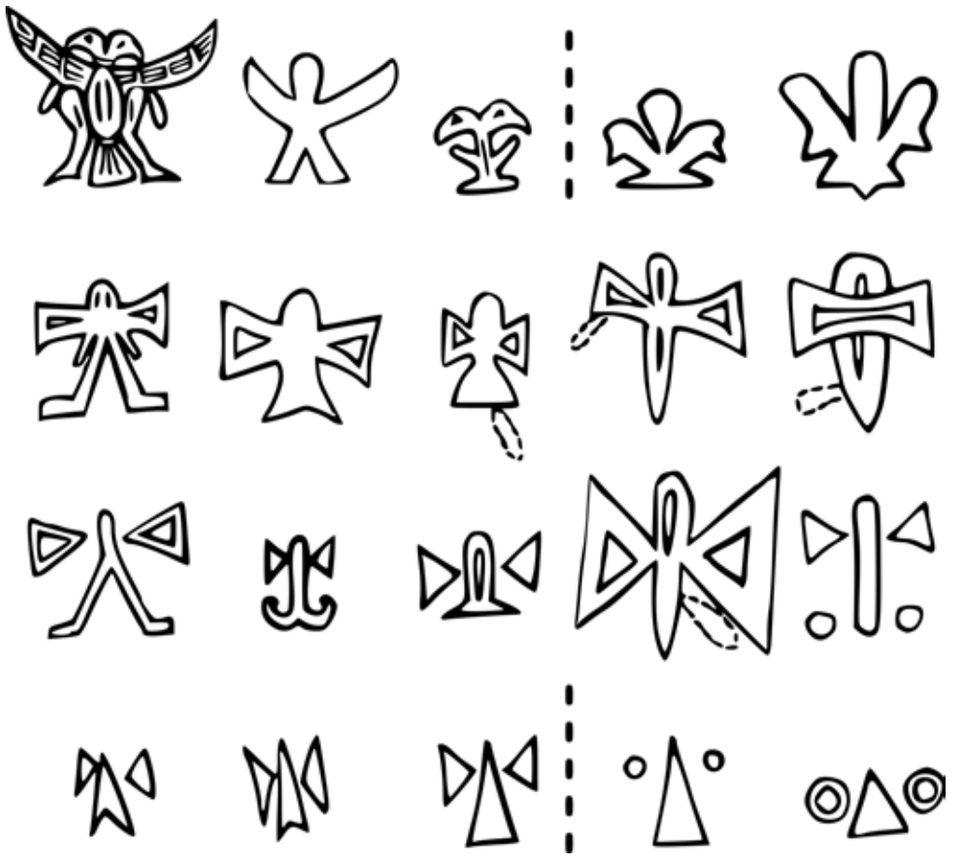

Figure 4.12. The VITA–double eagle allographic continuum (forms with divided bases to the left, solid and footless bases to the right). Top row: L.127 (H.(Pr.) 700, 664, 523), L.127.x (H.(Pr.) 636, 575). Second row: L.369 (H.(Gr.) 111; H.(Pr.) 361, 666, 674, 670). Third row: L.441 (H.(Pr.) 202, 347, 494, 664; G. 5). Bottom row: L.440 (H.(Pr.) 598, 114, 74), L.440.x (H.(Pr.) 25, 133). The forms H.(Pr.) 666, 674, and 670 in the second row and H.(Pr.) 664 in the third row have the *-ra/i* "thorn" depicted as dashed lines.

one containing an element at least partially overlapping with the semantic range of "life" and explaining the development of VITA into $VIR_2$ observed by Massi. The only name that fulfills these criteria is In(n)ar(a), a homophone indicating both the name of the protective deity of Ḫattuša, $^{d}$Inar, and *innara(want-)* "(manly) vigor."[42]

The reading In(n)ar(a) works well for VITA*+ra/i*: the name is Hattian and is attested as early as the Kanesh *kārum* period (Kammenhuber 1976, 84). It persisted to the Early New Kingdom (Arnuwanda I), where it is attested by the scribe Inar, who was of sufficient social standing to compose the land grant KBo 5.7.[43] In the seals of the Late New Kingdom, the seal holder VITA*+ra/i* is the only attested SCRIBA.IV, a title interpreted as "fourth-level (i.e., highest rank) scribe." The chronological gap between the scribe Inar and the Late New Kingdom VITA*+ra/i* means they are not the same individual, but it is not unimaginable that two officials of the highest social standing, with the same name, and working in the administration of the Hittite palace in different periods, might have belonged to the same family.

The reading of VITA*+ra/i* = "Inar" also works in "*á-wa/i*-VITA*+ra/i*," which should actually be read VITA*+ra/i-wa-á*. Few Anatolian names begin with "Awa-" or "Awi-" (perhaps as few as three: Awawiya,

42 Cf. HED 2, 366–72, for attestations and discussion. Kloekhorst (2008, 387) rejects on formal grounds the connection with PIE **h*$_2$*ner-* "man," but the semantic field of the word, its derivatives in Hittite, and especially the Luwian cognates connote a sense of "virile forcefulness."

43 Text 91 in Rüster and Wilhelm 2012, 231–44. On the social standing of Hittite scribes, see van den Hout 2009, 276–78.

Awanuwa, Awauwa),[44] none of which ends with *-ra/i* (**Awawiyara*, **Awanuwara*, **Awauwara*) or an element that can appear alone as a name ending with *-ra/i* (**Wiyara*, **Nuwara*, **Uwara*, etc.). The order of signs on seals could be fluid, and the direction individual signs faced was not probative of the direction of reading for the inscription (Burgin 2016, 10). Reversing the direction of reading of H.(Pr.) 81 (cf. fig. 4.13), while a solution of last resort, does yield the recognized name I(n)narawa.

The name VITA-*ti*-VIR.*ZI/A* is more difficult, as neither **Inar(a)tiziti* nor **Intiziti* is attested as a name. Possible is another solution, one making use of the theophoric aspect of the name Inar(a) as well as the relationship between VITA and the double eagle discussed above. The goddess $^{d}$Inar was the Hattian deity of the city of Ḫattuša. She was a goddess of the hunt and associated with the deified hunting bag (Haas 1994, 436–37). In the Illuyanka myth, she is the daughter of the Storm-god: she ranges over the wild countryside and causes floods. While well attested in the Old Hittite period, syllabographic writings of her name are almost nonexistent by the time of Muwatalli II and are replaced with the Sumerogram $^{d}$KAL. $^{d}$Inar was not the only god to be subsumed under this writing, as during the New Kingdom period a number of local protective deities and stag gods, including the Luwian $^{d}$Kuruntiya, were written $^{d}$KAL.[45] It is unclear whether the writing $^{d}$KAL was a graphical designation for a class of gods unified by association with the hunt or indicated a theological reorganization in which a single god absorbed local hypostases.[46] If the former, $^{d}$Inar's role in the Illuyanka myth, traveling to the wilderness and providing for a feast, makes her inclusion among the other hunting deities a straightforward case (Hoffner, apud McMahon 1991, 25). If the latter, and Hattian $^{d}$Inar was indeed absorbed into an amalgam of other hunting deities (who are depicted as male), then the similarity of her name to the etymologically unrelated Hittite word *innarawant-* "strength, (life-)force, virility," which is attested as a quality of the Hunting/Protective-gods (cf. $^{d}$*in(n)arašmiš* = $^{d}$KAL-*ašmiš*, a class of "vitality-gods" associated with various body parts), must have been a contributing factor.[47] By the Late New Kingdom, $^{d}$In(n)ar(a) was the most common reading behind $^{d}$KAL (though other readings, such as $^{d}$Kuruntiya, were still possible), as evidenced by the regular writing of $^{d}$KAL with the phonetic complement *-ri* in cultic texts (Kammenhuber 1976, 72–73) and the replacement of $^{d}$Inar with $^{d}$KAL in the newer recensions of the Illuyanka myth (Otten 1956).

Figure 4.13. H.(Pr.) 81.

The case for an assimilation of $^{d}$Inar with male hunting-gods in the Hittite Late New Kingdom is strengthened by the iconography of the Hunting-god. The Hunting-god is associated with a male figure standing on the back of a stag, carrying a bow and/or *lituus*, and supporting an eagle atop his hand, sometimes with a captured hare (Haas 1994, 452–54; Laroche 1982, 458). There are no known depictions of a female hunting-goddess atop a stag; yet the goddess $^{d}$Inar, along with the other hunting-gods, is written in Anatolian hieroglyphs with CERVUS$_{1-3}$, a sign in the shape of an antler or antlered stag's head. David Hawkins has made the argument that when the Hunting-god is written in Anatolian hieroglyphs as CERVUS-*ti*, it is read $^{d}$Kuruntiya, a Luwian variety of the god presumably closely identified with the stag (his name probably

44 The reference here is Laroche 1966, supplemented by the card files of the Hittitology Archive at the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz.

45 Kammenhuber 1976, 69–71. $^{d}$KAL is referred to as a tutelary (protective) deity by McMahon (1991), as a stag-god by Hawkins (2006), and as both by Weeden (2011). The present study agrees with Hawkins about the hunting aspect of $^{d}$KAL but will argue that Hattian $^{d}$Inar and the $^{d}$In(n)ar(a) reading of $^{d}$KAL was not exclusively associated with the stag. The more neutral term, "Hunting-god," will therefore be used.

46 See the discussion of Weeden (2011, 267–68).

47 Cf. Weeden 2011, 266–67; Kammenhuber 1976, 83; Laroche 1982, 455.

meaning "horned one"),[48] who became increasingly important in the Late Hittite and Luwian-dominated Neo-Hittite kingdoms (Hawkins 2005, 290–91). When the Hunting-god is written CERVUS+*ra/i*, it is read $^{d}$In(n)ar(a). Hattian $^{d}$Inar, besides being female and thus not identifiable with the male hunter figure, did not have an exclusive association with the stag and was perhaps more generally a "mistress of wild animals" (cf. the "procession of animal standards" in the KI.LAM festival).[49] The writing of $^{d}$In(n)ar(a) by means of an antler in the later hieroglyphic Anatolian script is thus likely explained by her conflation with other Anatolian hunting-gods (so $^{d}$Inar = $^{d}$KAL/$^{d}$In(n)ar(a) = $^{d}$Kuruntiya = "stag-god").[50]

If VITA is read $^{(d)}$*in(n)ara(want-)*, then by the historical development discussed above, the hieroglyphic sign L.369 becomes in the Late Hittite period another ideograph for the Hunting/Protective-god, and Hawkins's argument for CERVUS applies equally well to VITA: VITA+*ra/i* is $^{d}$Inar and VITA-*ti* is $^{d}$Kuruntiya. The name under discussion, VITA-*ti*-VIR.*zi/a*, thus becomes the well-recognized Kuruntiziti. The much greater number of attestations of VITA+*ra/i* versus VITA-*ti* shows that VITA should be preferentially read as $^{d}$In(n)ar(a), just as the higher frequency of CERVUS-*ti* versus CERVUS+*ra/i*, which combined the visual etymology of the antler as the "horned one," shows that the sign was read primarily as $^{d}$Kuruntiya.

The connection of VITA with the double eagle might also be connected with $^{d}$In(n)ar(a). If Hattian $^{d}$Inar was not perforce a stag-goddess, she still clearly had a close association with hunting and wild animals, and it is possible that the earlier Hattian $^{d}$Inar had a connection with another animal of the hunt: the eagle. The eagle was seen by the Hittites as a divine observer and messenger to the gods (cf. its role in the Myth of Telipinu and the Foundation Ritual),[51] and $^{d}$Inar, too, seems to have a role in the Hittite pantheon as a divine messenger (Laroche 1982, 456). The eagle, while common in Anatolian iconography, is currently not connected with any particular deity. To be fair, neither are most animals in the Hittite world—the strong connection of the stag and $^{d}$Kuruntiya is an exceptional case, perhaps equaled only by the connection of the bull and the Storm-god, and would be otherwise unknown were it not for the apparent etymology of his name and hieroglyphic sign (the lone *Bildbeschreibung* of $^{d}$KAL describing only a man wielding a spear and shield, with no mention of a stag).[52] Though there is no etymological connection to fall back on, circumstantial evidence makes a case for connecting $^{d}$Inar and the eagle. Both were messengers to the gods, and both were connected with Hittite kingship.[53]

In this reconstruction, the double eagle was a symbol of Hattian $^{d}$Inar, and VITA was a logograph with the reading *innarawant-* "vigor." Just as Hattian $^{d}$Inar became linguistically conflated with $^{d}$KAL through the latter's *innarawant-* quality, so the double eagle became conflated with VITA when the latter became another symbol of the hunting deity. These parallel merger processes reached their peak in the reign of Tudḫaliya IV, as evidenced by the seals (see section 7.4, "Diachronic Distribution of TI and VITA/Double Eagle on the Digraphic Seals") and cultic literature. Both conflations failed to transition to the Neo-Hittite states, perhaps as a result of the political situation at the end of the Hittite kingdom: $^{d}$Inar was intimately

48 Hawkins (2006, 51) considers Kuruntiya to be the Luwian name of $^{d}$KAL, as In(n)ara was the Hittite name. For the etymology of the name, see Weeden (2011, 268), who cautions that Kuruntiya would "betray an anomalous treatment of Indo-European palatal **k'* in Luwian."

49 See Singer 1983, 92–97; also Archi 1993, 408–9; 1998, 29. The "procession of animal standards" in the KI.LAM includes stags carried into the temple of Inar but also other animals of the hunt, including panthers, bears, and boars. In KBo 20.33+ obv. 13–16, $^{d}$Inar and $^{d}$Ḫabandali are drunk to in the context of a panther and a boar rhyton. Against this must be weighed a New Hittite fragment describing a stag rhyton for $^{d}$KAL (Bo 5036 rev. iii 13′; see Carruba 1967, 97).

50 Cf. Steitler (2017, 169–70) for a discussion of the formal difficulties of linking KAL (Akkadian *(w)aqru* "rare") directly with *innarawant-* and his proposal instead that the folk etymology may have run through an alternative reading of KAL as GURUŠ "young man, manliness." This reading has the advantage of further cementing the VITA = $VIR_2$ connection proposed by Massi (2009).

51 The main reference for the eagle in Hittite texts is Collins 1989, 103–36. See also the relevant portions of these texts translated and discussed in Collins 2002, 246.

52 McMahon 1991, 24. Of course, if the objection of Weeden (2011, 268) is correct, and $^{d}$Kuruntiya does not mean "horned one," then the connection of $^{d}$KAL with the stag is even more tenuous.

53 Cf. Klinger 1996, 160–61, for a discussion of how Hattian $^{d}$Inar was adopted into the Hittite context extremely early, likely because of her unique importance to kingship and the city of Ḫattuša.

connected with Hittite kingship and the city of Ḫattuša in the Hattian north,[54] but in the Luwian south, from where the Neo-Hittite states emerged, the god $^{d}$Kuruntiya ruled, as did a king of the same name in the rival Anatolian court at Tarḫuntašša.

## 10. CONCLUSIONS

Three firm conclusions can be drawn from the study of VITA allographs L.369, L.440, and L.441 and the double eagle. First, Güterbock's original thesis of a VITA–ankh connection is unlikely, though it cannot be disproved by the current evidence. Second, VITA allographs have not only a chronological distribution, with L.369 being earlier and L.440 and L.441 later, but also a space-sensitive distribution: L.440 was used in the most constrained, lowest-resolution contexts, followed by L.441. L.369 was in the Late Hittite period reserved for high-resolution, high-focus contexts. Third, there is a nonarbitrary connection between the double eagle and VITA allographs in that they share the same controlled contexts in the Hittite seals and have transitional forms exhibiting elements of both signs. Functionally, the double eagle can be thought of on the Late Hittite seals as the "highest form" of VITA, used exclusively in high-focus contexts; the relationship of the two signs seems to be one of convergent evolution, however, rather than the lineal descent of one from the other.

Two further, but admittedly more speculative, conclusions can also be drawn concerning VITA. There is a good chance that the reading of the VITA sign is *innarawant-* "(manly) vigor, (life-)force" when it is used alone, In(n)ar(a) when it is used in the name VITA*+ra/i*, and Kuruntiya(ziti) when it is used in the name VITA-*ti*-(VIR.*zi/a*). The connection with manliness and manly strength would then explain the development of the VITA sign into the $VIR_2$ sign, which was originally a ligature of $BONUS_2$+VITA. If the reading of VITA as *innarawant-* is proven with the discovery or recognition of new material, it might be suggested that Luwian studies take advantage of a Latin *figura etymologica* and rename the sign VIRTUS. Finally, the graphic conflation of VITA (VIRTUS) and the double eagle may have reflected the religious assimilation of $^{d}$Inar and $^{d}$KAL, though this conclusion would be considerably strengthened by the discovery of an association of (Hattian) $^{d}$Inar with the eagle, parallel to the association of $^{d}$KAL with the stag. The simultaneous disappearance of $^{d}$Inar, the double eagle, and VITA (VIRTUS) with the fall of the Hittite kingdom is currently unexplained but possibly may be linked to the prominence of $^{d}$Kuruntiya in the Iron Age.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter other than the following ones are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

| | |
|---|---|
| H.(Gr.) | Susanne Herbordt, Daliah Bawanypeck, and J. David Hawkins, *Die Siegel der Grosskönige und Grosskönigin-nen auf Tonbullen aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv in Hattuša.* Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 23. Mainz: von Zabern, 2011 |
| D.–D. | Ali Dinçol and Belkis Dinçol, *Die Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel aus der Oberstadt von Boğazköy-Ḫattuša vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende der Grossreichszeit.* Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 22. Mainz: von Zabern, 2008 |
| H.(Pr.) | Susanne Herbordt, *Die Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel der hethitischen Großreichszeit auf Tonbullen aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv in Hattuša.* Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 19. Mainz: von Zabern, 2005 |
| B.–G. | Rainer Boehmer and Hans Güterbock, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy.* Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 14. Berlin: Mann, 1987 |
| Be. | Thomas Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy.* Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 5. Berlin: Mann, 1967 |
| G. | Hans Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy.* Part 2, *Die Königssiegel von 1939 und die übrigen Hieroglyphensiegel.* Archiv für Orientsforschung 7. Berlin: Selbstverlag, 1942 |

54 To this end, it is worth noting that there is perhaps only a single example of a double eagle appearing in the immediate post-Hittite context: a basalt stele from Hama, Syria (cf. Ingholt 1942, 472, fig. 10). The layer from which the stele was excavated was contemporary with either the Hittite Late New Kingdom or post-Hittite period. Despite this one example, it is clear that the double eagle did not thrive as a symbol in the Neo-Hittite world.

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# 5 PIRATE HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE LATE BRONZE AGE

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## DEDICATION

It is my pleasure to dedicate this short study to Prof. van den Hout, my teacher, adviser, and boundless source of guidance and compassion.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In a recent article, Amir Gilan (2013) collected and published possible references to piracy in the Late Bronze Age (LBA) Mediterranean region. The material presented by Gilan represents the usual lineup of suspects: the Amarna corpus, the Hittite texts, and documents from Ugarit.[1] Unfortunately the textual evidence is, as he correctly reports, "rather scanty" (Gilan 2013, 49). The difficulty in locating and accurately describing LBA "piracy" is not simply one of chance preservation of material. I would argue that the very conceptualization of piracy by both modern scholars and the ancients is problematic. In this essay. I attempt to situate our (scanty) understanding of LBA piracy within the broader historiography on the issue.[2] It is only by understanding the broader history of piracy that we can begin to interpret the material from the ancient world. Was there piracy in the LBA? The short answer to this question is no. The long answer, however, is more complicated.

## 2. PIRATE HISTORIOGRAPHY

The pirate has long been a source of both terror and curiosity. He is an outlaw who defies the norms of society by living in a nearly exclusive homosocial environment that is virtually unimaginable to "landlubbers."[3] He is a villain (although perhaps a dashingly roguish one) who preys on ships of any and all states, a veritable *hostis humanis generis*, "an enemy of humankind." The booty he obtains through his violence is quickly lost to considerable amounts of alcohol and prostitutes. He is a scoundrel, a swashbuckler, a freebooter, and a scourge of the seas.

1 Among the noteworthy works on ancient piracy, see Casson 1991 (esp. 30–54) and Wachsmann 1998 (esp. 317–21), both of which are cited in Gilan 2013, 49n2. To be added are de Souza 1999 and Luraghi 2006.

2 General works on piracy abound but are of variable quality. Reputable general works can be found in Cordingly 2006 and Konstam 2008. Among the numerous scholars of premodern piracy, it is necessary to reference Marcus Rediker (esp. Rediker 1987). Among the numerous works on modern piracy, see Lehr 2007; Murphy 2007, 2010; Marley 2010.

3 Although not a universal characteristic of piracy, it is by far the most common. Note, e.g., the presence of female pirates in China (Antony 2003, 170–71), especially the famed pirate leader Cheng I Sao (Murray 1987, 71–73, 133–44; 1995; Antony 2003, 47–49 [as Zheng Yi Sao]).

This picture of the pirate is far from accurate. It (mis)represents the pirates from a very particular period (the so-called Golden Age of piracy in the Caribbean Sea, the late seventeenth to early eighteenth cenutry AD), is largely that of a particular people—the British—and represents the point of view of those living on land. The modern image of the pirate owes more to Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* than to real pirates. This is not to say that the pirates of the Golden Age have been completely manufactured by outsiders. Certainly, aspects of their descriptions (both figures and deeds) should be treated as accurate. It is important to keep in mind that piracy is a global issue with a history that is many thousands of years old. To limit it to one particular period in one particular region does the study of piracy a great disservice.

A significant problem with the issue of piracy is that of definition. As an issue that has plagued littoral regions for millennia, the interpretation of piracy has evolved to reflect state and interstate developments. Piracy, as currently defined by the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), has little teeth due to the necessity of respecting states' rights to control territorial waters.[4] The popular understanding of piracy, however, largely conforms to the United Kingdom's *In re Piracy Jure Gentium*: "Piracy is 'any armed violence at sea which is not a lawful act of war.'"[5] This definition is considerably different from that of UNCLOS. The UNCLOS definition of piracy can be briefly summarized as follows (I have italicized significant points). Article 101 states that piracy is an illegal act of violence, detention, or depredation by crew or passengers of *a private ship* that occurs on *the high seas* or *outside the jurisdiction of any state* against another ship.[6] The problems with this definition are manifold. The requirement that piracy only be conducted by private individuals (or mutinous naval crews) disavows any connection between governments or government officials and pirates, a restriction that disregards the long historical ties between governments and piracy that continue to this day.[7] The location of piracy is also significant. Only acts of maritime predation that occur outside territorial waters (the zone that stretches twelve miles out to sea from the coast) can be considered piratical. Any acts within territorial waters are considered armed robbery at sea and not piracy. This regulation has serious consequences for the reporting of piracy. According to one report, between August 1995 and March 2014 there were 843 "unlawful acts against vessels" in West Africa, but less than 19 percent of them can be considered piracy according to UNCLOS (Anyiam 2014). UNCLOS is an attempt to define piracy while protecting the autonomy of nations, an effort that ultimately fails.

It is clear that the modern definition of piracy is simply inadequate for the historical study of the topic.[8] Since piracy is an issue that affects current shipping interests, UNCLOS must take into account modern geopolitical structures. Piracy in premodern periods requires a different, broader definition that can take into account the range of maritime predatory actions we find. For this essay I prefer the open definition found in the *In re Piracy Jure Gentium* mentioned above, which defines piracy simply as "any armed violence at sea which is not a lawful act of war"—it allows for pirates as both private criminals as well as piracy motivated by politics. The latter can consist of activities ranging from privateering (legalized piracy) to polities actively engaged in piracy (e.g., the Aetolians of ancient Greece). This definition is overly broad, and, as is made clear below, it will require further modifications to fit the LBA.

Piracy has never been a uniform act. It has taken different forms depending on a variety of factors, not the least being the technical skills of mariners. Here, for categorizing piracy, I introduce two strategies developed by scholars. According to David Starkey (2001), piracy can be described as being "long wave" or "short wave." Long-wave piracy is both "relatively durable maritime activit[y]" as well as sanctioned by (or

4 On the development of the modern definition of piracy, see the concise overview in Murphy 2010, 11–16.

5 See http://www.uniset.ca/other/cs5/1934AC586.html.

6 A PDF of the full UNCLOS can be found at http://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf.

7 Murphy 2010, 29–45. A good example of piracy that is intimately connected to the state would be the Barbary pirates, who functioned as an important part of the Barbary States' economies (Nadal 2001, 129).

8 Dissatisfaction with the UNCLOS definition of piracy can be seen in the United Kingdom's House of Commons Transport Committee's 2006 report on piracy: "The absence of a single definition means that the classification of violent maritime incidents can become a matter of dispute and confusion" (House of Commons Transport Committee 2006, 11; cited in Murphy 2007, 12).

at least in the interest of) states, even if loosely (Starkey 2001, 109). Some examples are the Barbary pirates and the Caribbean buccaneers. Long-wave piracy is part of the broader political and economic life of the regions from which the pirates emerge (Starkey 2001, 111). The piracy of ancient Cilicia that plagued the eastern Mediterranean during the Roman Republic period (as well as both before and after it) is an example of long-wave piracy from the ancient world. Incidents of short-wave piracy represent surges of piratical actions and typically occur following either prolonged war or some other serious crisis (Starkey 2001, 111–12). As its name suggests, short-wave piracy is of limited duration; it fades quickly as order is reestablished.

Different from but compatible with Starkey's waves of piracy are the three forms of piratical predation identified by John Anderson (2001), according to whom piracy can be parasitic, intrinsic, or episodic. Parasitic piracy occurs in regions of flourishing trade by preying on, but ideally not debilitating, mercantile activities (Anderson 2001, 86). Intrinsic piracy occurs "when predation is de facto or de jure a part of the commercial or fiscal functioning of an organized community" (Anderson 2001, 89). The key to intrinsic piracy is that it is embedded within the community or state and has become a part of its life. Eradicating intrinsic piracy is extremely difficult (Anderson 2001, 90–93). Episodic piracy is shorter in duration, typically no more than one or two decades, and can be either political or economic in its motivation (Anderson 2001, 93). It often occurs during periods of political weakness (regional or local) that allow violent maritime activities to occur unchecked, but it can also appear during periods of "disruption or distortion in the normal patterns of trade" (Anderson 2001, 94). Anderson's episodic piracy is similar to Starkey's short wave, while intrinsic and long-wave piracy are also comparable although not identical.

## 3. AN ISSUE OF TERMINOLOGY?

The word "pirate" can be traced back to the ancient Greeks. It must be cautioned that Greek *peiratēs* (πειρατής), which is employed only after the Classical period, could be used for crimes at sea[9] but covers a much broader semantic range and is best translated as "bandit" or "brigand."[10] Philip de Souza has demonstrated that strict translations of early attestations of *peiratēs* as "pirates (at sea)" based on *The Suda* (tenth century AD) are incorrect.[11] The more common term found for "pirates" is *leistēs* (λῃστής), which is found in Homer as well as Classical Greek texts.[12] But this word, too, is of a broader semantic range, being used for "pirates" as well as "bandits" (de Souza 1999, 3). Both *peiratēs* and *leistēs* can be specified as working at sea (e.g., Strabo 11.2.12), but the translation of the terms as "pirate" or "bandit" is typically dependent on context.[13] The only Greek word that is to be exclusively translated as "pirate" is the seldom-used *katapontistēs* (καταποντιστής), literally "one who throws into the sea" (de Souza 1999, 9).[14] The meaning of "bandit" and "pirate" for both *peiratēs* and *leistēs* is significant and reflects a conflation of these ideas within the Greek concept of illegal (nonwar) acts of violent armed robbery. Therefore, while we, as modern scholars, can translate a particular instance of these terms as "pirate," this translation is far more representative of the modern distinctions between brigandage and piracy than what the ancient Greek authors intended.[15] From the perspective of the ancient Greeks, then, it can be said that piracy did not exist—certainly not as a distinct, violent, predacious activity.

9 On this term, see de Souza 1999, 3.

10 See πειρατής in the TLG's *LSJ: The Online Lidell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon* (accessed March 10, 2017).

11 De Souza (1999, 7) explicitly references the work of Paul McKechnie (1989, 117, 131) concerning this error. For the passage, see "*peiratw=n" at https://www.cs.uky.edu/~raphael/sol/sol-entries/pi/1454 (accessed August 19, 2025). For *peirates* referring to bandits on land, see Polyb. 4.3.8 (de Souza 1999, 8).

12 See λῃστ-ής in the TLG's *LSJ: The Online Lidell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon* (accessed March 10, 2017).

13 This position has long been recognized (see Ormerod 1978, 67). I believe that Avi Avidov has misconstrued Henry Ormerod's argument about the lexical ambiguities surrounding *peirates* and *leistes* (Avidov 1997, 7–8 with n6).

14 See Pausanias (8.52.3), cited in de Souza 1999, 9n33.

15 This point is made by de Souza (1999, 11) but deserves to be more forcefully articulated.

## 4. THE MYCENAEANS

In his brief discussion of the LBA Mycenaeans, de Souza developed the following conclusion: "It cannot be said that there is evidence of piracy in the historical records without some distinctive terminology. People using ships to plunder coastal settlements are not called pirates, so they cannot really be said to be practicing piracy" (de Souza 1999, 17). Fundamentally, this observation is not incorrect. The lack of any lexical means of differentiating piracy from more general acts of plundering by sea indicates that the Mycenaeans did not recognize piracy as a distinct act. If they did not have a word for it, then it did not exist within their conceptualization of the world. Taking such a rigid stance based on the lexicon is highly limiting. While it is not inconsequential that the Mycenaeans lacked a word for piracy, it absence does not mean they did not practice what we would later interpret as piracy—in other words, that they did not commit piracy. It simply means they did not recognize that they did so.[16]

The reliance on secure terminology to identify piracy is problematic. As mentioned above, neither of the two main Greek terms for pirates, *leistēs* and *peiratēs*, is to be unequivocally translated as "pirate." Both refer to bandits who may act on land or at sea. It is worthwhile here to introduce material from outside the ancient Mediterranean. Piracy has long been an issue in China, particularly in the South China region. Three major waves of piracy have been identified in this region's history: in 1522–74, 1620–84, and 1780–1810 AD (Antony 2003, 19). Despite clear evidence for piracy in the South China Sea during these periods, certain issues of terminology surface here as well. In fact, it is likely that "before the nineteenth century, Southeast Asia did not even have a local term for 'pirate' or 'piracy'" (Antony 2010, 7). Some terms used to indicate piracy were *wokou* (literally "dwarf bandit"), *haikou* ("sea rebel"), *tudao* ("local pirate"), and *daofan* ("bandit").[17] Examples like this abound for non-Western identifications of piracy (or the lack thereof).

Determining whether or not the Mycenaean Greeks participated in piratical activities, despite not having a term for such acts, is difficult at best. One clear issue is that of perspective. What the offending party may interpret as a legitimate raid may be seen by the victims as an act of piracy.[18] For the Mycenaeans, we have only the text of the perpetrators, not the victims, and therefore we lack access to the latter's perspective. The determination of piracy is made all the more difficult by the often-uncritical application of the label of "piracy" to certain Mycenaean doings.[19] Overdependence on the modern conceptualization of piracy is also problematic. By requiring the pirate to be "a professional marauder on the sea," Dan Stanislawski made the determination that "such activities were not suited to Mycenaean ships," and therefore the Mycenaeans did not commit piracy (Stanislawski 1974, 357). The suitability of LBA ships to actual naval engagements is uncertain. It is unlikely that actual ship-to-ship fighting was a common occurrence.[20] Most raids would have involved the seaborne raiders' landing and performing lightning blitzes on coastal settlements. This kind of attack is more analogous to the later Viking sea raiders who attacked England and Ireland.[21] De Souza, in his work on Greco-Roman piracy, uses a broader definition of piracy in the Classical and Archaic Greek periods: "The term pirate was widely used in the Greek world to refer to almost anyone who attacked

16 This issue of Mycenaean terminology is the weakest statement that de Souza makes in an otherwise very convincing work. He appears to contradict this negative verdict for Mycenaean piracy when discussing Homeric examples (see de Souza 1999, esp. 17–22).

17 For these terms, see Antony 2003, 20–21 with n3. The term *wokou* (Japanese *wako*) was used as a pejorative for Japanese pirates operating in South China. Interestingly enough, most *wokou* were actually Chinese (Antony 2003, 22–28; see also So 1975). For an excellent examination of the nature and identity of pirates in China in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries AD, see Murray 1987.

18 This observation has been made concerning the heroes of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, where raids can be seen as honorable, if conducted by heroes, or piratical (Avidov 1997, 10; de Souza 1999, 17–22).

19 The following are just a couple of examples of such uncritical use of the terms "pirate" and "piracy" in Mycenaean scholarship: Vermeule 1960, 71; Moreu 2003, 120 (also 70, fig. 6b, for a drawing on pottery noted as a "Cycladic pirate ship from Melos").

20 For confirmation that this kind of naval engagement did occur, see Wachsmann 1998, 317–19. It appears, however, to have been quite rare.

21 On the Vikings as "sea raiders" but also as part of the larger discussion of premodern piracy, see Konstam 2008, 23.

people *by* sea" (de Souza 1999, 41; my emphasis).[22] I believe that the label of "piracy"—or, perhaps better, "protopiracy,"[23] which would cover raids from the sea before ship-to-ship violence became a regular occurrence—is applicable to both the Archaic and Mycenaean periods of ancient Greece.

The image of the pirate ship bearing down on a fleeing merchantman is therefore anachronistic. It is highly unlikely that the pirates of the LBA had the ability to overtake ships on open water regularly. There is, however, a form of ship-to-ship piracy that would have been possible to implement in ancient times. Regardless of the ability of LBA mariners to sail the open seas, it appears that for some (if not many) of them, coasting—that is, sailing slowly along the coast rather than venturing into the more hazardous open seas—was the preferred method of sailing.[24] While ships were able to sail through the night,[25] inevitably some would have had to drop anchor, either in a protected harbor or even at a port. Such anchored ships represent ripe targets along the coast for pirates who, using a canoe or other small craft, could under the cover of darkness sail up to and board a merchant ship and rob her of her possessions. The presence of weapons on board merchant ships, exemplified by the shipwreck at Uluburun, may indicate the perceived need for the protection of persons and goods against such invasions.[26]

The evidence for Mycenaean piracy is scarce and circumstantial. A number of texts from Pylos (western Peloponnese) reference individuals who are either explicitly identified as captives or slaves from abroad or must be interpreted as such. The inscriptions are typically laconic, such as Ad 684: "At Pylos: 5 sons of the *Ti-nwa*-sian weavers (sons of rowers at *A-pu-ne-we*), 2 boys."[27] Other examples of captives, especially women, from the west coast of Anatolia are known (Latacz 2004, 281; Cline 2007, 199). The mechanisms by which these slaves were obtained are not expressed in the preserved documents. Were they captured as a result of raids or warfare? Furthermore, was a distinction made by the Mycenaeans between the two? There is no clear answer. What we may plausibly reconstruct is that Mycenaeans (from Pylos or some other kingdom) undertook raids by boat on distant shores. These raids may have been independent actions by some group or warlord, or they may have been sanctioned by the king (*wanax*). If these raids were not motivated by legitimate warfare, then we may consider them, state sanctioned or otherwise, to be protopiratical in nature, at least from the perspective of the attacked people.

## 5. POSSIBLE MYCENAEAN PIRACY ACCORDING TO HITTITE TEXTS

It has become the consensus opinion that the land of Ahhiyawa, which is found in Hittite texts, is to be equated with that of the Mycenaean Greeks, or a part thereof.[28] References to Ahhiyawa (also Ahhiya and later Hiyawa) are found in thirty texts dating to the Hittite New Kingdom, ranging from Tudhaliya I/II (ca. 1400 BC) to Suppiluliuma II (late thirteenth century).[29] According to the texts, the Ahhiyawans were a power that began to encroach on western Anatolia by occupying coastal territories that brought them into

22 His section on Archaic-period piracy is largely centered on differentiating the very similar acts of piracy and heroic raids (de Souza 1999, 17–22). See similarly Ormerod 1978; Tartaron 2013, 66.

23 The term "protopiracy" is perhaps better suited to these early forms of raids. Until both shipbuilding technology and sailing techniques reached a level at which ship-to-ship raiding became lucrative for pirates (who typically operate according to low-risk strategies) and therefore a regular means of gaining profit, pirates looked to the land. If we want to maintain a definition of piracy as exclusively ship-to-ship, even for the ancient world, then protopiracy can be used for this pre-ship-to-ship period.

24 See Arnaud 2011, 62, citing Eratosthenes *apud* Strabo 1.3.2.

25 This observation is certainly the contention of Pascal Arnaud (2011, 62).

26 See Wachsmann 1998, 321; also 307 for a general discussion of shipboard weapons.

27 This translation follows Chadwick 1973, 161.

28 The literature on Ahhiyawa is considerable. Recent works include Niemeier 2008; Kelder 2010; Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011.

29 On the dates of the Ahhiyawa texts and for an overview of the scholarly debates about Ahhiyawa, see Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011, 1–6.

contact with the central Anatolian power of the Hittites.[30] The Hittite texts referencing Ahhiyawa indicate a tense relationship between these powers, with periods of peace being interrupted by eruptions of violence. A recurrent concern evidenced in the earliest texts were sea raids conducted by various individuals. These raids were not elements of legitimate warfare carried out between two states; rather, they were driven by personal motivations (likely the plunder of resources, including slaves) of particular individuals. These individuals leading the raids were typically political leaders of independent or vassal states. There was, therefore, an inevitable political aspect to these raids: they represented the action of a polity against outsiders that is distinct from wartime aggression.

Possible references to piratical acts within the corpus of Ahhiyawa texts have been given by Gilan (2013, 53–54). To situate these examples better within the broader study of piracy, I repeat here some of the material. In two cases, the Indictment of Madduwatta (CTH 147; early fourteenth century) and the texts referencing Piyamaradu from the mid-thirteenth century, we read of sea raids by Ahhiyawans (Mycenaeans) and other individuals. These raids were not acts of war but instead acts of violence perpetrated against coastal peoples to gain wealth, slaves, and, though unstated, status. The raids were not the acts of private individuals—they were initiated by the leaders of particular lands. They were therefore state-sanctioned acts of protopiracy and were perceived as representing a legitimate means for the acquisition of wealth (and status), although the victims certainly would have seen it differently.

In the Indictment of Madduwatta, we read of a raid by three men against the island of Alasiya (Cyprus), apparently a land claimed by the Hittite king (likely Tudhaliya I/II). The passage, a quote from an early dispatch between the Hittite king and his wayward vassal Madduwatta, reads as follows:

> His Majesty said thus [. . .]: "Because [the land] of Alasiya belongs to My Majesty, [and the people of Alasiya] pay [me tribute—why have you continually raided it?" But] Madduwatta said thus: "[When Attarissiya and] the ruler [of Piggaya] were raiding the land of Alasiya, I often raided it too. But the father of His Majesty [had never informed] me, [nor] had His Majesty ever informed [me] (thus): 'The land of Alasiya is mine—recognize it as such!' If His Majesty is indeed now demanding back the civilian captives of Alasiya, I will give them back to him. And given that Attarissiya and the ruler of Piggaya are rulers independent of My Majesty, while (you) Madduwatta, are a servant of My Majesty—why have you joined up with [them]?"[31]

According to this passage, Madduwatta, a vassal of the Hittites, had joined up with two independent rulers, Attarissiya, the "ruler [literally LÚ, "man"] of Ahhiya [= Ahhiyawa]" (KUB 14.1+ obv. 1) and the (unnamed) ruler of Piggaya. As a group, the three men led raids against the island of Alasiya. What they acquired from these raids is unclear, but the plunder involved civilians (NAM.RA.ḪI.A) likely taken as slaves. What we can derive from this passage is that the raids of Alasiya were seen by Madduwatta (and likely the others) as a legitimate means of acquiring wealth. They were part, however big, of the economy of these invading groups and therefore represented a form of state-sanctioned and likely intrinsic protopiracy.

The texts referencing the activities of Piyamaradu may also provide some evidence for protopiratical raids. According to the so-called Tawagalawa Letter (CTH 181), Piyamaradu had found refuge in the land of Ahhiyawa, likely on the islands off the west coast of Anatolia. He used this refuge as a base for his operations against Hittite-controlled territory on the mainland.[32] While Piyamaradu's actions may not have been explicitly sanctioned by the king of Ahhiyawa, the Hittite ruler, likely Hattusili III, warned his fellow king that failure to curb Piyamaradu would result in renewed hostilities between the Hittites and Ahhiyawa (§12 KUB 14.3 iii 63–iv 15). The presence and apparent sanctuary of Piyamaradu in Ahhiyawan territory was seen as a distinct challenge to the Hittite king's ability to protect and control his western territories. As such, the protopiratical raids by subordinates such as Piyamaradu could result in interstate hostility.

In a letter (CTH 191) from Manapa-Tarhunta, king of the Seha River Land, to a Hittite king, possibly Muwatalli II, we read of one of Piyamaradu's protopiratical ventures. Piyamaradu defeated Manapa-Tarhunta in battle, temporarily forcing him to become a subordinate to Atpa, Piyamaradu's son-in-law who

30 On possible motivations for this encroachment, see Nikoloudis 2008, 49.

31 KUB 14.1+ rev. 84–90. For transliteration and translation, see Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011, 94–96.

32 This is the context of §11 (iii 52–62); see Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011, 114–15.

ruled Millawanda (Classical Miletus) as a vassal of Ahhiyawa.[33] Afterward, Piyamaradu launched a raid on Lazpa (Lesbos), and as a result, "Absolutely all of the dyers who belonged to me [i.e. Manapa-Tarhunta] went over [to him]. Those who [belonged] to Your Majesty [were . . .] dyers, and all without exception went over" (§4 KUB 19.5+KBo 19.79 obv. 9–10).[34] The dyers ($^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*ṢĀRIPŪTU*), likely those who worked with purple dye (Singer 2008), were taken by Piyamaradu and (at least some) were brought to Atpa, likely in Millawanda. I agree with Itamar Singer (2008, 21) when he writes that these dyers from Lazpa "were forced to 'join up.'" The raid on Lazpa probably provided lucrative returns for Piyamaradu and his allies: plunder, including highly specialized craftsmen, and status.

## 6. THE AMARNA LETTERS AND THE LUKKA

The Amarna corpus provides an incredibly detailed picture of intra- and interstate politics in the LBA.[35] Among the letters found at el-ʿAmārna (ancient Akhetaten) were eight letters sent from Alasiya (Cyprus) to Egypt.[36] As an island, Alasiya was susceptible to protopiratical raids, much like all coastal land. Another correlate to Alasiya's island setting is that at least a portion of its population was engaged in maritime activities. To export goods to mainland markets, the Alasiyans likely developed the necessary skills to sail the eastern Mediterranean Sea. According to Amarna letter EA 38, some Alasiyan sailors appear to have gone beyond the legitimate movement of goods to opportunistic attacks on others.

After stereotypical salutations, EA 38 begins with the king of Alasiya's quoting the concluding question from a complaint lodged by the pharaoh. The Alasiyan king begins the letter thus: "Why, my brother, do you say such a thing to me, 'Does my brother not know this?'"[37] The pharaoh's complaint is deflected, as the king of Alasiya responds: "As far as I am concerned, I have done nothing of the sort. Indeed, men of Lukka [text: Lukki], year by year, seize villages in my own country" (EA 38, lines 7–12). Here the king has dismissed the pharaoh's initial complaint, which likely centered on raids involving Alasiyans and perhaps others against Egyptian interests on the mainland, by saying that he, the king, had done nothing. This response likely means that the king had not authorized any raids. He then continues by claiming that his own land had been repeatedly raided by the Lukki (Lukka), who "seize villages" in Alasiya. It is unlikely that the Lukka were actually occupying sites on Alasiya. Their incursions were more likely to have been opportunistic raids for plunder.[38]

In the next two paragraphs, the king of Alasiya offers a confused response to the pharaoh's accusation that men from Alasiya were with "them" (likely the raiders). His full response is as follows:

> My brother, you say to me, "Men from your country were with them." My brother, I myself do not know that they were with them. If men from my country were (with them), send (them back) and I will act as I see fit. You, yourself, do not know men from my country. *They* would not do such a thing. But if men from my country did do this, then you yourself do as you see fit.[39]

The king of Alasiya expresses both ignorance of the ethnicity of the raiders and certainty that his people would not be involved in such activities. The request to have the supposed Alasiyan raiders sent back to the island is certainly for the king to ascertain the validity of the pharaoh's accusation. The king, however, immediately follows with the statement that no Alasiyan would ever be involved in illegal raids; therefore, he does not care what becomes of the captured raiders, even if some were Alasiyan. Alasiyans involved

33 For this period of Hittite history, see Bryce 2005, 224–27.

34 See Hoffner 2009, 294–95; Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011, 140–41.

35 On the Amarna letters, see Moran 1992.

36 Most letters were sent from the king of Alasiya to the pharaoh, but one, EA 40, was sent by a governor of Alasiya likely to a governor of Egypt (the recipient is not preserved).

37 All translations are taken from Moran 1992, 111; for transliteration and translation, see also Rainey 2015, 350–51.

38 See Casson 1991, 44–45; Wachsmann 1998, 320 (both cited in Gilan 2013, 52).

39 EA 28, lines 13–22; Moran 1992, 11 (emphasis original).

in these activities were being disavowed by their king—they deserved whatever punishment the pharaoh deemed appropriate. What we gain from this part of the letter is that the Alasiyan king, unlike Madduwatta and others mentioned above, was not a leader who condoned raids. At least, he claimed not to be.

The exact geographic distribution of the Lukka lands is not entirely clear, but it likely extended along the southern coast of Anatolia from western Pamphylia through Classical Lycia.[40] Strabo's description of the Lycian coast (14.3.2) indicates that it was well suited to piracy.[41] While the Lycians of Strabo's time (first century AD) are described as peaceful, their LBA ancestors appear to have been more agonistic.[42] The geography of the region, with its plentiful protected harbors, is an ideal location for piratical activities. As Martin Murphy (2010, 30) writes, "Piracy is only sustainable in places that offer a combination of rewarding hunting grounds, acceptable levels of risk and proximate safe havens." That the southern coast of Anatolia was an ancient shipping corridor can be assumed from certain shipwrecks in the region, such as that of Uluburun.[43] The Lukka appear to have been opportunistic sea raiders, striking Alasiya and even Egypt (Bryce 2010, 51), so it is highly likely that their activities could be considered piratical in nature.[44]

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

As discussed above, modern historiography recognizes different categorizes of piracy: parasitic/intrinsic/episodic and long wave/short wave. The material from the LBA does not allow us to make definitive statements concerning piratical acts of the period; however, certain plausible conclusions can be drawn. It is highly probable that the coastal societies of southern Anatolia, especially in the Lukka region, were inhabited by maritime peoples who incorporated protopiratical raids on coastal sites as part of their culture. These raids would have been driven in part by economics: plunder, both material goods and slaves, would enrich the raiders. They would also have been motivated by status. Leaders such as Piyamaradu and Madduwatta, much like the heroes of the Homeric works, had much to gain through successful protopiratical raids. The ability to attack and acquire plunder successfully would increase the leader's status among his own people. If these raids were indeed reflective of intrinsic piracy, then they may also be considered long wave. It is possible, however, that the raid of Lazpa by Piyamaradu was not simply an act of intrinsic piracy but instead an example of episodic, and therefore short-wave, piracy. If the raid was driven by the continued animosity between the Hittites and Ahhiyawa, it could have been that Piyarmaradu was exploiting the temporary weakness in the region caused by Hittite–Ahhiyawan tensions.

Murphy, a leading scholar of modern piracy, has created a series of seven factors that he believes are needed to enable piracy (Murphy 2010, 28–45). These factors were developed to study current problems of piracy and reflect the more thorough understanding of historical, political, economic, and social processes made available to historians of the modern era by an abundance of sources. The paucity of material for the ancient world, however, makes it difficult to assess accurately the applicability of these factors for LBA protopiracy. The seven factors are as follows (Murphy 2010, 28):[45]

1. Legal and jurisdictional opportunities (primarily international)
2. Favorable geography
3. Conflict and disorder

40 Gilan 2013, 54–55. The extent is roughly comparable to Strabo's description (14.3.1). See also Gander 2010.

41 Translation from Jones 1924, reprinted at the Perseus Digital Library (http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0099.tlg001.perseus-eng1:14.3.2).

42 Bryce 2005, 54; for further bibliography on the Lukka, see Gilan 2013, 55n31.

43 For some bibliography on the Uluburun wreck, see Gilan 2013, 50n8.

44 In his article on LBA piracy, Gilan includes a section on the "Sea People" (Gilan 2013, 56–61). It is difficult to understand who the Sea People were and what they were doing, especially in regard to Egypt. That they attacked Egyptian coastal settlements is clear (note the Medinet Habu inscription of Ramses III), but it is unclear to me that we should interpret their actions as piratical; therefore I have omitted a discussion of them in this essay.

45 For a more detailed discussion of each, see Murphy 2010, 29–45.

4. Underfunded law enforcement / inadequate security
5. Permissive political environments
6. Cultural acceptability / maritime tradition
7. Reward

These seven factors will be found in virtually all cases of modern piracy, although not necessarily in equal weight.

It is worthwhile to examine how these seven factors fit with our knowledge of piracy or protopiracy in the LBA. I briefly assess here the applicability of these seven points to the ancient world:

1. In this period, ancient states generally lacked the ability to develop legal means for defining and defending against piracy, and there was no coordinated system of international law to help do so. This is not to say there are no law cases involving international issues at sea. Shelly Wachsmann cites the assurance of the king of Tyre in a letter to Ugarit that cargo stolen by a "lord of killing" (*rb-tmtt*) has been taken back and will be returned.[46] She also mentions a Ugaritic case of wrecking, in which a man named Sukku is accused of purposefully wrecking a boat to claim its cargo.[47] It is difficult, however, to interpret these isolated cases as evidence for preexisting international agreements concerning maritime issues when they could very well be ad hoc attempts to deal with specific instances.
2. Texts that appear to reference protopiratical activity during this period largely concern the coastal regions of Anatolia and local islands, including Cyprus. For millennia, these regions were popular haunts for pirates. The rough coast with its protected harbors provided ample shelter for them.
3. The LBA was also a period of constant conflict. Warfare was a normal part of a kingdom's yearly activity. Conflict and disorder provide ample opportunities for piratical activities. Take, for example, Piyamaradu's raid of Lazpa (Lesbos), which occurred during a period when the Hittites and Ahhiyawans were contesting control of portions of western Anatolia.
4. There was no system in place for the enforcement of law at sea during this period. Maritime law does not seem to have been well defined, if it existed at all. In a letter sent from the king of Ugarit to the Hittite viceroy at Carchemish, the former claimed that enemy ships ravaged his lands while his troops were in the land of Hatti and his ships were in the Lukka region (RS 20.238).[48] It appears that it was the responsibility of affected states to police their own waters. Should their boats be unavailable for whatever reason, there would be virtually no way of ensuring the security of their coastline, thus making the region susceptible to piracy.
5. Based on available texts, it seems there were permissive political environments that enabled piracy along the Anatolian coast. Recall the raids by Madduwatta and others on Alasiya. These acts were protopiratical raids not just sanctioned by political leaders but in fact actively led by them. This situation is similar to the raids led by Homeric heroes and pirates, the major difference between the two likely being only a "matter of perceptions and labels" (de Souza 1999, 22). Plunder and status were likely motivating forces behind most protopiratical raids.[49]
6. We know virtually nothing about cultural acceptability in this period. That certain groups would have had a maritime focus is virtually certain, but material concerning their views of the sea and of piracy are lacking. In EA 38, the king of Alasiya claims he would never condone raids by his people and his people would never take part in such illicit activities. The veracity of his statement should be treated as suspect until proven otherwise.

46 Wachsmann 1998, 323, citing KTU 2.38 (translated by Hoftijzer and van Soldt in Wachsmann 1998, 334).

47 Wachsmann 1998, 323, citing RS 17.133 (translated by Hoftijzer and van Soldt in Wachsmann 1998, 340–41).

48 Gilan 2013, 61–62; see also Hoftijzer and van Soldt in Wachsmann 1998, 344.

49 Note, e.g., how Odysseus, in the guise of a Cretan, talks about how through raiding "my house grew prosperous, my standing therefore high among the Cretans" (*Od.* 14.233–34; translated in de Souza 1999, 19).

7. Finally, it is clear that rewards drove protopiracy. Piyamaradu acquired plunder and purple dyers from Lazpa, Madduwatta took plunder and people from Alasiya; and the Lukka plundered Alasiya and Egyptian territories. These raids were done, in part, to enrich the raider and, subsequently, his followers.

The paucity of material makes it impossible to apply Murphy's factors fully to the LBA. That being said, the available material points strongly to the existence of some form of piracy in this early period. The preference for raiding coastal sites as opposed to ship-to-ship plundering reflects the technological capability of ancient mariners. In view of this (exclusive or nearly exclusive) sea-to-land focus, we may perhaps better call these attacks acts protopiracy. This protopiracy appears to have been largely conducted by societies of whose economic and social existence it was part. Piyamaradu, Madduwatta, and other participants in LBA protopiracy belong to the long history of piracy. They were certainly not the first pirates, but they can be considered among the forerunners of modern piracy.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter other than the following ones are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

| | |
|---|---|
| LBA | Late Bronze Age |
| TLG | M. C. Pantelia, ed., *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A Digital Library of Greek Literature*. University of California, Irvine: Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. Accessed March 10, 2017. https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/ |
| UNCLOS | United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea |

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# 6 MURSILI II AND THE *SAMMELTAFELN*

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## DEDICATION

I am pleased to offer this contribution in honor of my friend and colleague Theo van den Hout, without whose groundbreaking work it would not have been possible.[1]

## 1. PREVIOUS COMMENTARY ON THE *SAMMELTAFELN*

*Sammeltafeln*, or collection tablets, on which two or more individual compositions are inscribed together on a single tablet, are relatively infrequent in the Hittite libraries.[2] Nevertheless, they occur across numerous text genres and reflect the spectrum of cultural layers, their only universal feature being that they are all short texts, which of course is what made it possible for them to be placed on a tablet with other compositions in the first place. The tablet inventories suggest that the individual compositions were grouped together because of their similar subject matter, as has frequently been noted (see Mascheroni 1988; Hutter 2011; van den Hout 2008), although there are exceptions.

Lorenza M. Mascheroni (1988) made the first attempt to collect and discuss all the known *Sammeltafeln* but was unable to offer many insights beyond noting the points above, along with the observation that the *Sammeltafeln* are a phenomenon of the Late Empire period, based on the presence of named scribes in a few cases and on the paleography, which places many of the *Sammeltafeln* at the end of the thirteenth century. Others have expressed a similar view (e.g., van den Hout 2008; Haas 1988, 86; but see below). More recently, Manfred Hutter (2011) has usefully grouped the *Sammeltafeln* into three categories: (1) those that are closely related and share a CTH number, (2) those that contain distinct but thematically similar texts, and (3) those that contain thematically *dis*similar texts. Dismissing categories 1 and 3 as special cases,[3] and focusing on understanding the rationale behind group 2, Hutter (2011, 125–26) concludes:

> Eine Reihe von Sammeltafeln verdankt ihre Existenz jedoch dem Anliegen, die kollektive Erinnerung an „problematische" Situationen oder Krisen der hethitischen Geschichte zu bewahren; da ein Mittel zur Bewältigung solcher Krisen die Durchführung von Ritualen war, nimmt diese Textgattung auch einen großen Raum unter

1 I thank Francesco Fuscagni for reading a draft of this essay and offering helpful comments. I am grateful as well to Susanne Görke for sharing her research and for conversations that helped immensely in shaping my thesis. And finally, I express my deep gratitude to Doris Prechel for her continuing support and to Giulia Torri for the invitation to participate in the Florence workshop on Hittite Magic Rituals in April 2017.

2 Notwithstanding the probability that some *Sammeltafeln* remain unidentified (and unidentifiable) among the numerous orphaned fragments.

3 Hutter 2011, 123. Pittei's ritual, which is combined with the festival for the goddess of Katapa (CTH 520) in group 3, is worth singling out because it has been shown that the former was written down in haste from dictation (Bachvarova 2013), and the reason for using the tablet containing CTH 520 for that purpose may have been nothing other than expediency.

> den auf den Sammeltafeln erhaltenen Texten ein. Die Zusammenstellung solcher Texte auf Sammeltafeln ist somit ein Instrumentarium hethitischer Gelehrsamkeit, einen Teil der schriftlichen Überlieferung als Literatur vor dem Vergessen zu bewahren.

Hutter suggests that the *Sammeltafeln* were a product of the Hittite "culture of knowledge"; they were compiled to keep alive a "collective memory" of particular episodes of history—such as plague, weakness (viz., Huwarlu and the text of Mursili II's aphasia), or political threat from the Kaska (viz., KUB 4.1)—as a resource in case of future need.

## 2. SURVEY OF THE *SAMMELTAFELN*

Since the publication of the articles of Mascheroni and Hutter, a number of new *Sammeltafeln* have been identified, so it is worthwhile to offer an updated list prior to presenting the case for my thesis (table 6.1). This list is compiled from the *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln*, identifications in the scholarly literature, and the *Sammeltafeln* identified in the tablet inventories (Dardano 2006). It is by no means comprehensive and is intended as a provisional list for the purpose of supporting the arguments made here.

Table 6.1. Provisional list of known collection tablets.

| Text | Date of copy | | Findspot | Contents | Hutter's category* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| KBo 3.8 + KUB 7.1 | NH | H. III (scribe is Armaziti) | — | CTH 390.A (four rituals: Ayatarsa, Wattitti, anonymous, Susumaniga) | 2 |
| KBo 4.2 | NH | — | — | CTH 398 (Huwarlu); CTH 486 ("Sprachlähmung") | 3 > 2 |
| KBo 12.38++ | LNH | S. II | HaH | CTH 121 (two historical texts of T IV and S II) | Historical |
| KBo 12.100 | LNH | — | HaH | CTH 765.3 (Luwian ritual); second Luwian ritual | [2] |
| KBo 12.104 | NH | — | HaH | CTH 393 (two rituals by Anniwiyanni; duplicate to VBoT 24) | 1 |
| KBo 12.112 | LNH | — | HaH | CTH 412 (two birth rituals) | [2] |
| KBo 12.130 | LNH | — | HaH | CTH 456.3.E (purification); unidentified ritual | [2] |
| KBo 13.20 | LNH | — | HaH | CTH 533 (ritual or inventory); CTH 500 (omen) | [3] |
| KBo 13.241 + KUB 44.4 | LNH | T. IV or S. II | HaH | CTH 528.22 (cult inventory Katapa); CTH 767.7 (ritual of Pittei) | 3 |
| KBo 15.1 | IIIA | M. II | Bk. A | CTH 407 (Pulisa); CTH 779 (Ummaya) | 2 |
| KBo 17.1++ | OH | — | Bk. A | CTH 416.A (four OH rituals for the purification of the royal couple) | [1] |
| KBo 17.2++ | OH | — | T. I | CTH 416.B (four OH rituals for the purification of the royal couple) | [1] |
| KBo 17.5++ | OH | — | T. I | CTH 416.C (four OH rituals for the purification of the royal couple) | [1] |

*(continued)*

Table 6.1. Provisional list of known collection tablets *(continued).*

| Text | Date of copy | | Findspot | Contents | Hutter's category* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| KBo 15.10++ | MH | T. I/II | Bk. A | CTH 443 (two related rituals concerning Ziplantawiya) | 1 |
| KBo 17.54++ | MH | — | Bk. A | CTH 418 ("If a stranger commits an offense against the royal family"); CTH 458.1.1 (healing ritual with mythological sections) | [2] |
| KBo 17.65 | MH | — | Bk. A | CTH 489 (two birth rituals on different sides of tablet) | 1 |
| KBo 19.137 | NH | — | T. I | CTH 488.6 (ritual for Hamrishara); CTH 491.3.B (Kizzuwatna purification) | [2] |
| KBo 22.121 | NH | — | T. I | CTH 424.2.B; not preserved | ? |
| KBo 23.1+++ | NH | — | Bk. A | CTH 472 (Ammihatna, Tulbi, and Mati written twice) | 1 |
| KBo 27.108 + KUB 12.44 | LNH | T. IV or S. II | HaH | CTH 778 (mouthwashing ritual for Tasmisarri and Taduhepa); CTH 392 (Anna's ritual) | 3 |
| KBo 37.10 | MH? | — | Bk. H | Duplicate to CTH 458.2 (incantation) | [2] |
| KBo 43.223 + KBo 9.127 + KUB 36.41 + KUB 35.107 | MH | — | Bk. E, C, N | CTH 764.I.A (three mythological narratives: one Hittite, two Luwian) | — > 1? |
| KBo 43.320++ | MH | — | Bk. D | CTH 390.B (four rituals: Ayatarsa, Wattitti, anonymous, Susumaniga) | 2 > 1 |
| KBo 47.23 | NH | — | Bk. | CTH 456.3.C (purification); unidentified ritual | [2] |
| KBo 55.31++ | NH | — | T. I | CTH 390.C (four rituals: Ayatarsa, Wattitti, anonymous, Susumaniga) | [1] |
| KBo 65.242 | — | — | T. I | CTH 832 (fragment); *Konkordanz* notes "CTH 825 oder Sammeltafel?" | ? |
| KUB 2.2 + KUB 48.1 | NH | — | — | CTH 413.1 (foundation-stone ritual); CTH 725 (temple-initiation ritual) | 2 |
| KUB 4.1 | NH | H. III (scribe is Armaziti) | — | CTH 422.A (incantation on enemy border); CTH 552 (kidney omen) | 3 |
| KUB 4.53[4] | — | — | — | Hymn/prayer (obv.); medical omen (rev.) | [2/3] |
| KUB 7.46++ | NH | — | — | CTH 458.1.1.B (incantation ritual); CTH 418 ("If a stranger commits an offense against the royal family") | [2] |

*(continued)*

4 See Rutz 2012, esp. 177: "Looking at the obverse and reverse of KUB 4.53, the most compelling connection that can be inferred is quite general: a common concern with illness, both an appeal for divine aid (obverse) and reading the signs encoded around it (reverse)."

Table 6.1. Provisional list of known collection tablets *(continued)*.

| Text | Date of copy | | Findspot | Contents | Hutter's category* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| KUB 7.54 | LNH | T. IV or S. II? | — | Maddunani (CTH 425.1); Dandanku (CTH 425.2) | 2 |
| KUB 7.58 | LNH | T. IV | — | CTH 426.1.1.A (ritual for the army); CTH 779 (Ummaya, abbreviated version) | 2 |
| KUB 8.30 | LNH | | HaH | CTH 533 (ritual or inventory); CTH 500 (omen) | [3] |
| KUB 9.31 | NH | — | — | CTH 757 (Zarpiya); CTH 410 (Uhhamuwa); CTH 394 (Ashella) | 2 |
| KUB 17.8 | NH | — | — | Unknown ritual (col. i); CTH 491.3 (Hurrian purification rites, cols. ii and iii); CTH 457.1 (ritual and incantation of fire; cols. iii–iv) | [2] |
| KUB 17.28 | NH | — | — | CTH 730 (incantation); CTH 426 (ritual for the army); CTH 458.2 (incantation); and three others | 2 |
| KBo 21.20[5] | NH | — | Bk. E | CTH 461.9 (therapeutic prescriptions; prayer and ritual; translated from Akkadian) | ? |
| KUB 23.92 | LNH | T. IV | — | CTH 178.1 (letter) | Letter |
| KUB 24.7 | NH | — | — | CTH 717 (ritual for Ishtar); CTH 363.1 (Sun-god, cow, and fisherman) | 3 |
| KUB 24.14 | NH | — | — | CTH 397.A (Hebatarakki); 729 (Hattian-Hittite incantations) | 2 |
| KUB 26.71 | NH | — | — | Anitta (CTH 1); Ammuna (CTH 18); CTH 39.6 (OH historical fragment) | Historical |
| KUB 28.88 + KUB 40.85 | LNH | T. IV or S. II? | — | CTH 734.2.A (obv. Hattian festival); CTH 295.13 (rev. legal proceeding) | 3 |
| KUB 29.9 | NH | — | Bk. D | CTH 523.II.5 (inventory); CTH 536.I.A (omen) | — > 3 |
| KUB 30.27 | NH | — | — | CTH 451 (two death rituals) | [1] |
| KUB 30.36[6] | NH | — | HaH | CTH 401.1 (ritual of Banippi); CTH 400.1 (ritual of Iriya) | [2] |
| KUB 30.48 | MH | — | Bk. A | CTH 390.D (four rituals: Ayatarsa, Wattitti, anonymous, Susumanniga) | [1] |
| KUB 33.70 | NH | — | — | CTH 403.3.1.A (Mallidunna); CTH 403.2.B (Mallidunna) | [2] |
| KUB 36.98 | NH | — | T. I | CTH 1 (Anitta); CTH 18 (Ammuna) | Historical |

*(continued)*

5 See Schwemer 2013, 159–62.

6 So Torri 2021, 255.

Table 6.1. Provisional list of known collection tablets *(continued).*

| Text | Date of copy | | Findspot | Contents | Hutter's category* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| KUB 41.11 | LNH | — | — | CTH 456.5 (purification ritual); ritual for bestiality | [2] |
| KUB 41.17 + KBo 64.14 | NH | — | T. I | CTH 424.1 (Tapalazunauli, col. i); CTH 424.2 (col. ii 1–17); CTH 410 (Uhhamuwa, col. ii 18ff.); CTH 394 (Ashella, col. iv 1–25); CTH 424.3 (Tarhuntapaddu, col. iv 26ff.) | 2 |
| KUB 41.18 | IIIA | M. II | — | CTH 424.1.C (Tapalazunauli); CTH 394.D (Ashella) | 2 |
| KUB 41.22 | LNH | T. IV or S. II? | — | CTH 456.3.A (purification); CTH 470.5 (purification) | [2] |
| KUB 42.65[7] | NH | — | — | CTH 247.4 (receipt); unidentified | ? |
| KUB 43.55[8] | LNH | H. III? | — | CTH 448.4.2 (ritual concerning a dream of a king); ritual against a DÌM.NUN.ME demon | 3 |
| KUB 43.56 + KBo 51.189 + KBo 52.8 | NH | — | T. I | CTH 646 (containing two rituals related to Kuliwisna) | [2] |
| KUB 45.20 | NH | | | CTH 426.1.1.B (ritual for defeated army); CTH 779 (Ummaya) | [2] |
| KUB 46.39 + VSNF 12.58 | LNH | T. IV (scribe is Attanali) | — | CTH 495 (six rituals from Arusna) | [1] |
| KUB 54.65++ | NH | — | — | Ritual by an augur (i–ii 7); CTH 425.1 (Maddunani); CTH 425.2 (Dandanku); CTH 757 (Zarpiya) | 2 |
| HFAC 15 | NH | — | — | Duplicate to CTH 458.2 (incantation) | [2] |
| HT 1 + KBo 13.212 | NH | — | HaH | CTH 757 (Zarpiya); CTH 410 (Uhhamuwa); CTH 394 (Ashella) | 2 |
| IBoT 2.115++ | NH | — | T. I | CTH 408.B.1 (Pupuwanni); ritual "of the baby goat" | [2] |
| IBoT 4.14 + KBo 24.4 | NH | — | T. I | CTH 408.B.2 (Pupuwanni); ritual "of the baby goat" | [2] |
| Bo 5085 | MH | — | — | CTH 403.2.C (Malidunna); not preserved | ? |
| VBoT 24 | NH | — | — | CTH 393 (two rituals by Anniwiyanni) | 1 |
| Tablet Inventories | | | | | |
| KBo 31.8+ | NH | | Bk. A | One tablet, six conjurations | Dardano 2006, 24–25 |

*(continued)*

7 See Mora and Vigo 2012, 177–79.

8 See, among others, now van den Hout 2020, 208–9.

Table 6.1. Provisional list of known collection tablets *(continued)*.

| Text | Date of copy | Findspot | Contents | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| KUB 30.46 | NH | Bk. A | Left col: one tablet, two rituals (involving bird omens?) | Dardano 2006, 93–94 |
| | | | Right col. 4'–6': one long tablet: Word of Sa[-. . .]; conjuration w[hen . . .] | Dardano 2006, 94–95 |
| | | | Right col. 7'–10': one tablet, four conjurations: When a cow [. . .] a calf, etc. | Dardano 2006, 94–95 |
| | | | Right col. 11' –12': one tablet containing multiple conjurations | Dardano 2006, 94–95 |
| KBo 31.4 | NH | Bk. A | One tablet, four rituals: Susumanniga, Ayatarsa, Watiti, anonymous (CTH 390) | Dardano 2006, 102–3 |
| KUB 30.51++ | NH | Bk. B | One tablet, four rituals relating to plague | Dardano 2006, 132–33 |
| KBo 31.27++ | NH | Bk. A | One tablet, three *mukeššar* | Dardano 2006, 149–51 |
| KBo 31.26 | NH | Bk. D | [One?] tablet, three rituals | Dardano 2006, 176–77 |
| KBo 31.25+ | NH | Bk. M | [One?] tablet, three rituals (fragmentary) | Dardano 2006, 233–34 |

* "[ ]" indicates a text not discussed by Hutter; the number has been assigned by me. "3 > 2," etc. indicates my reassignment of Hutter's category. "—" indicates a text treated by Hutter but not placed in one of his categories. "?" indicates a text whose category cannot be determined.

Abbreviations: Bk. = Büyükkale; H. = Hattusili; HaH = Haus am Hang (House on the Slope); LNH = Late New Hittite; M. = Mursili; MH = Middle Hittite; NH = New Hittite; OH = Old Hittite; S. = Suppiluliuma; T. = Tudhaliya; T. I = Temple I.

Some general observations can be made on the basis of this list. Those *Sammeltafeln* in Hutter's category 3—tablets containing dissimilar texts—that can be dated paleographically or through internal evidence all postdate Mursili II (for KBo 4.2, see below), which suggests that the tendency to group disparate texts together is indeed a function of the last half century of the empire. All the *Sammeltafeln* dated LNH and whose findspot is known come from the House on the Slope, suggesting they may have been school texts.[9]

Conversely, *Sammeltafeln* dated MH (or earlier) tend to fall into group 1—that is, texts that are so closely connected that they share a CTH number. The two MH copies of CTH 390, containing four rituals dealing with childhood illness, Hutter puts in group 2; however, in my view, the four rituals on this tablet fit better into group 1, as they are not attested independently of one another (hence their inclusion under a single CTH number).

Like any other long-term documents, *Sammeltafeln* were copied. Sometimes they were copied with all the rituals transferred to the new tablet, as with CTH 390 just mentioned. KUB 45.20 and KUB 7.58 both contain a ritual for the army in defeat (CTH 426.1.1), together with Ummaya's ritual. HT 1 + KBo 13.212 and KUB 9.31 both contain the texts of Zarpiya (CTH 757), Uhhamuwa (CTH 410), and Ashella (CTH 394), in that order. On the other hand, there are *Sammeltafeln* that contain some duplicate texts but do not correspond

9 On the nature of the House on the Slope as a scriptorium, see Torri 2021 (and §6.3 for a discussion of the collection tablets found there).

completely. KUB 7.54 contains Maddunani and Dandanku, while KUB 54.65++ contains those two as well as an unknown ritual by an augur and Zarpiya (CTH 757). KUB 26.71 and KUB 36.98 both contain the texts of CTH 1 and 18, but KUB 26.71 has an additional historical text, CTH 39.6. It seems the *Sammeltafeln* were not only copied as established collections but could also be subject to recombinations, additions, and/or deletions. Further, texts inscribed on *Sammeltafeln* tended to continue to be placed on *Sammeltafeln*.

Six additional *Sammeltafeln* are listed in the tablet inventories. One *Sammeltafel* (listed in KUB 30.51++ rev. iv 12'–16'; CTH 277.4.A; Dardano 2006, 132–33, 146–47), containing four plague rituals on one tablet, has apparently not survived.[10] However, one of the rituals listed as being on it may be attested on another, surviving *Sammeltafel*, KUB 41.17 + KBo 64.14, which contains five plague rituals: Tapalazunauli (col. i); CTH 424.2 (col. ii 1–17); Uhhamuwa (col. ii 18ff.); Ashella (col. iv 1–25); and Tarhuntapaddu (CTH 424.3; col. iv 26ff.). CTH 424.2, a ritual against plague appearing in a district, may be the same ritual listed in the inventory entry in lines 14'–15' (see Fuscagni 2016). If so, the varying content of these two collection tablets provides an additional example of compositions being rearranged into new combinations.

## 3. MURSILI II AND THE *SAMMELTAFELN*

Given the changing way *Sammeltafeln* were used over time and the fact that the text combinations were not fixed, it is important to consider not only what the *Sammeltafeln* contain but also who might have been responsible for those contents. A significant number of the compositions inscribed on the *Sammeltafeln*, all of a religious nature and falling into Hutter's category 2, can be connected to the figure of Mursili II (r. ca. 1321–1295 BC). Indeed, I suggest that we can attribute the practice of collecting distinct, but thematically similar, compositions to the time of Mursili II. All the texts discussed below can be connected to this figure and were initially placed on *Sammeltafeln* in his reign.

### 3.1. PLAGUE RITUALS

It is well known that the Arzawan plague rituals were especially likely to be placed on *Sammeltafeln*. Six examples of the scapegoat subgenre survive: Ashella, Uhhamuwa, Pulisa, Tapalazunauli, Tarhantupaddu, and CTH 424.2 (the name of the practitioner is not preserved). A second type is represented by the compositions of the augurs Maddunani and Dandanku, whose texts, as noted above, are paired twice on *Sammeltafeln*.[11] Of these plague rituals, only a single, probably late, copy of Ashella (KUB 9.32++) stands alone on a tablet; all others are on *Sammeltafeln* or on fragments too small for a determination to be made.

The Arzawa plague rituals were acquired during the reign of Mursili II, who had to contend with outbreaks of sickness for much of his reign (Collins 2010, 2019; Archi 2015). They were copied and kept in the Hittite libraries and thus were long-term compositions according to the standards established by van den Hout (e.g., 2009), yet they show little indication of having been reworked by the Hittite scribal apparatus.[12] Few signs of redaction or cross-fertilization with other rituals are apparent, with the result that they remained short, contained rituals easily stored on *Sammeltafeln*.

Van den Hout (2015) has argued that scholar-scribes were responsible for the rituals that are included in the tablet inventories, which he understands to be lists of small "study collections" maintained by elite scholar-scribes and which correspond to the compositions whose colophons have named scribes. If such is the case, then it is significant that none of the plague rituals has a named scribe and, excepting the reference mentioned above to a tablet containing four plague rituals, all are excluded from the tablet inventories.

10 The first ritual of the tablet, listed in lines 12'–14'—"When in the land of Salattani there is dying as a result of sorcery"—is unknown.

11 A third subcategory consists of two very fragmentary rituals (CTH 424.4 and 424.5), both against plague but whose ritualists' names and places of origin are not preserved; they do not appear to be *Sammeltafeln*. It is perhaps significant that the copies are dated to the mid- to late-thirteenth century (paleographically IIIC and IIIB, respectively), and thus postdate Mursili II. For more on these rituals, see Collins 2019 and forthcoming.

12 For instances of scribal editing in the scapegoat rituals, see Collins, forthcoming, chapter 2.

These observations are especially noteworthy in the light of van den Hout's (2015, 222) assertion that texts of "foreign" origin (i.e., from outside central Anatolia) form the overwhelming majority of texts *with* named scribes. Further, the plague rituals would seem to qualify for scholarly interest if that interest was practically motivated—that is, if the scholar-scribes were seeking to collect and preserve practical knowledge that would benefit their king, again according to van den Hout (2015, 214, 222–23); yet the plague rituals do not have the complicated textual tradition we might expect in that case.

The plague rituals are short in part because, as noted above, they did not undergo much editing by the Hittite scribes (Collins 2019, 197–99), unlike the elaborate Arzawan rituals of the women Allī and Ambazzi,[13] which were thoroughly integrated into the scribal literature already in the Early Empire period. Coincidently, both of these women's ritual compositions *are* listed in the tablet inventories, as is that of Paskuwatti, another female Arzawan ritualist.[14] Rather, the plague rituals were appropriated *after* the literary renaissance of the Early Empire period, copied onto *Sammeltafeln* (sometimes multiple *Sammeltafeln*), and filed away in the libraries of Hattusa in the reign of Mursili II for safekeeping, if not for future use.[15]

In support of this conclusion, moreover, is KUB 41.18 (a duplicate of Ashella, CTH 394), which is likely datable paleographically to Mursili II. The *Konkordanz* and the hethiter.net edition currently date it "MH?"—but the diagnostic signs are not present to confirm the dating, though it is clearly older than duplicates A, B, and C.

### 3.2. UMMAYA

Ummaya's ritual (CTH 779) is an Early Empire Kizzuwatnean Hurrian composition for military success. The earliest datable copy (KBo 15.1) was adapted by and for Mursili II, and the tablet copy almost certainly dates to this reign as well.[16] It is written on a *Sammeltafel* with Pulisa's plague ritual—which itself is further evidence, incidentally, in support of Mursili's connection to the plague rituals. Two later copies, both also on *Sammeltafeln*, name Tasmi-sarruma/Tudhaliya IV (Campbell 2016, 298) and are paired instead with CTH 426.1, a late military ritual. As suggested above, it seems that compositions could be switched out and recombined according to the changing preferences and needs of the day. But committing the ritual to a *Sammeltafel* in the first place is likely to have been done at the initiative of the scribes of the king whose rituals appear on the earliest tablet—that is, Mursili II.

### 3.3. KBo 4.2

Hutter placed KBo 4.2 in his category 3—that is, tablets containing texts of dissimilar content. On it are inscribed copies of Huwarlu's ritual and the text of Mursili's aphasia; because Mursili's aphasia text is more a report than a ritual proper, its being combined with Huwarlu on a single tablet is viewed as dissonant. Volkert Haas (1998, 26–27) suggested the common denominator between the two texts was the oracular aspect; Huwarlu's ritual is designed to address negative bird omens, while an oracular investigation is undertaken in the treatment of Mursili's problem. Van den Hout (2004, 374–75) has since offered a different possibility—namely, that Huwarlu is the common denominator. He cites two tablet inventories that list rituals attributed to Huwarlu the augur: KBo 31.4 + KUB 30.50 v 18'–20' ("One tablet [fi]nished, text (of) Huwa[rl]u, augur: 'When th[e]y celebrate LAMMA *luli*[*mi*]'") and the fragmentary KBo 31.10:1–2 ("[One tablet, text of Hu]warlu, [augur: 'When they celebrate LAMM]A *lulimi*'"). This second text goes on to mention two further tablets, one containing multiple incantations (lines 3–4: "[One tablet: on this [tablet x incantations have been recor]ded. Two incantations . . .[. . .]") and the other apparently referring to an incantation to be recited in the event of a thunderstorm (lines 5–7: "[One tablet: on t]his [tablet . . .] thunderstorm [. . . these

13 On Ambazzi as an Arzawan practitioner, see Collins, forthcoming.

14 Allī (KUB 8.74 + KUB 58.96 rev. 7'; Dardano 2006, 178); Ambazzi (KBo 10.6 i 3; Dardano 2006, 82); Paskuwatti (KBo 31.5++ ii 6 and KBo 31.26 obv. 3; Dardano 2006, 162, 174).

15 Copies come from Temple I, Büyükkale A, with one from the House on the Slope.

16 Note the diagnostic early LI in the colophon that would make this a IIIA copy.

wor]ds he speaks. [. . .(?)]"). Van den Hout suggests that Huwarlu was the author of these rituals as well and proposes that the incantation relating to the thunderstorm could have been one of the sources for Mursili's aphasia text, which attributes Mursili's loss of speech to a thunderstorm. If so, then not only Huwarlu but also Mursili himself are the common denominators between the two texts.

As van den Hout (2004, 380n42) notes, the inventory description of Huwarlu's ritual better fits Anniwiyanni's known ritual (CTH 398) than Huwarlu's. It is her ritual that is directed at the LAMMA *lulimmi*. Anniwiyanni is identified as a servant of Hurlu, who is probably to be identified with Huwarlu (Kronasser 1962). I have discussed at length the close connections between the rituals of Huwarlu and Anniwiyanni elsewhere (Collins 2020, forthcoming). If Huwarlu is to be connected to Mursili II, then by association we can also connect him to Anniwiyanni's rituals, which incidentally also are inscribed on a *Sammeltafel*, though of category 1.[17]

### 3.4. KUB 43.55

CTH 448.4 is a substitution ritual designed for a Tudhaliya, probably Tudhaliya I/II (edition in Taracha 2000; on the identity of Tudhaliya, see Miller 2004, 352). Version 2 of this ritual, inscribed on the tablet KUB 43.55, is a six-columned *Sammeltafel* containing the end of the ritual (Görke 2017) that Haas (1988), followed by Piotr Taracha (2000, 166), dated to Hattusili III.[18] The second text on the tablet is a ritual against possession by the DÌM.NUN.ME demon (edition in Haas 1988). The preserved portion of the colophon, though, applies only to the substitution ritual (KUB 43.55 rev. v 1'–13'). It reads: "[Tablet x]. Complete. The festival of 'making it right.' [T]hese tablets we recopied from wooden tablets and on these tablets they are made [a]new. [A]mong them, one composition is from early times: When it happened that His Majesty, Tudhaliya, Great [K]ing, (during) the ritual of the Sun-goddess of the Earth in Hattusa, in the house of the grandfather, saw a dream, it was the time in that year when the Storm-god thundered in Urwara. But the festival of thunder . . . [text breaks off]." Thus the ritual was performed in response to a dream incubation that threatened the king's well-being (Mouton 2005, 210–11; Görke 2017).

Taracha (2000, 164) linked CTH 448.4 to Mursili II, noting the expression [*nu-wa-ra-aš* $^{URUD}$($^{U}$ZI.)KIN.BAR-*aš* $^{G}$]$^{IŠ}$*šar-pa-az še-ku-ú-e-en* "[and] we have sewn(?) [them] with the point of a ne[edle]" (IBoT 3.147 (+) Bo 4371 17'; CHD Š, 288b), which is comparable to a passage in one of the plague prayers of Mursili II: *nu-kán* $^{URUDU}$ZI.[K]IN.BAR-*aš* $^{GIŠ}$*šar-pa-az ku-un-ku-u-e-ni* "We are dangling from the point of a needle" (KUB 14.10 iv 19–20; Rieken et al. 2016b; CHD Š, 288b). Mursili II had an interest in perpetuating the work of his Early Empire predecessor, as we know from the text of the cult of the deity of the night that he reordered (KUB 32.133 i 2–7; Miller 2004, 312, 352n491; Görke 2017). Further in support of this understanding, Görke points to echoes of the text of Mursili's aphasia in the colophon of KUB 43.55: both share the elements of thunder and bad dreams. In sum, KUB 43.55 is likely a Hattusili III–era copy of a portion of the substitution ritual CTH 448.4 (Görke 2017) that Mursili II had preserved and reedited from wooden tablets (per the colophon). Hattusili III's scribes may have combined this excerpt with the DÌM.NUN.ME ritual based on the presence of a *gapirta*-rodent offering rite in both, as suggested by Haas (1988, 86).

### 3.5. PRAYERS

Prayers were not, as a rule, placed on *Sammeltafeln*. The prayer KUB 30.13 (+) KBo 12.132 (+) VBoT 121 (CTH 376.2) has a double paragraph marker that might indicate a *Sammeltafel* (van den Hout 2007, 404) or

17 Anniwiyanni's ritual is mentioned in the tablet inventory KUB 30.65+ ii 11 (= KBo 31.26 obv. 8; cf. KBo 31.33:4–5), where, notably, the tablet is not said to contain two rituals: only a ritual for the LAMMA *lulimmi* and the *innarawant*-demons is mentioned (the latter demons having been added to the title as we know it from VBoT 24), but reflecting accurately the ritual's content. This inventory entry suggests that the Hittite librarians did not view these rituals as independent compositions any more than we do today.

18 KUB 43.55 contains only a small piece of the ritual: column ii is a request for blessings followed by offerings to the birth and fate deities; column iii mentions the offering of the *gapirta*-rodent and of the baby goat. In the palace, the ritual is declared complete and the palace is cleansed. A final note (col. iii 7–8) tells us that the tablets of the rituals of the *gapirta*-rodent and goat are separate (see Taracha 2000, 58–65).

a scribe with an unsteady hand (Torri 2021, 210). The edition in Rieken et al. 2016a does not reference the double paragraph line. The preserved text is a draft from the House on the Slope of the prayer by Mursili II to the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

While KBo 4.6 (CTH 380.1, dupl. A), too, has been shown not to be a *Sammeltafel*—as suggested by Hutter (2011, 16n3) and now discounted by Alexandra Daues and Elisabeth Rieken (2015, esp. 44n12)—it is nevertheless of relevance here because it is a prayer—usually dated to Mursili II—containing a substitution ritual for the ailing Gassuliyawiya that shows similarities to the substitution ritual CTH 448.4 discussed in section 3.4 above.[19] Further, Daues and Rieken (2015, 40–41) point out the close parallel between KBo 4.6 obv. 10'–16' and KBo 15.1 i 14–20, a passage belonging to Pulisa's plague ritual, which is on the *Sammeltafel* with Ummaya's ritual (see section 3.2). The relevant passage in Pulisa's ritual reads: "If some male god of the enemy land has caused this plague, I have j[us]t given to him an adorned man as a substitute. This o[ne is gr]eat with respect to his head, this one is great with respect to his heart, and this [one is gr]eat with respect to his limb. You, male deity, be [pla]cated [with] th[is] adorned man. Tu[rn agai]n in friendship to the king, the [lords], the ar[my, and to] the land of Hatti" (Collins 2014). Compare KBo 4.6 §2': "If you, O god, my lord, are seeking some evil in me, t[he 'Great Daughter'], I herewith send you [my] adorned substitute. Compared to me she is excellent: she is pure, she is radiant, she is pale, she is endowed with everything. Examine her, O god, my lord! Let this female go back and forth before the god, my lord, and may you turn again in favor toward the Great Daughter" (translation based on Singer 2002, 72, and improved following Rieken et al. 2016c).

In sum, the theme of substitution seems to be a thread running through the religious documents of Mursili II; it is a memory of a past that Mursili II was interested in perpetuating.

## 4. CONCLUSIONS

Far from being a phenomenon restricted to the Late Empire period, *Sammeltafeln* of the type that combine texts with similar content rather have their origins in the reign of Mursili II, whose scribes were instrumental in their development and use. It seems improbable that texts designed to benefit this king would have been placed on *Sammeltafeln* only later, by kings whose interests they neither reflected nor served—though copying the existing texts onto new *Sammeltafeln* would have been in their purview. The fact that individual compositions on *Sammeltafeln* could be removed, added, or replaced with another more suited to the current need suggests they did reflect at least to some extent the interests of the current reign. The copying of *Sammeltafeln* thus suggests their continuing relevance as a resource rather than simply as school texts. Securing a paleographical date of IIIA (i.e., Mursili II) for two of the relevant *Sammeltafeln* (KUB 41.18 and KBo 15.1) would be decisive in settling the matter.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter other than the following one are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

r. *regnavit*, reigned

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19 Regardless of whether Taracha's comparison between this text and CTH 448.4 holds up in terms of the nature of the dream that necessitated the substitution ritual (see Mouton 2005, 210), the prayer's assignment to Mursili II, which is generally assumed in the literature (as noted by Daues and Rieken 2015, 31), need not be invalidated.

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# 7 HETHITISCHE „EVENT“ UND „RESULT NOMINALS“: DIE SYNTAX DER NOMINALISIERUNGEN

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## 1. EINLEITUNG

Geht man von der Annahme aus, dass in der indogermanischen Grundsprache die Parataxe vorherrschend war,[1] kann man die infiniten Verbalformen als Kern der Herausbildung der Hypotaxe ansehen.[2] Dabei spielen verschiedene Typen der infiniten Verbalformen im Hethitischen eine wesentliche Rolle, wie zum Beispiel die Infinitive auf *-anna* und *-anzi*, die *-ant* Partizipien und die sogenannten Verbalnomina.

Im Folgenden wird aus der Klasse der Verbalnomina insbesondere der Typ der sogenannten *action nominals*, also der *event* und der *result nominals* (hiernach abgekürzt als EN und RN),[3] in Hinblick auf ihre semantischen Funktionen, Argumentrealisierungen und syntaktischen Kategorien untersucht. Die Untersuchung ist dem Freund und sehr geschätzten Kollegen Theo van den Hout gewidmet, der in seinen Forschungen stets ein besonderes Interesse für syntaktische Belange des Hethitischen gezeigt hat.

## 2. DIE MORPHOLOGISCHEN GEGEBENHEITEN: DIE DERIVATIONSSUFFIXE

Das Inventar der Derivationssuffixe der Verbalnomina und der Verbalabstrakta ist seit den Pionierarbeiten von Sturtevant (1944), Ose (1944),[4] Goetze (1928, 1948); Kammenhuber (1954–56), Hahn (1966) und Čop (1978) bekannt. Wie in den anderen idg. Sprachen, werden im Hethitischen einige Derivationssuffixe direkt an die Verbalwurzel gehängt. Eine allgemeine synchrone Beschreibung solcher Suffixe ist in Hoffner und Melchert 2008, 185–86, 330ff. (dort allgemein als *action nouns* bezeichnet) zu finden. Das Hethitische bietet relativ zahlreiche Derivationssuffixe für Verbalabstrakta, wie schon Hahn (1966, 383) festgestellt hatte:

> Hittite, though it is poor in verbal adjectives, is comparatively rich in verbal nouns. It has a large number of action nouns derived from verbs by means of various suffixes; of these several became definitely attached to the verb paradigm, though, as I have said, they always remained more nouns than verbs.

Auf den ersten Blick ist es schwierig, ein *pattern* in Hinblick auf das Genus der Nominalisierungen zu identifizieren. Das Genus *commune* scheint eher als Marker für die *result nouns* zu fungieren, aber nicht ausschließlich, da auch das *neutrum* bei den *result nouns* vorkommt, aber nicht eindeutig nur für die *event nouns* verwendet wird. Ob das ein stichhaltiges Argument für die Orientierung der Verbalwurzel und der daraus resultierenden Ableitungen ist, muss vor allem anhand der Einteilung der zugrunde liegenden Vendler'schen Aktionsartklassen der Verben geprüft werden.[5]

1 Folgend Clackson 2007 und Lehmann 1980, 124.

2 Siehe dazu Clackson 2007, 176; Viti 2015; Cotticelli Kurras 1995; 2017, 15ff.; 2024.

3 Zu genaueren Definition und Beschreibung der Funktionen siehe unten, §3.

4 Beide Autoren bauen auf Goetze 1928 auf, aber siehe auch Goetze 1948.

5 Vendler 1957; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2015.

## 3. DIE ZUORDUNG DER *EVENT* UND *RESULT NOUNS* ZU DEN AKTIONSARTKLASSEN

Basierend auf den semantischen Eigenschaften der gegebenen Verbalnomina, gehen wir davon aus, dass sich die *event nouns* für diejenigen Verbalklassen bilden lassen, die das Merkmal der Dynamizität aufweisen, während die *result nouns* zu den durch das Merkmal der Telizität charakterisierten Verben gebildet werden. Folglich finden sich bei den *states* nur *result nouns,* bei den *activities* dagegen nur *event nouns.*

Für einen schnellen Überblick der Einteilung bieten wir eine Zusammenstellung der jeweiligen Verben nach den klassischen Vendler'schen Kategorien geordnet. Daneben haben wir versucht, die logischen Realisierungen der jeweiligen Namentypen der Verbalsubstantive entsprechend den semantischen Gegebenheiten anzugeben (Tabelle 7.1).

Bei der Beobachtung der semantischen Parameter der Verbalklassen stellt sich die Frage, ob die Nominaltypen eine komplementäre Verteilung auf die Aktionsartklassen aufweisen. Mit Hinblick auf diese Frage werden wir im Folgenden das Material anhand ausgewählter Beispiele prüfen, die zunächst nach den Aktionsartklassen dargestellt werden. Genau genommen ist es möglich, auf der Basis derselben Parameter Aktionsartklassen ebenfalls als Substantive anzuerkennen (Simone 2003) (Tabelle 7.2). Die jeweiligen Beispiele werden in ihrem Kontext analysiert, da jede Aktionsart bzw. die semantische Realisierung der Nomina durch den Kontext geändert werden kann.

### 3.1. STATES

Diese sind Situationen, die keine innere Dynamik haben und keine Veränderungen bewirken, und daher erst recht keinem Ziel zustreben. Beispiele für solche Prädikate sind „wissen", „lieben", „gesund sein", „liegen", „sich befinden", „wohnen", „heißen", „glänzen", und „tot sein":

Tabelle 7.1. Zusammenstellung der Aktionsartklassen und Zuordnung zu den Substantivtypen.

| Verbalklassen | Durativität | Dynamizität | Telizität | Event nouns | Result nouns |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **States:** | + | – | – | | R |
| *eš/aš-*[2] „sitzen" | | | | | |
| *ki-* „liegen" | | | | | |
| **Activities:** | + | + | – | E | |
| **INTR >** | | | | | |
| *pai-* „gehen" | | | | | |
| *ḫa-* „denken" | | | | | |
| **TR >** | | | | | |
| *au-/u-* „sehen" | | | | | |
| **Accomplishments:** | + | + | + | E | R |
| *ḫatrai-* „(schriftlich) senden" | | | | | |
| *uwa-* „ankommen" | | | | | |
| **Achievements:** | – | + | + | | R |
| **TR > R??:** | | | | | |
| *kaneš-* „(er)kennen" | | | | | |
| *šanḫ-* „finden" | | | | | |
| **INTR > E:** | | | | E | |
| *ḫaš-* „gebären" | | | | | |
| *akk-/ekk-* „sterben" | | | | | |
| *leluk-* „erscheinen" | | | | | |

Tabelle 7.2. Aktionsartklassen und Nominaltypen.

| Nominalklassen | Dynamizität | Durativität | Telizität | Beispiele |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Zustandsnomina | – | + | – | Angst, Müdigkeit |
| Nomina, die einen unbeschränkten Prozess bezeichnen | + | + | – | Verfolgung, das Trinken |
| Nomina, die einen beschränkten Prozess bezeichnen | + | + | +/– | Konstruktion, Spaziergang |
| Nomina des punktuellen Zustandswechsels | + | – | + | Abfahrt, Explosion |

– *eš-/aš-*[2] „sitzen“; *ašatar* „Sitz“

1. Hymne an Adad, KBo 3.21 iii 25[6]
   *ANA* $^{URU}$*Paddama=z=kan aššiyanti* URU-*ri anda tušgaranna ašatar ešḫut*
   „In Paddama, der geliebten Stadt, setze dir einen Sitz fest, um dich zu erfreuen“.

– *para ḫandai-* „gerecht, gnädig sein“ mit Verbalabstraktum *para ḫanda(nta)tar* „göttliche Gerechtigkeit, Gnade“:

2. Apologie Ḫattušilis III., KUB 1.1 iv 18–19
   *nu=za* $^{D}$*IŠTAR* GAŠAN=*YA para ḫandandatar a*[*p*]*iya=ya mekki tekkušš*[*anu*]*t*
   „Ištar, meine Herrin, zeigte gerade da auch große Gnade“.

### 3.2. ACTIVITIES

Diese Nomina des uneingeschränkten (atelischen) Vorgangs bezeichnen dynamische Vorgänge, die aufeinander folgen, die auch aus Phasen ohne einen Endpunkt bestehen können.[7] Dabei unterscheiden wir zwischen transitiven und intransitiven Prädikaten.

**INTR >**
– *ueḫ-/uaḫ-* „sich wenden, patrouillieren“ mit Verbalnomen *ue/aḫatar-* „Wendung“ als EN:

3. Dekret Ḫattušilis III., KBo 6.28 ii 25
   ANSE.KUR.RA$^{MEŠ}$ *ueḫannaš*[8]
   „Die Pferde des Wendens (Streitwagenpferde)“.

– *ḫatta-* „denken“: *ḫatta-* „denken, glauben“: *ḫattatar* „Klugheit, Weisheit“ (RN):

4. Mittelhethitisches Gebet Kantuzzilis, KUB 30.10 Vs. 11
   *kuit=a imma miešḫati nu=za=ta ŠA* DINGIR=*YA duddumar ḫattata ḫumanta šaki*[*n*]*un*
   „Seitdem ich geboren bin, habe ich deine, meines Gottes, Gnade (und) ganze Weisheit verkündet“.

**TR >**
– *au-/u-* „sehen“, „die Sicht, das Sehen“ mit *uwatar* als EN (+ Dynamizität):

6 Ich zitiere die Texte nach den Kriterien von HW², verzichte aber darauf, die Sekundärliteratur anzugeben.

7 Siehe dazu Simone 2003, 86.

8 Hier ist das Verbalnomen im Genitiv.

5. Orakel, KUB 5.1 ii 51
LÚ$^{MEŠ\ URU}$KÙ.BABBAR=*(š)maš* GÙB-*tar* KASKAL$^{NU}$ *ŠA* LUGAL IGI-*waš uwatar ŠA* MÈ=*ya ḫarkan* ME-*ir*
„Die Männer von Ḫatti nahmen sich Unglück (Linksheit), Feldzug des Königs, Sehen der Augen und Untergang des Kampfes“.

### 3.3. ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Diese Verben bezeichnen entweder einen allmählichen Zustandswechsel oder es sind Prädikate eines ausgedehnten Zustandswechsels. Sie denotieren Eventualitäten, die dynamisch, durativ (aus gleichen Phasen bestehend) und telisch (mit einer kulminativen Endphase) sind. Beispiele dafür sind „ein X essen“, „besteigen“, „gesund werden“, „wachrütteln“, „nach X fahren“, „auf den Hügel hinaufgehen“, „erblühen“ und „verbrennen“.

– *ḫatrai-* „ (schriftlich) senden“ („schreiben“) mit *ḫatreššar* „Nachricht“ als RN:

6. Brief (Ḫattušili III./Tudḫaliya IV.), KBo 18.24 i 4–5
*nu=tta ḫatreššar* (5) *kue ḫatreškimi*
„Und die Nachrichten, die ich dir immer wieder schreibe“.

7. Mittelhethitischer Brief der Ašmunikal, KBo 32.202 Vs.$^{!}$ 7–8
[*ANA*] $^{D}$UTU$^{ŠI}$ *kuit ḫatrešnaš tuppi upp*[*aš*] (8) [*n=a*]*t PANI* $^{D}$UTU$^{ŠI}$ *ḫalziwen*
„Die Tafel der Botschaft / des Befehls für Meine Sonne, die [du hergeschickt hast], (8) [si]e haben wir vor Meiner Sonne gelesen“.

– *kuen-/kun-* „töten“ mit entsprechendem Verbalnomen *kunatar* „Ermordung“ als RN (hier mit Patiens oder Betroffenem im Genitiv als *genitivus objectivus*):

8. Šuppiluliumas Res Gestae, KBo 19.45 + KUB 19.4 Vs. 7'ff.
*nu maḫḫan* [ ] *ABU=YA ŠA* $^{m}$*Zannanza kunatar išt*[*amašta*] . . .
„(Sie sagten: ‚Die Ägypter töteten Zannanza. . . .‘) Sobald mein Vater er[fuhr], dass Zannanza getötet worden war, (fing er an, den Zannanza zu beklagen)“.

– *ḫark-* „verderben“, *ḫarkiya-* „zugrunde gehen, umkommen“ und das kausative Gegenstück *ḫarnink-* „zerstören“ mit den Verbalnomina *ḫarninkuwar* und *ḫarka-* (hier mit Patiens oder Betroffenem im Genitiv als *genitivus objectivus*):

9. Muršilis Annalen, KBo 3.4 i 36–37
[*maḫḫ*]*an=ma* KUR $^{URU}$*Kaška ŠA* $^{URU}$*Ḫalila Ù ŠA* $^{URU}$*Dudduška ḫarninkuwar* (37) [*išt*]*amašta*
„Sobald aber das Kaškäer-Land das Verwüsten von Halila und Dudduška hörte (eilte das ganze Kaškäer-Land zur Hilfe herbei)“.

– *ḫarga-* und *aggatar*:

10. Orakel, KBo 24.126 Vs. 19
*ḫargaš aggatar kiša*
„Verderben (und) Tod tritt ein“.

– *ḫarga-* und *ḫingan-*:

11. Orakel, KBo 16.99 i 5
[*mān AN*]*A* $^{LÚ}$AZU *ḫargaš ḫingan UL* DÙ-*ri*
„[Ob dem] Arzt kein Verderben (oder) Tod (durch Krankheit) zustoßen wird“.[9]

9 Aus diesen Beispielen könnte sich ergeben, dass Bildungen auf *-atar* für die transitive Lesart zuständig sind, die *-a-*Bildung hingegen für die antikausative Realisierung. Es ist allerdings notwendig, die Sachlage näher zu prüfen.

– *ḫanna-* „gerichtlich urteilen“ mit Verbalsubstantiv *ḫanneššar* „Rechtstreit“:

12. Gebet eines Königs an den Sonnengott, KBo 34.22 i 10/11
*nu kuit* UR.GI$_7$ *ŠA* SAḪ *ḫanneššar zik* [*ḫa*]*nnatta* . . .
„Welcher Rechtstreit auch immer des Hundes und des Schweines (ist), den entscheidest du. . .“.

13. Hymne und Gebet an die Sonne (Šamaš), KUB 31.127+ i 45–46
*idalawašš=a ḫuwapašš=a antuḫšaš ḫanneššar* (46) *zik=pat ḫannattari*
„(45) Auch des bösen und schlechten Menschen Rechtssache (46) richtest ebenfalls du“.

14. Gebet Muršilis III., KUB 31.66(+) Vs. iii 11
*apat ŠA* DINGIR$^{LIM}$ *DINU e*[*šta*]
„Jenes war der Rechtsfall der Götter“.

– *walḫ-* „angreifen“ mit Verbalsubstantiv *wal(aḫ)ḫuwar* „Angriff“:

15. Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten, KBo 14.3 iv 39
[*nu=za m*]*aḫḫan ABU=YA wal(aḫ)ḫuwar auszi*
„Als mein Vater den Angriff sah (sieht), (ging er nach Tuwanuwa hinauf)“.

### 3.4. ACHIEVEMENTS

Es handelt sich um Verben, die einen punktuellen Zustandswechsel bezeichnen, d.h. Situationen, die dynamisch, punktuell und telisch sind. Beispiele dafür sind „erkennen“, „etwas finden“, „einschlafen“, „aufwachen“, „ankommen“, „erröten“ und „schlagen“. Dabei findet man sowohl transitive als auch intransitive Verben.

**TR > R??**:
Hierbei scheint es, dass solche Verbalnomina, wenn sie aus einem biargumentalen Prädikat abgeleitet sind, immer dann am zweiten Aktanten objektorientiert erscheinen.

– *kaneš-* „(er/an)kennen“ mit *kaneššuwar* „Gnade, Auszeichnung“ (objektorientiertes Verbalnomen, hier mit *genitivus objectivus*):

16. Apologie Ḫattušilis III., KUB 1.1 i 30–31
*nu=mu=kan* GIM-*an* UKÙ$^{MEŠ}$-*annaza ŠA* $^{D}$*IŠTAR* GAŠAN=*YA kaneššuwar ŠA* ŠEŠ=*YA=ya* [*aš*]*šulan auer*
„Als dort die Menschen die Gnade der Ištar, meiner Herrin, mir gegenüber und die Gunst meines Bruders sahen, (da beneideten sie mich)“.

**INTR > E**:
– *ḫašš-* „gebären, zeugen“, *ḫaššatar* „Familie, Sippe, Verwandtschaft“:

17. Althethitisches politisches Testament Ḫattušilis I. (Abschrift), KUB 1.16 ii 69–70
*namma* DUMU.MUNUS *eppir apaš=a ḫašatar* (70) [DUMU.NITA$^{MEŠ?}$ *kuit ḫarta*]
„Dann nahmen sie die Tochter, und [weil] diese (70) als Nachkommenschaft [Söhne hatte,]. . .“.

– *akk-/ekk-* „sterben“ mit Verbalabstraktum *aggatar* „Tod“ und *ḫarnamniyašḫa-* „Revolte“ < aus *ḫarnamniya-* „rebellieren“:

18. Ullikummi-Mythos KUB 17.7 + KUB 33.96+ iv 48
*nepišaš=ma=war=aš ḫarnamniyašḫaš ŠA* [KUR$^{TI}$*=ma=*]*war=as kašza aqqattar=a*
„Ist es eine Rebellion des Himmels? Oder ist es Hunger und Tod (auf) der Erde?“

– *uwa-* „ankommen“, das Verb bezeichnet Zustandswechsel, das RN beinhaltet Telizität, d.h. *uwauwar* „die Ankunft“:

19. Brief Muwatallis II. an Adad-nīrāri I., KUB 23.102 i 5–6
*ŠA* $^{ḪUR.SAG}$*Ammana uwauwar*
„Die Ankunft an dem Berg Ammana“.

## 4. DIE SYNTAKTISCHEN STRUKTUREN DER VERBALNOMINA

In einer idg. Sprache ist ein Verbalsubstantiv ein durch bestimmte Suffixe von einem Verb abgeleitetes Substantiv. Die betreffende Wortbildungsoperation stellt eine der bekannten Nominalisierungsstrategien dar, die die Wortart verändert, wobei sich das mögliche Resultat durch die Änderung der Kategorie auch auf die zugehörige syntaktische Konstellation auswirken kann. Je nach Derivationsprozess können wir verschiedene Nominaltypen finden, wie sie unten in Tabellen 7.3, 7.4 und 7.6 gezeigt werden.

In Anlehnung an Lehmann[10] stellen wir nun einige Definitionen zusammen, die ein Gesamtbild der durch die obengenannten Nominalisierungsoperationen entstehenden Kategorien und ihrer morphosyntaktischen und semantischen Merkmale bieten, um so die Kategorie der allgemein als *action nominals* bezeichneten Nomina näher zu erfassen.

Ein *nomen actionis* ist ein Verbalsubstantiv, das keine feste Orientierung besitzt. Es bezeichnet folglich ebenso wie ein finites Verb einen Situationskern. Da es jedoch der Kategorie „Substantiv“ angehört, wird es anders konstruiert; der Situationskern wird zu einem abstrakten Referenten hypostasiert. Deshalb heißen *nomina actionis* auch (Verbal-)Abstrakta.

Ein *nomen agentis* ist ein Verbalsubstantiv, das auf die Subjektstelle (allgemeiner: die *actor*-Stelle) des zugrundeliegenden Verbs ausgerichtet ist. Es bezeichnet folglich den *actor* der verbalen Basis.

Ein *nomen patientis* ist ein Verbalsubstantiv, das auf die Objektstelle (allgemeiner: die *undergoer*-Stelle) des zugrundeliegenden Verbs ausgerichtet ist. Es bezeichnet folglich den *undergoer* der verbalen Basis.

Ein *nomen actionis* kann mit nominalen Komplementen in *actor*-Funktion („Genitivus subjectivus“) und in *Undergoer*-Funktion („Genitivus objectivus“) kombiniert werden.

Ein *nomen agentis* kann ein Komplement in *undergoer*-Funktion nehmen. Es kann kein Komplement in *actor*-Funktion nehmen, weil es selbst schon den *actor* bezeichnet. Umgekehrt kann ein *nomen patientis* nur ein Komplement in *actor*-Funktion nehmen. Es kann kein Komplement in *undergoer*-Funktion nehmen, weil es selbst schon den *undergoer* bezeichnet.

Die vorausgehenden Beobachtungen stellen eine wichtige Basis für die Analyse der Funktionen der Verbalsubstantive dar, da die jeweiligen Derivationssuffixe (siehe Tabelle 7.6 unten), die die verschiedenen Typen von Verbalsubstantiven ergeben, allein nicht ausreichend sind, auf der formalen (morphologischen) Ebene ein *nomen actionis* von einem *nomen patientis* zu unterscheiden. Wie in den modernen Sprachen ist das deutsche Verbalsubstantiv *Entdeckung* oder das italienische *costruzione* polyfunktional zwischen den Verwendungen als *nomen actionis* und als *nomen patientis*. Wir werden solche Fälle der Polysemie unter §5. behandeln.

Um die Polysemie bzw. die genaue Funktion zu verstehen, gibt es semantische und syntaktische Tests zur Disambiguierung. Aus den obigen Ausführungen ergibt sich, dass zwar sowohl ein *nomen actionis* als auch ein *nomen patientis* mit einem Argument in der *actor*-Funktion, d.h. als einem *genitivus subjectivus* vorkommen können, dass aber ein *nomen patientis* nicht mit einem Argument in der *undergoer*-Funktion, d.h. einem *genitivus objectivus* vorkommen kann.

Der letzte Typ, traditionell als *nomen acti* bezeichnet, ist ein Verbalsubstantiv, das das Ergebnis einer dynamischen Situation wiedergibt. Ein solches Ergebnis ist in erster Linie ein Zustand, in zweiter Linie aber auch ein Gegenstand, der aus der Situation resultiert.

10 http://www.christianlehmann.eu/ling/lg_system/sem/nomen_actionis_acti_patientis.html.

Handlungen wie deutsche *beschreiben* und *klassifizieren* schaffen ein Ergebnis, das als *effiziertes Objekt* verstanden werden kann. Intransitive Verben wie *träumen* und *tanzen* ergeben Verbalsubstantive wie *Traum* und *Tanz*, die ebenfalls als Resultate der zugrundeliegenden Vorgänge verstanden werden können. Auch diese gehören zur Gruppe der *nomina acti*.

Ein *nomen acti* hat dieselben kombinatorischen Eigenschaften wie ein *nomen actionis*, ist also durch syntaktische Tests von diesem nicht zu unterscheiden.

Daher werden wir im Folgenden die Kontexte und die Argumentstruktur der Verbalnomina im Hethitischen untersuchen und analysieren, die die aus den Aktionsartklassen gewonnenen Informationen ergänzen können.

## 4.1. ARGUMENTSTRUKTUR

Da Verbalnomina eine verbale Natur haben, aber zugleich Nomina sind, kann man eine Skalarität der jeweiligen verbalen oder nominalen Natur sowie ein Schwanken der Belegung der Argumentstellen feststellen. Wir erwarten demnach einen Genitiv bei nominaler Natur, einen Akkusativ oder Dativ als Argumentstelle bei eher verbaler Natur:

> The verbal substantive, having both a nominal and a verbal aspect, can take its logical object in either the genitive or accusative case. When its nominal aspect is prominent, it takes its object in the genitive. (Hoffner und Melchert 2008, 331)

### *4.1.1. Mit Genitiv*

#### 4.1.1.1. Als intransitivisches Subjekt/Patiens

20. Brief Tudḫaliyas an die Königin, KUB 19.23: 13–15
GIM-*an=ma ŠA* $^{D}$UTU$^{ŠI}$ (14) TI-*tar išdammaššir n=at=kan namma arruša UL* [*pair*] (15) *kinun=ma* GIM-*an ŠA* EN=*YA ḫargan išdammaššir* (16) *n=at namma aru*[*ša*] *pair*
„Als sie hörten, dass die Sonne (14) lebt (wörtl. ‚das Leben der Sonne‘), gingen sie nicht weiter *arruša*; (15) nun aber, da sie hörten, dass mein Herr gestorben ist (wörtl. ‚das Verderben meines Herrn‘), da gingen sie weiter *arruša*“.

Auch in diesem Fall bezeichnet der Genitiv das Patiens als *genitivus objectivus*.

21. Puduḫepas Gebet, KUB 21.27+ i 46–47
*apaš=ma apel ḫarga*[*tar*?] (Güterbock *ḫarga*[-]) (47) [*ap*]*ell=a ḫinkan UL kapp*[*uwait*]
„Jener aber (Hattušili) beach[tete] sein eigenes Verderben (47) und seinen eigenen Tod nicht“.

Die Genitive bezeichnen hier die Rolle des Patiens.

#### 4.1.1.2. Als transitivisches Subjekt/Agens

Im folgenden Beispiel bezeichnet der Genitiv hingegen die Rolle des Agens:

22. Ritual der Ambazzi, KUB 27.67 ii 65
IGI$^{HI.A}$-*aš=mu uwatar pai*
„Gib mir die Sehkraft meiner Augen“.

#### 4.1.1.3. Als Objekt/Patiens

23. Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten, KBo 5.6 iii 54–iv 2
*ammuk=man=wa ammel* [*R*]*AMANI=YA ammell=a* KUR-*eaš tepnumar tametani* KUR-*e ḫatranun*
„Hätte ich einem anderen Lande über die Erniedrigung meiner Person und meines Landes geschrieben“.

24. Šuppiluliumas Mannestaten, KBo 5.6 iii 5
LÚ$^{MEŠ}$ KUR $^{URU}$*Mizra=ma maḫḫan ŠA* KUR $^{URU}$*Amka* GUL-*aḫḫuwar ištamaššanzi*
„Sobald die Ägypter die Vernichtung des Landes Amka hörten (Präsens), (hatten sie Angst)“.

25. Muršilis Annalen, KBo 3.4 i 36–37
(36) [*maḫḫ*]*an=ma* KUR $^{URU}$*Kaška ŠA* $^{URU}$*Ḫalila Ù ŠA* $^{URU}$*Dudduška ḫarninkuwar* (37) [*išt*]*amašta*
„Sobald das Land der Kaškäer von der Vernichtung des Landes Halila und Dudduška hörte“.

### 4.2. MIT AKKUSATIV

– *epp-/app-* „nehmen, ergreifen“:[11]

26. Fest für alle Schutzgottheiten, KUB 2.1 ii 26
GÚ-*tar šara appatar(ra)*
„Das Heben des Nackens (‚Nackenerhebung‘, metaphorisch, so HW$^2$ II 88)“.

27. Fest für alle Schutzgottheiten, KUB 2.1 ii 26
ŠU-*an appannaš* $^{D}$LAMA-*ri*
„Der Schutzgott der Handergreifung/des bei-der-Hand-Nehmens (wörtl. ‚das Ergreifen der Hand‘)“.

28. Vokabular, KBo 1.45 Vs.$^{!}$ 4
*kurur appatar*
„Feindschaft ergreifen = Krieg beginnen (akkad. *za-a-rum*, Nebenform zu *zâru* ‚hassen‘ gemäß HW$^2$ II 45)“.

– *ḫašḫaš-* „schleifen, polieren“:

29. Palast-Chronik (Muršili I.?), KBo 3.34 ii 28–29
*n=uš Išpudašinaraš maniyaḫḫeškezzi* GI-*an* $^{GIŠ}$UMBIN *ḫašḫaššuwar* $^{GIŠ}$TUKUL *appatar*
„Ispudasinara hat sie (hierbei) trainiert, das Schärfen eines Pfeiles (und) Rades und das Halten (Handhabung) einer Waffe“ (HW$^2$ III 420a).

Hier sind keine Präpositionen vor den Verbalnomina, so dass man sie als Akkusative auffassen kann, vor allem indem man den Kasus von GI-*an* „Pfeil“ auf die anderen ausdehnt, falls es richtig interpretiert wird.

### 4.3. MIT DATIV ODER ANDEREN KASUS

30. Pestgebete Muršilis II., KUB 14.10 i 16
ŠÀ-*az laḫḫiman UL taraḫmi*
„Ich kann die Aufregung aus (in) meinem Herzen nicht beherrschen“.

Man kann damit solche Ausdrücke vergleichen, die den verbalen Charakter der Anwendung der Infinitive unterstreichen, wie ŠÀ-*ta tiyanna* „ins Herz lassen, beherzigen“ oder

31. Muršilis Annalen, KBo 4.4 iii 28
*nu=za ANA* KARAŠ *uwātar . . . iyanun*
„Ich machte einen Aufstieg dorthin zu (bei) den Truppen“.

11 Vergleiche damit die finiten Verbalformen mit derselben Konstruktion: Muršilis Annalen KBo 3.4 i 22 *nu ANA* $^{D}$UTU $^{URU}$*Arinna* GAŠAN=*YA* ŠU-*an šara eppun.*

## 5. POLYSEMIE DER *-ĀTAR* UND *-EŠŠAR* BILDUNGEN

Die Abstrakta stellen *result nominals* dar, abgeleitet von einem Verb, die keine konkrete Ergebnisse oder Denotate, sondern nicht materielle Produkte ergeben (wie *performance* oder *appearance* apud Melloni 2011, 201–208). Deverbale Substantiva auf *-ātar* und *-eššar* sind als „abstract and action nouns“ eindeutige Fälle für Polysemie, wie die folgenden Beispiele zeigen.

– *alwanzatar* („Zauberei, schwarze Magie“):

32. Gesetze, KBo 6.11 i 20
[*takku še*]*ni purut kuiški epari alwanzatar DIN* LUGAL
„[Wenn] jemand zu einer (Ersatz)figur Lehm modelliert, (das ist) Zauberei, (das ist) Königsgericht!“

Hier fungiert das Verbalnomen als EN.

33. Ritual der Ziplantawija, KBo 15.10 + KBo 20.42 ii 15–16
[*nu Š*]*A* $^{f}$*Zi. alwanzatar=šet idālu uddār=šet QATAMMA* [*ḫar*]*kdu n=at=apa* EGIR-*pa lē uezzi*
„Ebenso soll die Zauberei und das böse Wort der Ziplantawiya verloren gehen, und sie darf nicht mehr zurückkehren!“

Hier ist *alwanzatar* als RN als schwarze Magie aufzufassen.

In Tabelle 7.3 findet sich ein Überblick über die deverbativen Nominalsuffixe. Auch wenn die deverbalen Substantiva grundsätzlich eine polysemische Lesart ermöglichen, werden im Folgenden ausschließlich diejenigen analysiert, bei denen entsprechende Derivationssuffixe nur eine Interpretation zulassen.

Tabelle 7.3. Beispiele für polysemische Bildungen.

| **Ableitungssuffix** | **Genus** | **Beispiel** |
|---|---|---|
| *-a-* | C | *ḫarga-* („Zerstörung“) < *ḫark-* („zugrunde gehen“) |
| *-ai-* | C | *linkai-* („Schwur“) < *link-* („schwören“) |
| *-an-* | N | *ḫenkan* („Todesfall“) < *ḫenk-* („überlassen“) |
| *-(a)šḫa-* | C | *ḫarnamniyašḫa-* („Aufruhr“) < *ḫarnamniya-* („in Gärung versetzen“) |
| *-att-* | C | *aniyatt-* („Ritual, Ornat“) < *aniye/a-* („ausführen“) |
| *-ātar* | N | *akuwatar* („das Trinken“) < *eku-/aku-* („trinken“) |
| *-eššar* | N | *ḫanneššar* („Urteil“) < *ḫanna-/ḫann-* („verklagen, richten, verurteilen“) |
| *-ima-* | C | *laḫḫi-, laḫḫima-* („Feldzug“) < *laḫḫiye/a-* („zu Felde ziehen“) |
| Verbalabstrakta *-atar* | N | *uwātar* („Sehen, Besichtigung“) < *au-/u-* („sehen“) |

### 5.1. POLYSEMIE BEI RESULT NOMINALS

Die *result nominals* sind im Hethitischen in der Mehrheit, und, obwohl die Polysemie mancher Ableitungssuffixe sehr hoch ist, findet man einige Derivationsmorpheme, die ausschließlich RN bilden, wie die Tabelle 7.4 zeigt. Ein deverbales Nomen auf *-ul-* zeigt eine resultative Bedeutung:

34. Pestgebete Muršilis II., KUB 14.8 Rs. 29
*ammuk=ma=za=kan ŠA ABI=YA waštul tarnaḫḫun ašan=at iyanun=at*
„Ich habe die Sünde (Frevel) meines Vaters zugelassen: es (ist) wahr: ich habe es getan“.

Tabelle 7.4. Ableitungssuffixe der *result nominals*.

| **Ableitungssuffix** | **Namentypus** | **Beispiele** |
|---|---|---|
| *-ulli-* | Neuter instrumental und result nouns | *ištappulli-* („Deckel“) < *ištapp-* („verschließen“) |
| *-ul-* | Neuter result nouns | *immiul* („Mischung“) < *immiya-* („mischen“) |
| *-ur-* | Neuter result nouns | *ḫengur-* („Geschenk“)<br>*ḫink-* („schenken“) |
| *-zil-* | Result nouns | *šarnikzil-* („Sühne“)<br>*šarnink* („sühnen“) |

Hier hat *waštul* („Frevel“) eine resultative Semantik: „die Sünde des Vaters“ (*genetivus subjectivus*) ist das Ergebnis einer Handlung in der Vergangenheit.

Ein weiterer EN in *-ul-* ist *immiul* („Futtermischung“) und hat keine eventive Lesart:

35. Ritual gegen Fluch, KBo 10.37 ii 15ff.
*ANA* ANŠE.KUR.RA *ḫalkiš immiul ANA* $GU_4^{MEŠ}$*=ya* (16) ŠÀ.GAL *ANA* UR.ᵀ$GI_7$ᵀ$^{ḪI.A}$ ŠA$Ḫ^{ḪI.A}$ *=ma mūdana* (17) *etri=šmet*
„Für das Pferd (sein Futter ist) Getreide-Mischung, und für die Rinder (ist gutes) Futter, aber das Futter für die Hunde (und) die Schweine (sind) die Reste“.

Ein Nomen auf *-ulli-* mit konkreter und sicher resultativer Bedeutung ist *ištappulli-* „Deckel“ (auch *nomen instrumenti*) aus *ištapp-* „verschließen“:

36. Telipinu-Mythos KUB 33.8 iii 7–8
*dankuwai taknī* AN.BAR-*aš* $^{DUG}$*palḫiš kianda ištappulli=šmit* $A.GAR_5$
„In der schwarzen Erde liegen Behälter aus Eisen, ihre Deckel sind (aus) Blei“.

Ein Beispiel mit Suffix auf *-ur-* zeigt eine resultative Bedeutung:

– *aniye/a-* „ausführen, arbeiten“ mit *aniur* „Ausführung“:

37. Telipinu-Mythos KUB 22.40 iii 29
*aniur* KIN-*anzi*
„Sie führen das Ritual aus“.

Ein weiteres *result nominal* ist *aniyatt-* („Ornat“ und auch „Opferzurüstung“, auch mit Sumerogram KIN geschrieben), das aber stark lexikalisiert ist.

38. AN.TAḪ.ŠUM$^{SAR}$-Fest, KBo 4.9 i 26–27
*nu=za* LUGAL-*uš* $^{É}$*ḫalentuwaš* (27) KIN-*ta dai*
„Der König zieht sein Ornat an“.

39. Tafelkatalog, VBoT 133 Vs. 5
*man* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL GAL-*in* KIN-*an* [
„Wenn der König (und) die Königin ein großes Ritual (zelebrieren)“.

## 6. SCHLUSSWORT

Die Klasse der Verbalnomina (und -adjektiva), Verbalabstrakta sowie die nominale Verwendung von verbalen Ableitungen ist im Hethitischen verglichen mit anderen idg. Sprachen weit verbreitet.

Die *ratio* der Verteilung der jeweiligen morphologischen Suffixe wurde bisher nicht erkannt, da solche Ableitungen eine sehr variierte Semantik aufweisen und syntaktisch nicht nur unterschiedliche Verwendungen, sondern auch reichliche Überschneidungen zeigen. Vor allem in Bezug auf Realisierungen von EN und RN ist die Polysemie sehr hoch, sodass die richtige Lesart nicht *a priori* (morphologisch) bestimmt werden kann. Daher hat unsere Studie die Ergebnisse einer auf verschiedenen Ebenen geführten Analyse zusammengebracht.

Die Polysemie scheint inhärent zu sein und lässt sich nicht anhand einiger Aktionsartklassen bzw. anhand ihrer Parameter bestimmen, wobei sich die Verteilung in der Tabelle 7.5 ergibt. Daher sind die Ableitungsmorpheme auch mit anderen Wurzeln kombinierbar.

Tabelle 7.5. Zuordnung der Aktionsartklassen zu den jeweiligen Verbalsubstantiven.

| **Aktionsartklassen** | **Namentypen** | **Bedingungen** |
|---|---|---|
| States | RN | subjektorientiert |
| Activities | EN | (trans./intr.) |
| Accomplishment | EN + RN | (trans./intr.) |
| Achievement | RN | objektorientiert |

Entscheidend für die Wahl eines Parameters, d.h. für die Realisierung einer bestimmten Semantik, sind andere Faktoren, und zwar diejenigen der Verborientierung, der Argumentrealisierung, mit Akkusativ, mit Genitiv oder mit anderen Kasus, die also die syntaktische Ebene miteinbeziehen und die Natur der Namentypen bestimmen.

Man kann teilweise nur durch den Kontext, d.h. durch Kenntnis des Prädikats im zugeordneten Hauptsatz, die richtige Lesart aktivieren, um die Semantik zu disambiguieren.

Ferner findet man nur einige wenige deverbale Abstrakta, die ein Produkt bezeichnen (wie die deverbalen Nomina auf *-ul-*, *-ulli-*, *-ur-* und *-zil*). Noch seltener sind diejenigen Verbalabstrakta, die nur eine eventive Lesart zulassen.

Bei den *-atar* Bildungen finden wir nämlich eine Rektion sowohl mit Genitiv als auch mit Akkusativ, was Nähe zur verbalen Natur belegt. Wenn das Argument mit Genitiv kodiert ist, kann es semantisch gesehen keineswegs als *genitivus objectivus* aufgefasst werden, d.h. es handelt sich um eine subjektorientierte Handlung, aus der sich nur ein EN ergeben kann.

Die Tabelle 7.6 präsentiert zusammenfassend eine detaillierte Darstellung der Ableitungssuffixe, vor allem unter Berücksichtigung ihrer semantischen und syntaktischen Funktion als (primäre oder sekundäre) *event* oder *result nouns.*

Was aus der reinen Auflistung hervorgeht, ist die besprochene Möglichkeit bei einigen dieser Suffixe, sowohl zur Bildung eines *nomen actionis* (*event*) als auch *nomen rei actae* (*result*) zu fungieren. Ferner haben wir auch die Nominalklasse (*communis* versus *neutrum*) definiert, die sich bei den jeweiligen Formationen ergibt.

Es stellt sich daher die Frage, ob hier das Genus eine Rolle für eine EN oder RN Lesart spielt. Anhand der analysierten Fallbeispiele, scheinen Restriktionen eher die *nomina communia* zu betreffen, während sich das *neutrum* in beiden Nominaltypenklassen bilden lässt.

Tabelle 7.6. Derivationssuffixe, Semantik und Genus der hethitischen Verbalabstrakta.

| **Derivations-suffix**[12] | **EN** | **RN** | **Genus commune** | **Genus neutrum** | **Beispiel** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *-a-* | E | R | C | N | *ḫarga-* („Zerstörung“) < *ḫark-* („zugrunde gehen“) |
| *-ai-* | E | | C | | *linkai-* („Schwur“) < *link-* („schwören“) |
| *-an-* | E | R | | N | *ḫenkan* („Todesfall“) < *ḫenk-* („übergeben; opfern“) |
| *-(a)šḫa-* | E | R | C | | *ḫarnamniyašḫa-* („Aufstand“) < *ḫarnamniya-* („in Gärung versetzen“) |
| *-att-* | E | R | C | | *aniyatt-* („Ritual, Ornat“) < *aniye/a-* („ausführen“) |
| *-ātar* | E, Abstrakta | | | N | *akuwatar* („das Trinken“) < *eku-/aku-* („trinken“) |
| *-eššar* | E, Abstrakta | | | N | *ḫanneššar* („Urteil, Prozess“) < *hanna-/hann-* („verklagen, richten, verurteilen“) |
| *-ima-* | E | | C | | *laḫḫi-, lahhima-* („Feldzug“) < *lahhiye/a-* („zu Felde ziehen“) |
| *-ulli-* | Instrument-nomen | R | | N | *ištappulli-* („Deckel“) < *ištapp-* („verschließen“) |
| *-ul-* | | R | | N | *immiul* („Mischung“) < *immiya-* („mischen“) |
| *-ur-* | E | R | | N | *aniur-* („Ritual“) < *aniya-* („wirken“) |
| *-zil-* | | R | | | *šarnikzil-* („Sühne“) < *šarni(n)k-*(„sühnen“) |

## ABKÜRZUNGEN

Mit Ausnahme der Folgenden sind die Abkürzungen in diesem Aufsatz die im Chicago Hittite Dictionary verwendeten (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

| | |
|---|---|
| C | *commune* |
| E | *event* |
| EN | *event nominal* |
| INTR | Intransitiv |
| N | *neutrum* |
| R | *result* |
| RN | *result nominal* |
| Rs. | Rückseite |
| TR | Transitiv |
| Vs. | Vorderseite |

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12 Hier wurden die Suffixe hervorgehoben, die beide Konstruktionen ermöglichen.

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# 8 THE TOPOS OF "HOMER THE HERALD" IN GREEK AND LATIN LITERATURE

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Homeric heroes long for everlasting fame; indeed, they are prepared to die for it. Thus Hector, although he knows he is no match for Achilles, chooses to confront him so as not to die without fame (*Il.* 22.304). The fame, or *kleos*, of heroes is best ensured through the heroic poems, or *klea*, of professional singers such as Phemius and Demodocus and of course Homer himself. The covert Homeric narrator does not advertise his ability to confer fame the way Pindar will do later, but implicitly makes this claim all the same.[1] Through his close cooperation with the Muses, he proclaims that what he tells is not just any version of the past but a divinely authorized one. He also makes his characters "announce" his own work when they foresee that, in time, they will become the subject of song "for later generations" (e.g., Helen in *Il.* 6.357–58). And in a unique external prolepsis halfway through the *Iliad*, he looks at the Trojan landscape after the war is over, when famous Trojan rivers such as Simois, Scamander, and Granicus will have smoothed over the place "where many ox-hide shields and helmets and a race of semi-divine men had fallen in the dust" and the wall "of logs and stones that the toiling Greeks had set into position" (*Il.* 12.17–33). The idea is not spelled out but is unmistakable: if it were not for Homer's poems, the memory of the Greek wall and the martial exploits of the Greek and Trojan heroes would have been lost.[2]

Homer's and other poets' claim to bring fame is a well-documented commonplace in ancient Greek and Latin literature.[3] In this essay, I look at the same phenomenon from a different perspective: not that of Homer, who looks *forward* and promises fame, but that of later authors, who look *back* and conclude that a hero's fame is indeed due to Homer. Throughout antiquity, we come across passages that ascribe the fame of a hero not only to his own heroic feats but also to the poetic talents of Homer.[4] The topos can take several forms, which range from the neutral observation that Homer has made heroes famous, to the envious sigh that only heroes that have been lucky enough to be part of Homer's poems have become famous, to the malicious suggestion that some heroes have become unduly famous because of Homer's narrative art. In quite a number of instances, Homer is called "the herald" (*kērux*, *praeco*) of the fame of Troy and the heroes who fought there, and it thus seems apt to speak of the "Homer the herald" topos. Interestingly enough, it turns out many authors praise Homer only by way of introduction to praising *themselves*.

1 The heroes of the Babylonian Gilgamesh epic likewise strive to win glory, but the poets of that text follow a different strategy to advertise their own work: they make Gilgamesh the supposed "author" of the text (cf. Epic of Gilgamesh, tablet 1.10, 24–28).

2 The Iliadic passage is thus, in my view, the first instance of the "poetry lasts longer than physical monuments" topos, which will find its best-known instantiation in Horace's *Exegi monumentum aere perennius* (*C.* 3.30). On Homer and *kleos* in general, see, e.g., Ford 1992; de Jong 2006.

3 See, e.g., Suerbaum 1968, 277ff.

4 I have already discussed a handful of passages in a Dutch publication (de Jong 2004).

## 2. SIMONIDES

The acknowledgment that it was Homer who made the Trojan heroes famous comes early in the history of Homer reception, in the Plataea elegy of Simonides:

Simonides, fr. 11.13–18
τοὶ δὲ πόλι]ν πέρσαντες ἀοίδιμον [οἴκαδ' ἵ]κοντο
φέρτατοι ἡρ]ώων ἀγέμαχοι Δαναοί[,
οἷσιν ἐπ' ἀθά]νατον κέχυται κλέος ἀν[δρὸς] ἔκητι
ὃς παρ' ἰοπ]λοκάμων δέξατο Πιερίδ[ων
πᾶσαν ἀλη]θείην, καὶ ἐπώνυμον ὁπ[λοτέρ]οισιν
ποίησ' ἡμ]ιθέων ὠκύμορον γενεή[ν.

And they having sacked the much-sung city came home, the best of the heroes, valiant Greeks, over whom deathless fame is shed thanks to the man who from the violet-tressed Muses received the entire truth and who made the short-lived race of the semi-divine famous among younger generations.[5]

Simonides's elegy celebrates a historical battle, most likely the battle of Plataea, and starts with a hymn-like section in which, by way of comparison with that recent event, the Trojan War and its immortalization by Homer are evoked.[6] Troy is "much sung" because "the man" Homer spread its fame. Simonides not only refers to Homer but also implicitly evokes his poem: he applies Achilles's Homeric epithet ὠκύμορος "short-lived" (*Il.* 1.417; 18.95) to the whole heroic generation, "the long-lasting fame provided by epic poetry compensat[ing] for the brevity of their lives" (Rutherford 2001, 44). The praise lavished on Homer serves—not for the last time, as we will see—as preparation for Simonides's own claim to give "fame that will never die" to the Greek warriors of his own day (fr. 11.24–28).

## 3. PINDAR

If Simonides speaks of Homer's mission to make the Trojan War famous in a positive way, a very different tone enters the tradition with Pindar:

Pindar, *Nemean* 7.20–30
ἐγὼ δὲ πλέον' ἔλπομαι
λόγον Ὀδυσσέος ἢ πάθαν
διὰ τὸν ἀδυεπη γενέσθ' Ὅμηρον·
ἐπεὶ ψεύδεσί οἱ ποτανᾷ <τε> μαχανᾷ
σεμνὸν ἔπεστί τι· σοφία
δὲ κλέπτει παράγοισα μύθοις. τυφλὸν δ' ἔχει
ἦτορ ὅμιλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλεῖστος. εἰ γὰρ ἦν
ἔ τὰν ἀλάθειαν ἰδέμεν, οὔ κεν ὅπλων χολωθείς
ὁ καρτερὸς Αἴας ἔπαξε διὰ φρενῶν
λευρὸν ξίφος·

I believe that Odysseus's story has become greater than his actual suffering thanks to sweet-voiced Homer. For upon his fictions/lies and soaring craft a majesty lies. And skill deceives with seductive tales. The great majority of men have a blind mind, for if they could have seen the truth, mighty Ajax, in anger over the arms, would not have planted in his chest the smooth sword.[7]

5 Text of Martin West in Boedeker and Sider 2001, 27–29; my translation.

6 As always in this period, it is not entirely clear which works are associated with the name "Homer," and they may well have included, next to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the Epic Cycle; see Mann 1994, 324–25. Thus it is striking that Simonides here refers to the death of Achilles, which, famously, is not recounted in the *Iliad*.

7 Text of William H. Race (1997); my translation is based on his.

Pindar[8] here claims that the story of Odysseus, *in casu* the *Odyssey* as the echo of 1.4 πολλὰ δ' ὅ γ ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν in πάθαν suggests, has been framed, as we would say nowadays, by Homer and as a result has become much more gripping and moving than his adventures actually warrant. In fact it was Odysseus's own art as a storyteller, the long account of his journey home of *Odyssey* 9–12, that allowed him to create his own fame. Thus Odysseus and Homer are both evoked at the same time in lines 23–27: the fictions clearly must be Homer's, but the use of the word ψεύδεσί recalls Odysseus's many lying tales in the *Odyssey* (cf., e.g., ἴσκε ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα: *Od.* 19.203); μαχανᾷ, Homer's "soaring craft," calls up πολυμήχανος Odysseus; and the gnome "for *sophia* deceives and seduces with its tales" suits both the poetic art of Homer and the clever rhetoric of Odysseus.[9] Indeed, Pindar goes on to suggest that it was Odysseus's glibness that brought him victory in the contest over Achilles's armor, in that it made his fellow Greeks (and perhaps "blind" Homer himself) "blind" to the truth that actually Ajax was the better fighter and should have been awarded the prize.[10] Here, for the first time, we see a negative version of the topos of Homer the herald, one that shows him as a spin doctor who can make a hero's reputation better than it actually is.

Pindar's indignation at Homer is of course only skin-deep and expressed for rhetorical purposes. In another ode, he praises Homer as the one who set the record straight for mad Ajax and brought him immortality through his poetry in compensation for the reproaches heaped on him by the Greeks at Troy (*Isthm.* 3/4 53–60). In *Nemean* 7, the exaggerated and even false fame that, according to Pindar, Homer bestowed on Odysseus forms a foil for the truthful fame he himself will attribute to Neoptolemus in the rest of the ode.

## 4. THUCYDIDES

While Pindar claims that the reputation of one man (Odysseus) has been enlarged by Homer, Thucydides makes a similar point about the entire Trojan War. In the introductory part of his work, he argues that this war was less noteworthy than the one he is about to recount—the Peloponnesian War, between Athens and Sparta—and only lasted so long because the Greeks lacked sufficient troops and resources (1.9–11). Its excessive fame is due to the poets:

> Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.11.3
>
> δηλοῦται τοῖς ἔργοις ὑποδεέστερα ὄντα τῆς φήμης καὶ τοῦ νῦν περὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς λόγου κατεσχηκότος.
>
> [the Trojan war] is shown by the facts to have been inferior to its fame and to the tradition about it that now thanks to the poets has become generally accepted.[11]

Although speaking about "the poets" in general, it is clear that Thucydides is thinking mainly of Homer, whom he had mentioned by name in 1.9.3 and 1.10.3. Poets were traditionally the commemorators of the past in early Greek society (see Grethlein 2010), and historiographers such as Herodotus and Thucydides devote much effort to disparaging their "rivals," the most formidable of whom was of course Homer.[12] Being a poet, Homer was wont to "adorn and thereby magnify" his topic, Thucydides says (1.10.3). When he claims that the fame of Troy is due foremost to Homer's art, he does not accuse him of individual spinning,

8 For this passage, see esp. Most 1985, 148–56; Mann 1994, 327–31.

9 For an analysis of Odysseus's "framing" his own story in *Od.* 9–12, see de Jong 2001, 226–27.

10 The contest for Achilles's armor is referred to in *Od.* 11.543–65. A fuller version formed part of the Epic Cycle, which Pindar may have ascribed to Homer (see n6). For metaphorical blindness, cf. τυφλα[ὶ γὰρ] ἀνδρῶν φρένες (Pi. *Paean.* 7b18). For blind Homer, cf. τυφλὸς ἀνήρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἔνι παιπαλοέσσῃ (*HHAp.* 172).

11 Text and translation of C. F. Smith (1919).

12 That Thucydides felt a rivalry with the poets becomes even clearer in Pericles's famous funeral oration (*Pel. War* 2.41.4), where the statesman is made to say that the power of Athens is even "greater than its reputation" and that the Athenians "do not need the praise of a Homer" since they themselves have set up "undying memorials" (a clear echo of the poets' claim to confer "immortal fame")—namely, inscriptions on graves and the memory of men (*Pel. War* 2.43.3).

as Pindar did when talking about Homer and Odysseus, but of generic spinning: poets simply exaggerate. Thucydides's whole argument is aimed, of course, at presenting his own war as "the greatest" of all, a well-known exordial theme.

## 5. ISOCRATES

The orator Isocrates militates against the power of poets in a similar vein: "many in the generations that are past have left no name, although they were far better and worthier men than those who are celebrated in song and on the tragic stage. But the latter, you see, found their poets and scriptwriters, while the others secured no one to hymn their praise" (*Antidosis* 137).[13] As in Pindar, the fame conferred by poets is seen as a form of distortion of the truth, since it is not necessarily the best who thus become famous. The name of Homer is not mentioned here but is certainly implied.

Homer does figure explicitly in another speech:

Isocrates, *Helen* 65

> Λέγουσιν δέ τινες καὶ τῶν Ὁμηριδῶν ὡς ἐπιστᾶσα τῆς νυκτὸς Ὁμήρῳ προσέταξεν ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν στρατευσαμένων ἐπὶ Τροίαν, βουλομένη τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον ζηλωτότερον ἢ τὸν βίον τὸν τῶν ἄλλων καταστῆσαι· καὶ μέρος μέν τι καὶ διὰ τὴν Ὁμήρου τέχνην, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ ταύτην οὕτως ἐπαφρόδιτον καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὀνομαστὴν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν ποίησιν.
>
> And some of the Homeridae also relate that Helen appeared to Homer by night and commanded him to compose a poem on those who went on the expedition to Troy, since she wished to make their death more to be envied than the life of the rest of mankind; and they say that it is partly because of Homer's art but chiefly because of her that his poem has such charm and has become so famous among all men.[14]

We first find an echo of the traditional professional slogan that heroes need poetry to become truly famous in that Helen asks Homer to make a poem about the heroes who died before Troy and who would thus, by being part of a poem by a famous poet, become enviable.[15] But then the slogan is reversed: it is the presence in the *Iliad* of a femme fatale such as Helen, more than Homer's art, that has made the poem "charming" and famous. This assertion is unique and will convince few, but it is perfectly at home in a rhetorical showpiece like the *Helen*, in which Isocrates sets out, as he himself says, to defend Helen with arguments not used before by others (*Helen* 15)—most famously, of course, Gorgias in his *Defense of Helen*. Isocrates's reasoning displays an irresistible logic: Helen's charm once led to the Trojan War and hence the deaths of many men, but they are compensated for their deaths by being immortalized by Homer, whose poem is famous exactly because of the charm of its heroine.

## 6. THEOCRITUS

Theocritus provides us with a particularly elaborate instance of our topos. In a poem addressed to the young ruler of Syracuse, Hiero II, the poet places his talents at the latter's disposal by singing, in Pindaric fashion, the praise of the power of poetry:

Theocritus, *Idyl* 16.48–57

> τίς δ' ἂν ἀριστῆας Λυκίων ποτέ, τίς κομόωντας
> Πριαμίδας ἢ θῆλυν ἀπὸ χροιᾶς Κύκνον ἔγνω,
> εἰ μὴ φυλόπιδας προτέρων ὕμνησαν ἀοιδοί;
> οὐδ' Ὀδυσεὺς ἑκατόν τε καὶ εἴκοσι μῆνας ἀλαθείς

13 Translation (with adjustments) of George Norlin (1929).

14 Text and translation (with adjustments) of La Rue Van Hook (1945).

15 Why does Helen ask for a poem about the heroes *who died*? My suggestion is that Isocrates is here referring to *Iliad* 3.126–28, where Helen is seen weaving "many scenes of the conflict between Trojans and Greeks, which they were enduring *for her sake* at the hands of Ares"; Helen tries to get rid of her feelings of guilt.

πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, Ἀίδαν τ' εἰς ἔσχατον ἐλθών
ζωός, καὶ σπήλυγγα φυγὼν ὀλοοῖο Κύκλωπος,
δηναιὸν κλέος ἔσχεν, ἐσιγάθη δ' ἂν ὑφορβός
Εὔμαιος καὶ βουσὶ Φιλοίτιος ἀμφ' ἀγελαίαις
ἔργον ἔχων αὐτός τε περίσπλαγχνος Λαέρτης,
εἰ μή σφεας ὤνασαν Ἰάονος ἀνδρὸς ἀοιδαί.

Who would ever have known the leaders of the Lycians, Priam's long-haired sons, or Cycnus and his womanish skin, if poets had not hymned the battles of men of old? Odysseus would not have won lasting fame, even though he wandered one hundred and twenty months across the world, went down alive to remote Hades, and escaped from the cave of the murderous Cyclops; the swineherd Eumaeus would have been shrouded in silence, just like Philoetius, bustling about the cattle of his herd, or much-spirited Laertes himself, had not the songs of the Ionian man profited them.[16]

A series of counterfactuals should convince us that but for "the Ionian man"—Homer—the memory of the heroes of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* would have been lost. The *Iliad* is evoked through "the leaders of the Lycians"—whereby we may think of Sarpedon, who is killed by Patroclus in book 16—and through "Priam's long-haired sons," obviously Paris and Hector. Cycnus does not figure in the *Iliad*, but his death at the hands of Achilles is told in the *Cypria*.[17] As for the *Odyssey*, Theocritus of course singles out Odysseus and some of the most famous episodes of his long journey home. His selection of the herdsmen Eumaeus and Philoetius need not surprise in a poem by the poet who "invented" the bucolic genre. Laertes's epithet "much-spirited," finally, suggests he is included because of his rejuvenation (in book 24 of the *Odyssey*), which allowed him to participate in the battle against the families of the suitors in true heroic spirit.

Theocritus employs the topos of Homer the herald in a double way: while he identifies himself with Homer and promises Hiero that he can make him famous through his poetry, young Hiero should imitate the Homeric heroes and strive for great deeds "such as great Achilles performed, or dread Ajax, on the plain of Simois by the tomb of Phrygian Ilus" (16.74–75).[18]

## 7. CICERO

In Isocrates's *Helen* we saw, for the first time, how figuring in Homer's poems is an enviable situation, since the poet's genius guarantees the fame of the heroes sung by him. This envious variant of the topos has become enshrined in an anecdote reported for the first time in Cicero's *Pro Archia* 24:

*Atque is tamen, cum in Sigeo ad Achillis tumulum astitisset: "O fortunate, inquit, adolescens, qui tuae virtutis Homerum praeconem inveneris!" Et vere. Nam nisi Ilias illa exstitisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus eius contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset.*

And yet, standing before the tomb of Achilles at Sigeum, he [Alexander] said: "Fortunate youth, to have found in Homer an herald of your valor!" And right he was. For if that *Iliad* had not existed, the same mound which covered his body would also have buried his renown.[19]

The same anecdote is found in later texts, such as Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* 15.4 (Alexander pronounced Achilles happy "in having found . . . after death a great herald") and Arrian's *Anabasis Alexandri* 1.12.1–2

16 Text of A. S. F. Gow (1952); my translation.

17 See the summary in Proclus's *Chrestomathy* 10. Either we see again (cf. n6) that the Epic Cycle is associated with Homer or we should take the plural "singers" in line 50 of Theocritus's poem literally and assume that Theocritus refers to Homer and other epic poets.

18 Here again is a clear reference to Homer's *Iliad*, where Ajax plays a central role (in the absence of Achilles) in book 15; where Achilles fights on the plain of the river Simois in books 20–21; and where the tomb of Ilus is mentioned in 10.415; 11.166, 372; and 24.349. Theocritus uses the topos again in 22.218–23: "You, lords [Dioscuri and heroes who fought in Troy] the singer of Chios brought fame, singing of Priam's city, the ships of the Greeks, Trojan battles, and Achilles, tower in battle. And I too bring you [Dioscuri] honeyed songs of clear-voiced Muses."

19 Text and translation (with adjustments) of N. H. Watts (1923).

("Alexander accounted Achilles happy because he had found a Homer as the herald of his fame to later generations").[20] The verbal similarities between the three versions (*o fortunate* ≈ εὐδαιμόνισεν ≈ μακαρίσας, *praeconem* ≈ κήρυκος [twice]) suggest the traditional nature of the anecdote, which must have originated from one of the texts about Alexander now lost to us.[21] Alexander's envy of Achilles is well understandable in the light of his overall veneration of Homer, whose texts, all historians repeat, he carried with him on his expedition to the East.

The use of our topos in this particular speech of Cicero can be easily explained.[22] He defends his friend and former tutor, the Greek poet Archias, who though living in Rome already for a long time is accused of not being a Roman citizen. Cicero's line of defense, among other things, consists in fervent praise of poetry—which, he says, provides entertainment and moral examples—and also, in conferring fame, forms a strong incentive for people to undertake great deeds. Thus Alexander the Great brought with him poets and historians to record his deeds but was envious of Achilles, who had a superior poet, Homer, to sing his praise. Cicero makes the point very clear by adding the kind of counterfactual employed before by Theocritus: had not the *Iliad* existed, Achilles's fame would have been buried with him. Against this background, the Romans would do better to keep in their midst a poet such as Archias, who, as Cicero's peroration (*Pro Archia* 31) makes clear, has shed glory on the history of Rome and is at present engaged in a work that "promises to be a glorious and undying testimony" to the difficult times Rome has just experienced. It seems that Cicero's argument struck home with his jurors, since, though the outcome of the trial is unknown, we know that Archias continued to live in Rome.

## 8. PROPERTIUS

In the first poem of book 3 of his elegies, Propertius discusses his choice to write not epic but love elegy. The quality of his poetry is such that it will attract the envy of other poets, but he is sure that future ages will dissipate this envy and increase his fame, "since after death time makes everything greater." This gnome is backed up by a reference to Homer and his epic:

Propertius, *Elegy* 3.1.25–34

*nam quis equo pulsas abiegno nosceret arces,*
*fluminaque Haemonio comminus isse viro,*
*Idaeum Simoenta Iovis cum prole Scamandro,*
*Hectora per campos ter maculasse rotas?*
*Deiphobumque Helenumque et Pulydamantis in armis*
*qualemcumque Parim vix sua nosset humus.*
*exiguo sermone fores nunc, Ilion, et tu*
*Troia bis Oetaei numine capta dei.*
*nec non ille tui casus memorator Homerus*
*posteritate suum crescere sensit opus;*

For who would know the fortress battered by the firwood horse, the rivers that fought in combat with Thessaly's hero, Simois of Ida together with Jove's offspring Scamander, and the chariot that thrice

20 Note also the echo in Petrarca's *Africa* 9.49–64. A different version is found in the *Alexander Romance* of Ps.-Callisthenes 1.42.6: having observed that the Scamander is less broad and Ajax's shield less big, Alexander said: "O fortunate men to have found such a herald in Homer, for in his poems you have assumed large proportions, but in truth you are not worthy of his presentation."

21 By, e.g., Callisthenes, Ptolemy, Nearchus, and Clitarchus. Cicero and Arrian explicitly signal that they are quoting older sources: *dicitur* "it is told" and ὡς ὁ λόγος "as the story goes." I suggest that this tradition of Alexander's calling Achilles *fortunate* because of Homer formed the point of departure for Virgil's famous metapoetic apostrophe of Euryalus and Nisus: *Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt, nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo* "Blessed pair! If my songs have any power, no day will ever blot you from the memory of time" (*Aen.* 9.446–47). Virgil will do for them what Homer did for Achilles.

22 In her article on Cicero's references to Homer, Carolyn Higbie (2011, 384) briefly mentions the *Pro Archia* as an example of Cicero's defending (Greek) literature but does not discuss the anecdote about Alexander and Achilles.

> befouled Hector's body on the plain? And Deiphobus and Helenus and Paris in Polydamas's armor, sorry figure though he cut, their own country would scarcely know about. Ilion, you would now be little talked of, as you too, Troy, twice taken by the power of Oeta's god. And Homer too, the chronicler of your fate, has found his work grow with the passage of time.[23]

Propertius starts with an intertextual reworking of Theocritus's counterfactuals ("no one, not even Trojan locals, would remember what had happened in their country"),[24] leaving the crucial role of Homer (sc., "if Homer had not sung about it") to be added mentally. He partly chooses different Iliadic events and figures (Achilles's battle with the Scamander of *Iliad* 21 and the mutilation of Hector of *Iliad* 22 and 23) and partly includes the same (sons of Priam, now mentioned by name: Deiphobus, Helenus, and Paris).[25] He ends with the point he wants to argue in the first place: just as the reputation of Homer, here called "chronicler" rather than "herald," grew with the passage of time, the same will happen with his own fame too. Once again, Homer is praised primarily by way of a stepping stone toward self-praise.

Where Theocritus praised Homer's work by referring to both Iliadic and Odyssean themes, Propertius mainly talks about the *Iliad* and refers only briefly to the Wooden Horse, which figures (in analepses) in the *Odyssey*. This focus on the martial *Iliad* serves, I suggest, to bring home his proud claim that even though he does not write a military epic, he does expect to gain the same fame as Homer.

## 9. HORACE

Homer figures in a very similar way in an encomiastic poem by Horace for his friend Lollius. Before starting his praise of Lollius, Horace argues that lyric poetry can attain and give fame just as well as epic is able to do. Even though Homer holds the first place, lyric poets such as Pindar, Bacchylides, Alcaeus, Anacreon, and Sappho have not become obscure over time. At this point, Horace switches from poets to heroes sung by those poets:

Horace, *Ode* 4.9.13–28

*non sola comptos arsit adulteri*
*crinis et aurum vestibus illitum*
*mirata regalisque cultus*
*et comites Helene Lacaena,*
*primusve Teucer tela Cydonio*
*direxit arcu; non semel Ilios*
*vexata; non pugnavit ingens*
*Idomeneus Sthenelusve solus*
*dicenda Musis proelia; non ferox*
*Hector vel acer Deiphobus gravis*
*excepit ictus pro pudicis*
*coniugibus puerisque primus.*
*vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*
*multi; sed omnes illacrimabiles*
*urgentur ignotique longa*
*nocte, carent quia vate sacro.*

> Spartan Helen was not the only one to be set on fire as she gazed at her lover's neat hair, his gold-embroidered clothes, his royal finery, and his entourage. Nor was Teucer the first to shoot arrows from a Cretan bow. Not once alone was an Ilium besieged, nor did the mighty Idomeneus or Sthenelus alone fight battles worthy to be recounted by the Muses. Nor were fierce Hector and doughty Deiphobus the

23 Text and translation (with adjustments) of G. P. Goold (1990).

24 The intertextuality is flagged at the beginning through the echo *quis . . . nosceret?* ≈ τίς δ' ἂν . . . ἔγνω (Theocr. *Id.* 16.48–49).

25 For Deiphobus, see *Il.* 12.94, 13.156–64; for Helenus, 6.73–101, 7.44–54, 13.576–92; for Paris, 3.16–75 and passim. An episode in which Paris lends the armor of Polydamas (who is mentioned, e.g., in *Il.* 12.210–29) is not known from the *Iliad*.

> first to sustain serious wounds in defense of virtuous wife and children. Many a brave man lived before Agamemnon; but all lie buried unwept and unknown in the long night, because they lack a sacred bard.[26]

We find the same kind of catalog of heroes who owe their fame to the poetic powers of Homer that we saw earlier in Theocritus and Propertius, the structure now being that of a priamel rather than a counterfactual: the Homeric heroes and heroines are not the first or only ones to do something worthy of being remembered (*non sola, non semel, non . . . solus*)—there are in fact many (*multi*) similar brave men, but all (*omnes*) of them are unlucky enough not to have been immortalized by Homer.

For the first time a woman is included in the catalog, just as the catalog of Greek lyric poets earlier in the poem contained the name of Sappho. According to Hans Peter Syndikus (2001, 363–64), Helen's inclusion is due to Horace's desire to build up tension and postpone his point as long as possible: we get a long list of names, first of a woman and then of men (who are more fitting to a general such as Lollius), and only then the punchline about Homer. This analysis is valid, but it seems that more can be made of the presence of Helen. Michael Putnam (1986, 163–64), attractively, suggests reading the catalog temporally, as a kind of narrative: we start with the moment Helen first sets eyes on Paris; then we move to Troy, where former suitors (Teucer, Idomeneus, Sthenelus) and a new brother-in-law (Hector) fight deadly battles over her; and we end with Deiphobus (Helen's new husband after the death of Paris), who is killed by Menelaus in the sack of Troy. Horace presents "a chronology of the Trojan war based on the amatory life of Helen" and thus manages to add an elegiac flavor to epic material after all (Putnam 1986, 164).

Still, we may ask ourselves why Horace, like Propertius, chooses an *epic* example when wanting to defend his own *lyric* genre. Perhaps Homer was chosen simply because he is "the first poet and at the same time the personification of poetry" (Becker 1963, 140), and Homeric heroes simply because they are the best examples of persons deriving their fame from poetry (Syndikus 2001, 364). I suggest that the topos of Homer the herald is by this time so well established that both Propertius and Horace employ it even though it clashes—mildly—with their lyric *recusatio* to write epic.

## 10. OVID

The by now hackneyed nature of the topos becomes clear from the routine way in which Ovid uses it over the course of a letter in which he praises his wife, who loyally manages his estate during his exile:

Ovid, *Tristia* 1.6.19–22

> *nec probitate tua prior est aut Hectoris uxor,*
> *aut comes extincto Laodamia viro.*
> *tu si Maeonium vatem sortita fuisses,*
> *Penelopes esset fama secunda tuae:*

> In uprightness neither Hector's wife excels you, nor Laodamia, companion of her husband in death. If fate had allotted you the Maeonian bard, Penelope's fame would be second to yours:[27]

The spirit of this remark is very much that of Alexander envying Achilles in having found Homer as his herald. If Ovid's wife had had that luck, her fame would be greater than that of Penelope, the epic perfection of marital loyalty.[28]

Ovid's eulogistic reference to Homer is again a springboard for self-promotion, for he goes on to say that although words can never express his love for his wife, his poetry will go a long way toward securing her fame: "Yet so far as my public praise (*praeconia*) has power, you shall live for all time in my song"

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26 Text and translation of Niall Rudd (2004).

27 Text and translation of A. L. Wheeler (1924).

28 Ovid uses the topos once more in his *Ars Amatoria* 3.413–14: "who would know of Homer if the eternal *Iliad* had lain hidden."

(1.6.35–36). Through his choice of *praeconia*, Ovid here claims for himself the power of Homer, the proverbial "herald" (*praeco*) of fame.

## 11. LUCAN

The same "jumping on Homer's bandwagon" is observable in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*. The context is Julius Caesar's visiting the Trojan plain and ruins of Troy after the battle of Pharsalus. Caesar has difficulty finding the famous places of the *Iliad*, and he even accidentally steps on Hector's grave because it has become covered by grass. The implicit message is clear: if it had not been for Homer's poetry, no one would know any longer what had taken place here, exactly as Homer himself had suggested in *Iliad* 12.[29] But Lucan also makes the point explicitly:

Lucan, *Bellum Civile* 9.980–86

*O sacer et magnus vatum labor! omnia fato*
*eripis et populis donas mortalibus aevum.*
*invidia sacrae, Caesar, ne tangere famae;*
*Nam, si quid Latiis fas est promittere Musis,*
*quantum Zmyrnaei durabunt vatis honores,*
*venturi me teque legent; Pharsalia nostra*
*vivet, et a nullo tenebris damnabimur aevo.*

O how sacred and immense the task of bards! You snatch everything
from death and to mortals you give immortality.
Caesar, do not be touched by envy of their sacred fame;
since if for Latin Muses it is right to promise anything,
as long as honors of the Smyrnaean bard endure,
the future ages will read me and you; our Pharsalia
shall live and we shall be condemned to darkness by no era.[30]

Lucan starts by reading Caesar's mind and imagining him as having the same envious thoughts as Alexander visiting Troy. Then, entering as it were into a dialogue with Caesar through the device of apostrophe, Lucan promises him that as long as the fame of Homer endures—that is, as long as human civilization exists—his own *Pharsalia* (another title of the poem) will be read too, and hence Caesar's fame is secured. This motif is a traditional one,[31] which here takes the form of a coupling of Homer's and Lucan's fame, with the implication that the latter is just as good a poet as the former.[32]

Lucan's promise can be read only sarcastically and taken as a mixed blessing, since the image he paints of Caesar in his *Bellum Civile* is a highly negative one. Lucan's *Pharsalia* indeed "shall live," but as a "bleibende Anklage gegen Caesar und seine frevlerischen Handlungen" (Zwierlein 1986, 478).

## 12. SILIUS ITALICUS

Silius Italicus, too, uses praise for Homer as a springboard to make a programmatic statement about his own poetry, albeit in a more implicit way. The context is the visit of Scipio Africanus, the great general of the Second Punic War, to the underworld under the guidance of the shade of the Sibyl of Cumae. The Roman meets with, among others, the ghost of the greatest Greek general of history, Alexander the Great,

29 Cf. Zwierlein 1986, 464: "angesichts der kläglichen Überreste der ruhmreichen Stadt wird die verewigende Leistung Homers und damit der Dichter überhaupt besonders sinnfällig."

30 Text of J. D. Duff (1928); translation of Susan H. Braund (1992).

31 Cf. *Tristia* 1.6.35–36, quoted earlier, and esp. Horace, *Ode* 3.30.8–9 ("I shall continue to grow, fresh with the praise of posterity, as long as the priest climbs the Capitol with the silent virgin"), with Nisbet and Rudd 2004, ad loc.

32 Lucan's passage is read by Ulrich Eigler (2005) in terms of intertextual rivalry with *Virgil* rather than Homer. It is in turn intertextually reworked by Walter de Châtillon in his medieval epic *Alexandreis* 1.452–538.

whom he asks how to win fame. Alexander answers that boldness and speed make a good general, which Scipio and we can understand to mean that it is great deeds that lead to fame. The true answer to Scipio's question, however, is given only in the next scene, where the Roman general and his guide see the ghost of Homer. This sight elicits a eulogy by the sibyl of the poet who "equaled the Muses in song and Phoebus in glory" and who "raised your Troy to heaven," to which Scipio reacts as follows:

Silius Italicus, *Punica* 13.793–97

*"si nunc fata darent, ut Romula facta per orbem*
*hic caneret vates, quanto maiora futuros*
*facta eadem intrarent hoc," inquit, "teste nepotes!*
*felix Aeacide, cui tali contigit ore*
*gentibus ostendi! crevit tua carmine virtus."*

"If fate would suffer this poet now to sing of Roman achievements throughout the world, how much bigger an impression would the same deeds make on future descendants with this poet as their witness! Blessed Achilles, to whom it befell to be shown to the world by such a mouth! Your virtue has grown through his song."[33]

Scipio now understands that, to win fame, one needs not only great deeds but also a poet. He wishes Homer could sing about Roman achievements, since Homer's powers are such that he makes everything bigger. Scipio backs up this claim by calling Achilles blessed because he had Homer as his "witness" (a variation on "herald"). His obvious allusion to the anecdote of Alexander's visit to the tomb of Achilles at Troy shows "that Scipio's assimilation to his new model is complete: after receiving advice from Alexander in the previous episode, Scipio now plays him in this one" (Marks 2005, 145). The circle will be complete when the next ghost Scipio sees is that of Achilles (13.800).

Once again, the introduction of Homer is self-serving: while Scipio sighs that only Homer, who, the sibyl just said, "raised Troy to heaven," could do the same for Roman history, Silius's programmatic statement in the opening lines of his own poem, "here I begin the war by which the fame of the Aeneadae is raised to heaven" (1.1–2), suggests that he sees *himself* as the Roman Homer who could very well perform that feat, and actually does so.[34]

## 13. PHILOSTRATUS

If so far Homer was seen as herald, chronicler, or witness of Troy's fame, Philostratus in his *Heroicus* goes even further. The text presents a dialogue between a Phoenician merchant and a Greek vinedresser on Homeric poetry, especially its historicity, a favorite theme in Philostratus's times. The vinedresser mainly quotes the views of the Homeric hero Protesilaus—the first Greek to die when landing on Troy's shore—with whose ghost the vinedresser has had many conversations and who has provided him with all kinds of information about the war. At some point we also get to know Protesilaus's opinion of Homer himself (*Heroicus* 25.1–17), an opinion that includes both positives and negatives. Among the first category is his calling Homer "Troy's founder (οἰκιστὴν Τροίας) because the city gained distinction from his laments over it" (25.5).[35] Protesilaus obviously intends the metaphor to be taken as positive by his interlocutor.[36] But in view of the overall skepticism expressed in the *Heroicus* concerning Homer's historical reliability, it may

33 Text and translation of J. D. Duff (1934).

34 Van der Keur 2014, 292; see also p. 304: "The encounter with the ghost of Homer involves much more than just due praise to the father of epic [. . .] the Flavian poet presents himself as the Roman Homer, who picks up and continues Homeric epic with Roman themes, thereby incorporating the similar status of his Latin predecessors Ennius and Virgil." Van der Keur's article gives a rich analysis of all metapoetic aspects of Silius's encomium of Homer.

35 I quote the translation of Jennifer K. Berenson Maclean and Ellen B. Aitken (2001).

36 For the metaphorical use of *oikistēs*, see Grossardt 2006, ad. 25.5, pointing to Philostratus's *VA* 6.34.11 and *VS* 2.9.2. Grossardt also suggests that Philostratus might be reacting to Plato's *Republic* 599d2–e2, where it is said that poets can *not* be the founders of cities.

well be that Philostratus wants *us* to take the hyperbole as literal: Homer founded Troy because he invented it.[37]

Thus among the negative points listed by that same Protesilaus is the tendency of Homer qua poet to distort the truth (cf. Thucydides), which becomes especially obvious in his preferential treatment of Odysseus:

Philostratus, *Heroicus* 25.13–14

> For Odysseus' sake Homer invented the race of the Cyclopes, although they live nowhere on earth, and also imagined the Laestrygonians—no one knows where they came from. Circe, a daimon who was clever with magic spells, and other gods were made to fall in love with Odysseus, even though he had already advanced to untimely old age, when he appeared even to have hyacinth-like curls, which blossomed on him in Nausikaa's presence! Hence Protesilaus calls Odysseus Homer's plaything (Gr. παίγνιον).[38]

Protesilaus's claim that Homer favors Odysseus recalls Pindar, but it is given a special twist later in the *Heroicus*. There, the vinedresser recounts how Homer once sailed to Ithaca and conversed with the ghost of Odysseus, who was prepared to tell him "everything truthfully and just as it happened" in the Trojan War only after the poet promised to make a poem about his "wisdom and bravery" (43.11–14). The anecdote is an obvious mirror of the main story, in which the vinedresser reports his conversations with the ghost of Protesilaus, truthful witness of the Trojan War.

The effect of the embedding is vertiginous: if the heroic ghost of Odysseus tells Homer the truth only on the condition that the poet will distort that truth again (by painting a flattering picture of him in the *Odyssey*), how much credit can we give to the vinedresser's information, based as it is on what the ghost of Protesilaus told him? "Philostratus depicts ghosts (Odysseus and Protesilaus) as the only sources who can reveal the truth (and even they are not to be trusted) [. . .] the *Heroicus* calls its own authority into question even as it undermines that of Homer" (Kim 2010, 215).

A final anecdote in the *Heroicus* about Achilles, who lives after his death on the island of Leuke and sings the praise of Homer, once more contains our topos, for his song starts as follows: "Echo [. . .] sing to me of divine Homer, glory of men, glory of our labors [. . .] thanks to him Troy, sung by the poets as won by the spear, has gained glory and did not fall" (55.3).[39]

## 14. EUENUS

The same idea of Troy's being destroyed but living on in poetry, voiced by Achilles in the *Heroicus*, returns in an epigram from late antiquity:

Euenus, *Anthologia Graeca* 9.62

> Ξεῖνοι, τὴν περίβωτον ἐμὲ πτόλιν, Ἴλιον ἱρήν,
> τὴν πάρος εὐπύργοις τείχεσι κλῃζομένην,
> αἰῶνος τέφρη κατεδήδοκεν· ἀλλ' ἐν Ὁμήρῳ
> κεῖμαι χαλκείων ἕρκος ἔχουσα πυλῶν.
> οὐκέτι με σκάψει Τρωοφθόρα δούρατ' Ἀχαιῶν,
> πάντων δ' Ἑλλήνων κείσομαι ἐν στόμασιν.

37 My interpretation has profited much from the excellent discussion of the *Heroicus* in Kim 2010, 175–215. Kim's conclusion observes: "Like Dio and Lucian before him, Philostratus employs the critique of Homer's role as historical witness as a means of exploring and interrogating the Imperial faith in the authority and 'truth' of Greek tradition" (Kim 2010, 214).

38 The same expression will be used later by the Byzantine literary critic Tzetzes in his *Allegories of the Iliad* 7.32. Homer's favoring of Odysseus is also stressed in another work of Philostratus, *VA* 4.16, where the ghost of Achilles, interviewed by Apollonius, declares that the poet left out the episode about Palamedes because it would cast a negative light on Odysseus.

39 My translation here is based on Berenson Maclean and Aitken 2001 and Kim 2010, 113.

> Strangers, the ash of time has completely devoured me, the famous city, holy Ilion, once renowned for my strong walls. But in Homer I still exist,[40] having a bulwark of bronze gates. The Troy-destroying spears of the Greeks will not tear me down anymore, but I shall continue to lie on the lips of all Greeks.[41]

The city of Troy lives on in the poetry of Homer, which shows the city in its full glory.[42]

## 15. NONNUS

If some authors claim that Homer's subjects have unduly profited from being included in his poetry, Nonnus, author of a bulky epic about Dionysus and his expedition against India, goes one step further and actually accuses Homer of having chosen the wrong subject. The passage forms part of a second proem (*Dionysiaca* 25.1–270) in which Nonnus first compares his protagonist Dionysus with other heroes and then goes on to compare his poem with that of his most illustrious predecessor Homer:

Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 25.253–63

> παμφαὲς υἱὲ Μέλητος, Ἀχαιίδος ἄφθιτε κῆρυξ,
> ἱλήκοι σέο βίβλος ὁμόχρονος Ἠριγενείῃ·
> Τρῳάδος ὑσμίνης οὐ μνήσομαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐίσκω
> Αἰακίδῃ Διόνυσον ἢ Ἕκτορι Δηριαδῆα.
> ὑμνήσειν μὲν ὄφελλε τόσον καὶ τοῖον ἀγῶνα
> Μοῦσα τεὴ καὶ Βάκχον ἀκοντιστῆρα Γιγάντων,
> ἄλλοις δ' ὑμνοπόλοισι πόνους Ἀχιλῆος ἐάσσαι,
> εἰ μὴ τοῦτο Θέτις γέρας ἥρπασεν. ἀλλὰ λιγαίνειν
> πνεῦσον ἐμοι τεὸ ἄσθμα θεόσσυτον· ὑμετερης γὰρ
> δεύομαι εὐεπίης·
>
> O brilliant son of Meles [Homer], immortal herald of Greece, may your book, as old as Dawn, favor me. I will not speak of the Trojan War; for I do not compare Dionysus with Aeacides [Achilles], or Deriades with Hector. Your Muse ought to have hymned so great and mighty a war and Bacchus destroyer of Giants, and ought to have left the labors of Achilles to other bards, had not Thetis snatched that privilege. But breathe into me your divine breath to voice my song, for I need your epic eloquence (when singing about Dionysus).[43]

Apostrophizing the "immortal herald" Homer, Nonnus "pitches" his own work. That poet should not have sung Achilles's labors—that is, his exertions when avenging his friend Patroclus—but rather Dionysus's expedition against India and his role in the gigantomachy. But since he did not do so,[44] it is Nonnus himself who, with the help of Homer acting as his Muse, now undertakes this task.[45]

## 16. CONCLUSION

Looking back at the instances of Homer the herald (witness, chronicler, or founder), we may observe that most authors decide that he deservedly has made past persons or events famous, while three authors argue

40 The somewhat puzzling use of κεῖμαι "I lie" for "I exist" seems due to κείσομαι ἐν στόμασιν two lines later, which is an echo of Theognis 240, where the poet promises Cyrnus that by being part of his poetry he will become famous: πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασιν "lying on the lips of many."

41 Text of William Roger Paton (1917); my translation.

42 For a brief discussion of this and similar epigrams, see Sistakou 2008, 59–60.

43 Text of Gianfranco Agosti (2004); my translation.

44 The words "had not Thetis seized that privilege" are puzzling (and neither Agosti 2004 nor Hopkinson 1994 discusses them), but my interpretation is that, since Thetis in book 1 of the *Iliad* made Zeus promise to thwart the Greeks in order to honor her son Achilles, she actually is responsible for its plot and hence can be said to have "snatched the privilege" of being sung by Homer away from Dionysus and given it to her son Achilles.

45 As Hopkinson (1994, 12) notes, the passage "veers between admiration and emulation."

that his poetic talent has unduly benefited such persons or events (Pindar and Philostratus speaking about Odysseus, and Thucydides speaking about the Trojan War). This very capacity of Homer to enlarge a subject because of his poetic talents is often looked at longingly or enviously (by Ovid, Scipio in Silius Italicus, Alexander in Cicero and others, and Caesar in Lucan).

Different authors use the topos in different contexts and to different purposes, but they have one thing in common: they almost invariably employ it as a springboard for self-advertisement.[46] Duly acknowledging that Homer is of course the best poet to confer fame, Theocritus, Propertius, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Silius Italicus, and Nonnus explicitly or implicitly claim that they can do the same, or even better, for *their* subject. Far from being anxious of influence, they actively flag it.[47]

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46 References to Homer are thus a prime example of the phenomenon of "anchoring innovation," the plugging of the new through a connection with the old, which is at present being researched by the Dutch research school Oikos; see https://www.anchoringinnovation.nl/.

47 I thank the members of the Hellenistenclub and Piet Gerbrandy for their comments, and Nina King for checking my English. This study was written in the context of Anchoring Innovation, the Gravitation Grant research agenda of OIKOS, the Dutch National Research School in Classical Studies. It was supported financially by the Dutch ministry of Education, Culture and Science (NWO project number 024.003.012). For more information about the research program and its results, see www.anchoringinnovation.nl.

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# 9 THE UNDELIVERED ASSUR LETTERS: READING /WA/ FOR THE HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN SIGN *375

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## DEDICATION

I dedicate this contribution to Theo van den Hout, who, through his inspiring research of Anatolian languages and history, has always known how to keep me fascinated and enthralled, even though my professional work as a historian had shifted to medieval texts and charters. His kind invitation to attend his lectures in Carian and Lydian in Amsterdam in 1998–2000 definitely served to intensify my interest and work in Anatolian hieroglyphs after my retirement.[1]

## 1. INTRODUCTION

According to David Hawkins (2000), the Hieroglyphic Luwian sign *375 (L375) is "a rare and undeciphered syllabogram" that occurs in only six places in the current text corpus.[2] One of them is the damaged personal name in the address line of ASSUR letter *d*, one of the six letters (*a–f+g*) on lead strips excavated in Assur in 1905:

|[DOM]US-*ni*-*375-[. . .]-*ia*$^{-i}$ > /Parni-L375-ya$^{i}$/ (dat.sg.)[3] "to *Parni*-*375 . . ." (letter *d*, §1).

In my previous analysis of the ASSUR letters (Dillo 2017), I reached the conclusion that letter *b* of this collection can be regarded as a "supplement" to a previous merchant order and that this order must be letter *d*. Supplement letter *b* is addressed to a certain Parniwarri:

|DOMUS-*ni-wa/i+ra/i-ia* > /Parniwarriya/ (dat.sg.) "to Parniwarri" (letter *b*, §1).

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1 My special thanks go to Alwin Kloekhorst for reading a previous version of this essay and to the members of the Dutch Hittite reading club Ex Oriente Lux at 's-Hertogenbosch—Marjan Vonk, Frans Bruna, and Jaap Croonen—for discussions during the study of the ASSUR letters. I am also grateful to Ilya Yakubovich for his stimulating remarks concerning this essay, as well as to the anonymous reviewer for helpful comments. This study is an updated version of my manuscript submitted in 2017. Addendum 2024: For understanding L375 as *li* and the possibility of a confusion between L375 and L71 (for L71, see below, section 5 with fig. 9.3), see now Peker 2023, and cf. 365n27.

2 See Hawkins 2000, 545 (commentary to ASSUR letter *d*, §1); for his commentary to the other attestations of *375, see Hawkins 2000, 198 (KARKAMIŠ A16*e*, frag. 1), 298–99 (GÜRÜN, §6), 324 (ŞIRZI, §5 and §8), and 471 (SULTANHAN, §47). For a new attestation, see the addendum to n1. For the various attested graphic forms of the sign *375, see below, section 5, figure 9.2.

3 For the "interpretative transcriptions," I follow the linguistic analyses of the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus of the eDiAna project, available online at www.dwaks.gwi.uni-muenchen.de. Note, however, that <i> as the closing sign of the word is expressed there as /Parni-L375-yai/, and we sometimes find that no difference is made between the two forms *Parniwarri* and *Parnawarri*, which in my opinion represent different names (see section 3 below).

If this reconstruction of the order of events is correct, then the recipients of the letters *d* and its supplement *b* are identical and the sign *375 (L375) must have a value /wa/ (see Dillo 2017, 546). This conclusion was achieved by using the diplomatic method, investigating form and content of the ASSUR letters, which provided their close relationship and consecution as a first historical dimension of these objects as a historical source.

In this subsequent investigation of the ASSUR letters, I consider (in section 2) a second historical dimension of the Assur letters, one based on their archaeological provenience. All of them were found together in Assur, far beyond the Luwian language area, unopened and thus undelivered. Could this fact perhaps be a further indication that the letters do indeed form a coherent group—a conclusion that would also make the likelihood of letter *b* as a supplement referring to letter *d* more plausible? Furthermore, I examine (in sections 3 and 4) whether *375 (L375) can indeed be read as /wa/ in all attestations; an affirmative answer would mean that *Parni-*375. . . , can accurately be considered a variant of *Parniwarri*.[4] Finally, in section 5, I consider the graphic variants of *375 compared with the signs *128 and *71, for which a value /wa/ has recently been proposed as well.

## 2. THE ASSUR LETTERS: THEIR UNDELIVERED STATUS, ARCHIVISTIC POSITION, AND DATE

The circumstances of the find and appearance of the six Assur letters has been described in detail by Hawkins (2000), based on the publication of the excavator Walter Andrae (1924). Seven rectangular lead strips (*a*–*g*) excavated in 1905 in Assur were found individually rolled up, with *f* and *g* rolled together, in a private house built in one corner of the Anu-Adad temple of Assur in the late seventh century BC. They were buried under the floor together with an Old Assyrian cuneiform tablet. "The excavator inferred that these dissimilar documents had been buried together by an ignorant house-owner as a magical foundation deposit" (Hawkins 2000, 533). The presence of the Hieroglyphic Luwian documents in Assur is unexplained, but Annick Payne (2012, 108) plausibly assumes that they came to this city as booty in antiquity. Hawkins believes, based on an internal reference in letter *a* (§6), that a connection with Karkamiš is probable and dates the letters based on epigraphic arguments to the late eighth century BC, quite possibly after Karkamiš had become an Assyrian province (Hawkins 2000, 533–34).

What is important here is the fact that these letters were found rolled up. The thin lead strips (ca. 0.5 cm thick), inscribed on both sides, were rolled up so tightly (height 3–4 cm) that the excavators initially thought they were cylinder seals and only managed to open the documents successfully in the laboratory. Thus the letters were still closed and had never been opened. The logical conclusion drawn from this situation by Helmuth Bossert (1951, 71–72), but not reiterated by Hawkins, is that the letters were in the same state as when they were sent and never reached the recipients, thus remaining unread.[5] Payne (2005, 109) concludes that the letters were not sent. But there is another possibility, which I think is a good explanation of why the letters ended up together, unopened, in Assur.

Federico Giusfredi (2010, 208) considers the letters "the archive of a private trader." Payne (2012, 109) suggests that they are the archive of a scribe: "copies kept by the scribe who wrote them." But in my opinion, these Assur letters are surely original letters, not copies, as extrinsic elements and links between the strips and text, characteristic of an original document, prove (see Dillo 2017, 529–31). Also, the recent find

4 Contra Hawkins 2000, 545. My intention to write a note about the sign *375 originated when collating and studying the text of ŞIRZI (§5); see Dillo 2013, 352.

5 Cf. Andrae 1924, 1 with pl. 1 (a–g, "Die Bleiröllchen im Fundzustand"); photo reproduced in Hawkins 2000, pl. 306 (1–6, "ASSUR letters, rolled as found"). I do not share the view of the anonymous reviewer, who argues that the material is pliable and can be rolled up and unrolled several times without ill effect. The situation of the letters being tightly rolled up seems to me (as to Bossert) to be an original feature. I do not think the letters could be rolled up again as tightly once they were opened.

of another lead letter from circa 750 BC, found far away from Assur in Yassıhöyük-Kırşehir (Tabal), shows a diplomatic form very comparable to the ASSUR letters.[6]

The letters do not constitute an archive, since they were found neither in the archive of the sender(s) nor in an archive of any of the recipients. The senders' archive must have been at some distance from Karkamiš,[7] and the archive (or archives) of the various recipients was (or were) probably in Karkamiš itself (cf. section 3 below). The assumption that the letters ended up in Assur as booty (Payne 2005, 109) is convincing, since the letters were unopened—thus never read—and therefore never reached the recipients. So from an archival point of view, the letters do not constitute an archive but rather a "collection" that ended up by chance in Assur, far beyond the Luwian-speaking area.[8]

The simplest explanation is that after their completion, the letters were intercepted during their delivery. Since they date to the late eighth century BC and were ultimately found in Assur, the Assyrian threat of annexing the remaining Neo-Hittite states will have played a role in this outcome.[9] Presumably, an illiterate Assyrian soldier took the letters from the messenger, who was on his way from the sender(s) to the recipients (in Karkamiš), and the letters ended up as private war booty in Assur. In the event of interception, it seems likely that the entire contents of the letter bag were taken and misunderstood as magical objects, kept together, and left unopened. They form a collection together with an acquired but also misunderstood cuneiform tablet that a subsequent owner, perhaps a descendant of the soldier in question, buried in the late seventh century BC as a "magical foundation deposit" during the construction of his house.

It seems most likely that we have the entire collection of letters from the sender(s), or at least all the letters destined for different recipients in the same place, very likely Karkamiš. So, with letter *b* being a "supplement" to a previous order, this previous order could indeed be letter *d*.

Such a scenario—where the senders of letters *f+g* and *e*, in the part of their letters called the *Narratio* (the historical background of their motivation to write), indeed complain about a crisis situation[10]—also enables a more detailed dating of these letters. With a dating based on epigraphic grounds pointing to the late eighth century BC, a dating after 717, as Hawkins suggests, is less likely. It is, after all, the year Karkamiš was annexed and constituted as an Assyrian province (Hawkins 2000, 534). Also, during a period of crisis, one expects to find political unrest. In that case, the year 717 BC itself appears to be more likely for the writing and interception of the letters, since it was the year the Assyrian king attacked and occupied the city of Karkamiš and took the royal family and leading courtiers back to Assyria as prisoners.[11]

## 3. *PARNI*-*375. . . AND THE POSITION OF PARNIWARRI, DIFFERENT FROM PARNAWARRI: READING /WA/ FOR *375 IN ASSUR LETTER *D* AND KARKAMIŠ A16*E*

When 717 BC is taken as the date the letters were written, the recurrence of the personal name *Parni*-*375. . . in letter *d* is also of significance in another inscription, as pointed out by Hawkins (2000, 198 and 545):

DOMUS-*ní*-*375-[. . . > /*Parni*-L375[/ "*Parni*-*375. . . ." (KARKAMIŠ A16*e*, frag. 1).

6 For the KIRŞEHİR letter, from Tabal (ca. 750 BC), see the edition in English by Akdoğan and Hawkins (2010, with figs. 1–7) and further treatment by Giusfredi (2010, 236–39).

7 Payne (2012, 108) proposes "in the vicinity of Karkamiš," and Giusfredi (2010, 208) thinks of central Anatolia. For a possible location in Cilicia, in the area of a "river-lord," see Dillo 2017, 548–49.

8 For an "archival fonds (of documents)" as distinguished from a "collection of documents," see the American translation of the Dutch *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives* (Muller, Feith, and Fruin 1968, section 66), as well as the archivistic definition of "fonds" and "collection" in *ISAD(G)*.

9 Definite annexations in Syria and eastern Anatolia of the following Neo-Hittite states (each with its capital) include *P/walastin* (Tell Tayinat), 738 BC; *Masuwari* (Tell Ahmar), 722/705 BC; *Imatu* (Hamath), 720 BC; *Karkamisa* (Karkamiš), 717 BC; *Malizzi* (Malatya/Arslan Tepe), 712/708 BC; *Kurkuma* (Maraş), 711 BC; Sam'al (previous Luwian name unknown) (Zincirli), ca. 710 BC; and *Kummaha* (Samsat Hüyök), 708 BC; cf. now Bryce 2012, 253–89 ("Absorption by Assyria").

10 See Hawkins 2000, 541; cf. Dillo 2017, 535.

11 For the historical context of 717 BC, see Hawkins 2000, 76; Bryce 2012, 98.

Here, once again, the incomplete preserved personal name is written with the sign *375 (L375) in the same manner as in letter *d*. This person belongs in Karkamiš or has at least dedicated his offering with an inscription in the temple there (see example 2 below). Furthermore, the inscription is dated to the late eighth century BC, meaning it is highly probable that with such a similar dating and spelling—the only exception being <ní> as a variation of <ni>—the same person is being referred to in both texts, again pointing to a connection between the ASSUR letters and Karkamiš.

The personal name Parniwarri (not written with the sign *375) is twice attested as well, and both attestations appear in the ASSUR letters. Apart from referring to the recipient of letter *b* mentioned above (see section 1), Parniwarri is also found in letter *f+g* with the title *amurallura-*:

[|DOMUS]-*ni-wa/i+ra/i-ia* [|(X)]*á-mu+ra/i-la/i/u+ra/i-´* > /[Par]niwarriya amurallura/

"to [Par]niwarri the *amurallura*" (letter *f+g*, §33).

In my previous article on the Assur letters, I demonstrated that both attestations (letter *b* and letter *f+g*) referred to the same person by means of the title associated with the keeping of dogs in letter *f+g* (*amur(i)-* "guard dog?" > *amurallura-* "chief of the dog men"). Dogs are the very animals requested from Parniwarri in supplement letter *b* (see Dillo 2017, 543–44).

Besides one and the same Parniwarri occurring in the two letters *b* and *f+g* is the mention of a functionary of the firm of Iyami in Karkamiš, who performs multiple tasks and also works for himself; together they form the addressees of letter *f+g*. If the abovementioned namesake from Karkamiš written with *375 is indeed the same as the addressee of letter *d*, and if letter *b* is indeed a supplement to letter *d*, then this personal name in the KARKAMIŠ A16*e* fragment is once again a variation of *Parniwarri*.

In addition to the personal name Parniwarri, Hawkins (2000, 192) also points out the possible personal name Parnawarri with *-a-* instead of *-i-*, in a broken context and also from Karkamiš, probably in the eighth century BC:

("*69")*pa+ra/i-na-wa/i-ri+i-sa* > /Parnawarris/ (nom.sg.) "Parnawarri" (KARKAMIŠ A17*a*, line 4 [C], §6).

Hawkins states that the name "coincides almost exactly with personal name (in letter *b*)," but the orthography is definitely different.[12] In the first part of the name we find <na>, while all other variations of the personal name treated above show <ni> or <ní>.[13] We may therefore conclude that we are dealing with a different person, although perhaps a contemporary one,[14] despite the possibility that *parni-/parna-* is a linguistic variation.[15]

We may conclude that the observed links between the Assur letters, which indicate that the recipients of letters *d* and *b* must be identical, are not contradicted by other known external facts. By taking into account that time, place, and name are the same in both, we may infer that the recipients of letters *b* and *d* are identical. The recipient is a certain Parniwarri, also written *Parni-**375. . . , who is the same person as the (high) functionary (*amurallura/i-*) Parniwarri mentioned in letter *f+g*, who is connected to the firm of Iyami and a companion in Karkamiš, but who is also working for himself.

12 CHLI 1/2: II.53, Karkamiš (date uncertain, possibly eighth century BC) = Hawkins 2000, 191–92 with pl. 72. Note that *Parnawarirs* is to be corrected as *Parnawarris* in the eDiAna project (cf. n3 above).

13 In letter *f+g*, the logogram is missing because of damage. To judge from the published photos, Hawkins (2000, 537) has restored it correctly as [DOMUS]. With *69/MANUS versus DOMUS we have another, different spelling for *Parnawarri*. This spelling, however, is at the same level as the alternation between *ni* and *ní*, or between *375 and *wa/i* (argued in this essay), as the anonymous reviewer rightly points out.

14 If Parnawarri (with *na*) in Karkamiš is a contemporary of the *amurallura* Parniwarri (with *ni*), it may help explain why the senders of letter *f+g* felt the need to mention this title in their letter. They wanted to avoid (§§31–34) a possible case of mistaken identity.

15 The eDiAna project treats the personal name Parniwarri as a variant of Parnawarri (cf. n3 above). Note that the attestation of *Parní-**375-[. . .] in KARKAMIŠ A16*e* fragment 1 is not identified there as a personal name.

On the basis of the identification of the two spellings as referring to a single individual, it follows that the sign *375 has the phonetic value /wa/. From now on, I will transliterate the sign as <wa$_{11}$> to distinguish it from the other /wa/ signs in the Hieroglyphic corpus.[16] And now I return to the addressee of ASSUR letter *d* (§1) mentioned at the beginning of this essay.

Figure 9.1. Read sinistroverse: |[DOM]US-*ni*-***wa***$_{11}$-[***ri+i***]-*ia*$^{-i}$, now with proposed *wa*$_{11}$ for *375 and in the lacuna [*ri+i*] (ASSUR letter *d*, line 1, §1; restoration after CHLI 1/3, pl. 309).

The first attestation of the sign *375 occurs in the sinistroverse writing of the name of the addressee in ASSUR letter *d* (§1) (see above). Because of damage in line 1, the letter has a lacuna after the sign *375. When reading it as <wa$_{11}$>, we should restore the lacuna with [*ri+i*], which graphically is easy to do (fig. 9.1). Although in the other written forms of the personal name Parniwarri we find the spelling *-wa/i* plus *Dorn*, that is, *-wa/i+ra/i-*, *ri+i* does not appear to be a problem. After all, the writer of the letters uses both options to represent *rV*, often adjacent to each other; compare *-wa/i+ra/i-* (e.g., letter *b*, §§1–2) next to *-wa/i-ra+a-* (letter *b*, §6) and *wa/i-ri+i* (letter *d*, §3), for example.[17]

As such, Hawkins's edition may then be restored as follows (in boldface):

Example 1
ASSUR letter *d*, (obv.) line 1, §1
(CHLI 1/2: XI.4, Assur [**booty from Cilicia?**], late eighth century
[**717!**] BC = Hawkins 2000, 535 with pls. 308–9)
§1 |*á-sa*$_5$*-za-wa/i* |[DOM]US-*ni-****wa***$_{11}$-[***ri+i***]-*ia*$^{-i}$ [|*ta*]-*ka-sa*$^{-i}$-[*la-s*]*á-wa/i* [|("LOQ]UI")*ha-ri+i-ti-'*,
> Understand now:
/assazza=wa [Pa]rni**wa**[**rri**]ya [Ta]ksa[la]s=wa haritti/
Say to Parni**warri**, "Taksala speaks (*as follows*)."

We find a second occurrence of the sign *375 in the same name on KARKAMIŠ A16*e*, fragment 1. This inscription concerns a votive offering in the form of a stone bowl. Two fragments were found by the excavators, but fragment 2 now appears to be lost (Hawkins 2000, 198).[18] The preserved, characteristic image of human fingers under the rim also symbolically depicts the bowl being offered to the god.[19] On the rim is a single-line, sinistroverse inscription, not translated in Hawkins's edition, with fragment 2 preceding fragment 1 (after Meriggi 1975).

Here I offer a different solution and propose a supplement (in boldface) to Hawkins's edition (example 2), with an indirect join between fragments 1 and 2, and the following provisional translation:

Example 2
KARKAMIŠ A16*e*, frag. 1 **(+)** frag. 2, §§1–2
(CHLI 1/1: II.62, Karkamiš, probably later eighth century BC = Hawkins 2000, 198 with pl. 78; and cf. Meriggi 1975, 127–28, no. 187, with pl. XXI)
§1 (lost) [*za-ia-wa/i* ("SCALPRUM")*ka-ti-na* X (DEUS)Y *i-zi-i-tà* (?)]

16 For the nine variants *wa/i*, *wá/í*, *wà/ì*, and *wa/i*$_{4–9}$, cf. Payne 2014, 206 ("Index to Sign List"); for the sign *71 as a tenth variant, see Goedegebuure 2019 (cited below, section 5).

17 For the same phenomenon in the ASSUR letters with, e.g., <tu>, cf. *-tu+ra/i-* versus *-tu-ra+a-* in *hatura* (see Hawkins 2000, 540).

18 For a photograph and hand copy of the now-lost fragment 2 of KARKAMIŠ A16*e* (not given by Hawkins because of the missing negative), see Woolley 1921, ix, pl. A16 with *e* (photograph of fragments) and **e* 2 (photo of inked squeeze); Meriggi 1975, pl. XXI, no. 187 (hand copy, obviously after Woolley 1921).

19 Cf. comparable stone bowls BABYLON 3 and BEIRUT, as signaled and edited by Hawkins (cf. 2000, 198).

§2 frag. 1: [(COR)*á-t*]*ara/i*[?]*-i-pa-wa/i+ra/i*[?] DOMUS-*ní-**wa**$_{11}$*-[***ri+i-sa***
**(+)** frag. 2: **(DEUS)*ku*-AVIS-*pa-pa-sa*** (?) AMPLECTI-*m*]*i*[?]*-sa* SERVUS-*la/i*[(*-sa*) PRAE-*na* PONERE-*wa/i-ta* (?)]

> Understand perhaps:
/[zaya kadinna X Y izzida (?) at]rin=ba=wa=ri Parni**wa[rris Kubabassa**(?) azzamm]is hudarli[s parran tuwatta (?)]/
[*These bowls X has made for the god Y (Kubaba/Tarhunt)* (?),] but/and Parni**wa[rri** the belov]ed servant[ **of Kubaba**(?) *has dedicated*(?) (it) in per]son (himself).

Fragment 1 starts with a series of particles, all but confirming that this clause continues a previous clause, now lost. One expects that the lost first clause would begin with something akin to "These bowls," as in BABYLON 2.[20] The presence of an accusative singular(?) at the start of fragment 1 with [(COR)*á-t*]*ara/i*[?]*-i-*, that is, /atri(n)/ "self, image" (Hawkins 2000, 198),[21] may be solved by taking *atrin* now as an adverb "in person, personally."[22] The clitic reflexive pronoun *ri* (< *di*) then refers back to the subject ("[for] himself"), making the personal name Parniwarri appear to be the actual dedicant.

Fragment 2 offers [AMPLECTI-*m*]*is* SERVUS-*la/i*[. . .] "[belov]ed servant," which was previously read as [*wasam*]*is* SERVUS-*ta*$_4$[. . .].[23] Meriggi (1975, 127) links these titles to a lost personal name in the first clause. It also seems possible to me to connect fragment 2 in the subsequent clause to the personal name of the dedicant, as an "indirect" join to fragment 1. The name of the god (Kubaba?) then needs to be restored in the lacuna between the two fragments.

## 4. *375 IN SULTANHAN, GÜRÜN AND ŞIRZI: READING *TAWALLI-* "EVIL EYED" AND *AHHA LIWA-* "TO DELETE"

The third attestation of the sign *375 is found in SULTANHAN (Tabal, ca. 735 BC) in the word *ta-*375*-*li-i-sa* following the word for "woman" (§47). Emmanuel Laroche (1960, 199) suggested reading *par?* to produce an alternative writing of *tapariyallis* "governor," attested in the following clause, but Hawkins (2000, 471) found this proposal doubtful. Indeed, the passage concerns a list of possible malefactors in a curse formula at the end of the inscription. After "a governor" (§48) there follows "a king" (§49), so it is difficult to understand why the "governor's wife," not another official, starts the list.

With a reading <wa$_{11}$> (given in bold), Hawkins's edition (example 3) can accordingly be completed and translated:

Example 3
SULTANHAN, (base, top) F3, §47
(CHLI 1/2: X.14, Tabal, ca. 735 BC = Hawkins 2000, 467 with pls. 260–61)
§47 |*ni-pa-wa/i-ta-*´ |"FEMINA"*-na-ti-i-sa* |*ta-**wa**$_{11}$*-li-i-sa* |*pa+ra/i-sa*$_5$*+ra/i* |*u-pa-i*

> Understand:
/niba=wa=an=tta wanatti(ya)s ta**wa**llis parsari uppai/
or (if) **an evil-eyed** woman brings it away(?),
(or [if] he is a governor, or a king. . .).

With /wa/ for *375, we arrive at |*ta-**wa**$_{11}$-li-i-sa*. Although this word is missing in Hieroglyphic Luwian, it is well known in Cuneiform Luwian in the verb *dawalli(ya)-* "to cast the evil eye upon" (see CLL s.v. *dawalli-*).

20 For BABYLON 2, see the edition CHLI 1/2: VIII.2 (Babylon [booty from Aleppo], eighth century BC) = Hawkins 2000, 394–96 with pl. 211.

21 Now transliterated with COR for previous VAS; see van den Hout 2002, where [(COR)*á-t*]*ara/i*[?]*-i-* was omitted.

22 Cf. Yakubovich 2015, section 7.2, example 4, in his recent sketch of the Luwian language.

23 For *la/i*, previous *ta*$_4$, see Rieken and Yakubovich 2010, 201. For AMPLECTI-*mis* considered with the verb (LITUUS)*azami-* "love(d)," cf. Hawkins 2000, 160, 559.

The verb has been analyzed as a denominative of **dawalla/i-* "of the eye" (cf. Melchert 1993, 225). The proposed new Hieroglyphic reading /ta**wa**lla/i-/ can likewise be explained as consisting of the suffix *-alla/i-*[24] attached to the word *tawa/i-* "eye," which is attested in Hieroglyphic Luwian (cf. Hawkins 2000, 272, 474). Even the negative connotation that the verb has in cuneiform[25] is present in Hieroglyphic in another derivation of *tawa/i-*.[26] The proposed new adjective *tawalla/i-* "evil eyed" seems to fit well in the context, given that "the evil eye" of an unspecified woman could drive a (random) malefactor to vandalize the SULTANHAN stele, as opposed to a governor or a king who could order the monument to be destroyed for a specific reason.[27]

We find the fourth, fifth, and sixth attestations of *375 in the inscriptions GÜRÜN (§6) and ŞIRZI (§5 and §8), both in the region of Malatya, with the first dating to the end of the twelfth century BC while the second dates to about 750 BC. Regarding the latter inscription, I have already been able to collate the text on the side of the stone (§§1–7) in situ.[28] In all three cases, *375 read as /wa/ gives rise to the verb *liwa-*, whose meaning has been previously established as "to damage" based on contextual analysis (cf. Hawkins 2000, 299). Compare Hawkins's editions (examples 4–6), accordingly completed and corrected (in boldface)—now with <kwa/i> for earlier REL:[29]

Example 4

GÜRÜN (upper inscription), lines 5–6, §6
(CHLI 1/1: V.2, Malatya, ca. 1125 BC = Hawkins 2000, 296 with pl. 137)
§6 *za-pa-wa/i* ANNUS/*336-*za+ra/i-sà kwa/i-i-sa*|| *ARHA* (MANUS)*li-**wa**$_{11}$-ti*

> Understand:
/za=ba=wa *336-zarsa kwis ahha li**wa**tti/
But (he) who shall damage/**delete** this inscription,
(against him may the great Storm-god. . .).

Example 5

ŞIRZI, lines 3–4, §5
(CHLI 1/1: V.19, Malatya, ca. 750 BC = Hawkins 2000, 323 with pls. 158–59; for collated text and date [ca. 750 BC], see Dillo 2013, 334, 340)
§5 */za-pa-wa/i || i-mára* PES$_2$.PES-*pa-mi-na /kwa/i-**sá** /ARHA /li-**wa**$_{11}$-ti*[30]

> Understand:
/zan=ba=wa immara tarpammin kwis ahha li**wa**tti/
But (he) who shall damage/**delete** this field *construction* (highway?/enclosure?).[31]

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24 This suffix forms adjectives and nouns of appurtenance; see the grammar sketch in Yakubovich 2015, section 6.2; cf. Melchert 2003, 195.

25 Cf. Beckman 1983, 178–79, 199 (commentary). See also Starke 1985, 236 (Hittite text only); and for the tablets, with different texts obverse and reverse, cf. Waal 2015, 74.

26 In Hieroglyphic, a comparable connotation can be found with |("COR")*ta-wa/i-sà-ta-ti-ha*—that is, /tawassattadi=ha/, ablative-instrumental of *tawassatta-* "that of the eyes" (ASSUR letter *e*, §10). It is used in a negative but not completely understood context (cf. Hawkins 2000, 547, with further literature) and now in fact is translated "evil eye" (inst.) in the eDiAna project (see n3 above) and analyzed with suffixes *-assa/i-* and *-at(t)-*, instead of *-a(n)t-*, by Yakubovich (2015, section 6.2).

27 As suggested by Ilya Yakubovich (personal communication, April 27, 2017).

28 See Dillo 2013, identifying the author of the text as *Ru*(!)*nti*(RUNTI)*yas* (likely *Runtiya*) and choosing the date ca. 750 BC.

29 For the syllabic reading *kwi/a-* for REL (*329), see Hawkins 2000, 30, and for choosing <kwa/i>, see Yakubovich 2014, 283n2.

30 The sign *mara* *463(3), different from *ma$_x$(+ra/i)* *462 (cf. Hawkins 2004, 363, 367), is transliterated <mára/i> in the eDiAna project (see n3 above).

31 For the understanding as a construction in open country, such as a "highway," in contrast to my "enclosure(?)," see Simon 2014; for my hesitancy regarding this solution, see Dillo 2016, 30n2—especially because of the form written elsewhere with logogram determinative CASTRUM, which cannot be easily dismissed. Simon (2014) rightly corrects my interpretative transcription in a compound noun *immar(i)- tarpamm(i)-*, now transcribed as *immara* (stem) *tarpammin* (acc.sg.) in the eDiAna project (cf. n3 above).

Example 6
ŞIRZI, top, §8
§8 *z*[*a-i*]*a-pa-wa/i* ˹*kwa/i*(?)˺*-za-ma*[*-ia?*] *ARHA kwa/i*(?)*-sá* [*li*]-***wa***$_{11}$-˹*ti*(?)˺

> Understand:
/z[ay]a=ba=wa kwanzamma[ya] ahha kwis [li]**wa**tti/
But (he) who shall **delete** these incised (words)/inscription,
(may Tarhunza . . .).

All attestations of the verb *liwa-*, now read with /wa/ for the sign *375, are constructed with the preverb *ARHA*—that is, /ahha/[32] "away." From the context—which concerns inscriptions and a construction—a translation "to damage, to delete" fits very well, but a verb *liwa-* is otherwise unknown in the Anatolian languages. Still, I point to the Hittite verb *leliu̯aḫḫ-* "to make haste, to hurry," a derivative from the adjective *leliu̯ant-* "travelling swiftly, winged(?), urgent." Alwin Kloekhorst (2008, 525) suggests that these words are derived from an unattested stem *leliu̯(a)-*, "which itself looks like the reduplication of a stem **liu̯(a)-*."

Perhaps we have now found such a simplex with Hieroglyphic Luwian *liwa-*. The original sense of the verb, judging from the derivatives, could be "to sweep," which has the connotation "to wipe (away), move forcefully or quickly." In GÜRÜN we find the written form with the logogram determinative MANUS, classifying the word as a "verb of manual action" (cf. Hawkins 2003, 163). This kind of verb is exactly what one would expect to be originally used to express wiping out signs on clay or on a wooden tablet covered with wax.[33] So, by reading *375 as /wa/, we get the complex verb *ahha liwa-* "to wipe away" used in connection with "damaging" inscriptions and constructions, a meaning that might be understood as "to delete."

## 5. IS *375 A POSSIBLE VARIATION OF *128 (AVIS)?

Since the publication of the Ahmar/Qubbah stele with the edition of its inscription TELL AHMAR 6 (Hawkins 2006), we now have at our disposal an interesting variation of the writing of the verb "MALLEUS"(-)AVIS-*la-* "to erase" (§29), written elsewhere as "MALLEUS"(-)*71-*la-*. According to Hawkins (2006, 29) the entries of the signs as given by Laroche (1960) may now be changed, with *71 as a cursive form of the sign *128 (AVIS). At the IXth International Congress of Hittitology (Çorum, September 1–7, 2014), this discovery was addressed by two scholars. Zsolt Simon (2019) discussed a hapax legomenon containing the bird-shaped sign AVIS (*128), while Petra Goedegebuure (2019) proposed a syllabic reading of the sign *128 (AVIS) as /wa/ as well, which led to new interpretations of a number of words. In view of Goedegebuure's suggestion to read *128 as /wa/, we may ask ourselves whether there perhaps exists a graphic relationship between the signs *128 (and its cursive variant *71) and *375, both with the value /wa/.

The different cursive forms (1–5) of the sign *375 in the previously discussed attestations are shown in figure 9.2, after the hand copies cited in the aforementioned editions. The versions 2 and 3 on the one hand and the versions 4 and 5 on the other appear to show a marked difference between two scribal traditions. However, both traditions can be traced back to the earlier version (1) from GÜRÜN.

For the three attestations of the cursive sign *71 in the same verb ("MALLEUS")AVIS/*71-*la-* "to erase," Hawkins (2006, 29) refers to the inscriptions TELL AHMAR 2, §12, BOYBEYPINARI 1, §9, and MARAŞ 8, §12(?).[34] The forms of *71 in these inscriptions can now be regarded as cursive versions of the pictographic sign for "bird," *128 (AVIS) (fig. 9.3). Based on variants 6–8, the variant 7 of *71 in particular, in TELL AHMAR 2, with "ripples" on its left side, looks remarkably similar to the sign *375 in the variant 2 in ŞIRZI used in the verb *liwa-*. These ripples may well be a cursive representation of the pictographic form with "bird beak." In that case, the signs *375 and *71 are indeed related. However, in all the variants 1–5 of the

32 For this reading of *ARHA*, see Yakubovich 2012.

33 Cf. Waal 2011.

34 For the editions and hand copies of the texts, see Hawkins 2000, 228 with pl. 92 (TELL AHMAR 2), 336 with pl. 165 (BOYBEYPINARI 1), and 253 with pl. 107 (MARAŞ 8). The fact that this last inscription is incised in a strongly linear manner may have influenced the form of the sign *71+*Dorn*, transliterated by Hawkins as a possible attestation of x+*ra/i* in §12.

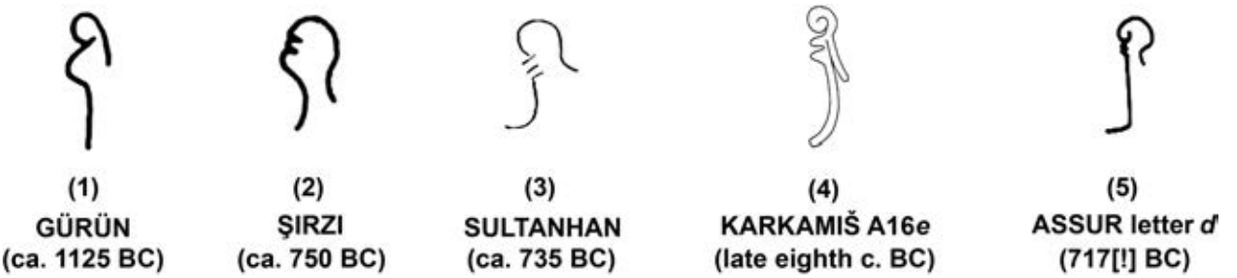


Figure 9.2. The different cursive forms (1–5) of sign *375 (after the hand copies offered by Hawkins [2000] in CHLI 1/3).

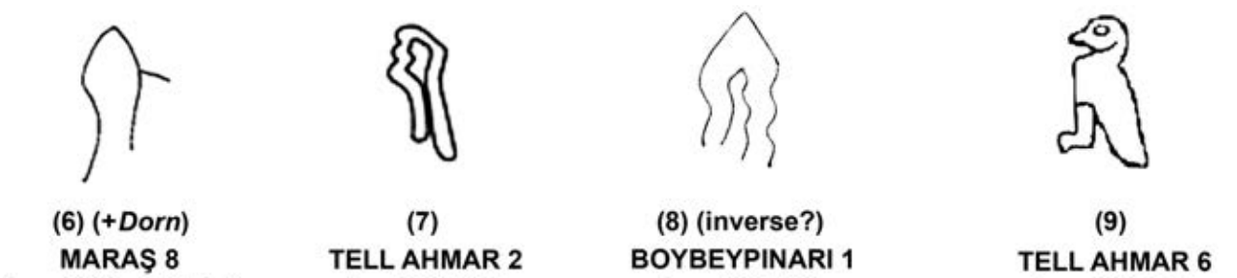


Figure 9.3. The cursive forms (6–8) of sign *71 compared to the pictographic form (9) of *128 (AVIS) (after the hand copies offered by Hawkins 2000 [CHLI 1/3] and 2006, 147, fig. 22).

sign *375, the front (dextroverse) has been made longer than the rear. This feature appears to be constant for *375, while for sign *71 the opposite is most often the case and more variation seems possible. Form 9 of *128, the pictographic variant of *71, clearly shows that the back of the bird sign is indeed intended to be longer by means of a downward extended wing. Does this phenomenon mean that the sign *375 concerns a variation of a related bird sign?

Another possibility is conceivable if we add another variant of *128 (AVIS) to the debate. In the writing of the name of the goddess Kubaba, we also find a more cursive form (10) in Karkamiš around 750 BC in KARKAMIŠ A4*a*, in addition to the known pictographic sign for the goddess's sacred "bird" (*128) (fig. 9.4). This more cursive form 10 of the bird sign offers a perfect (historicizing?) transition of the pictographic bird sign *128 (AVIS) from the eighth century BC in Karkamiš to variant 1 of the sign *375, which we already know from GÜRÜN from the end of the twelfth century BC. Thus it seems more likely that we should be considering different scribal traditions, which are responsible for different cursive forms of *375 and *71 but with the same syllabic value /wa/, derived from the same pictographic sign for "bird" *128 (AVIS) (fig. 9.5).

Figure 9.4. A more cursive variant (10) (ca. 750 BC) of the pictographic sign *128 (AVIS), in the name of the goddess Kubaba, written sinistroverse (DEUS)*ku*-AVIS-*pa-pa-sa-ha* (nom.) > /Kubabas=ha/ "and Kubaba" (KARKAMIŠ A4*a*, line 3, §13, after Hawkins 2000, 152 with pl. 44).

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

A previous diplomatic examination of the Assur letters made it likely that letter *b* is a supplement to letter *d*, having established that the name Parniwarri (the recipient of letter *b*) is the same person as the one referred to with the name *Parni-*375. . . (the recipient of letter *d*). Moreover, it has become clear that the recipient of letter *b* is the same as the *amurallura/i-* Parniwarri mentioned in letter *f+g*. The subsequent examination undertaken here, which has examined other relevant arguments beyond the content of the letters, has further strengthened the case that all the referents are one and the same person. The circumstances of the

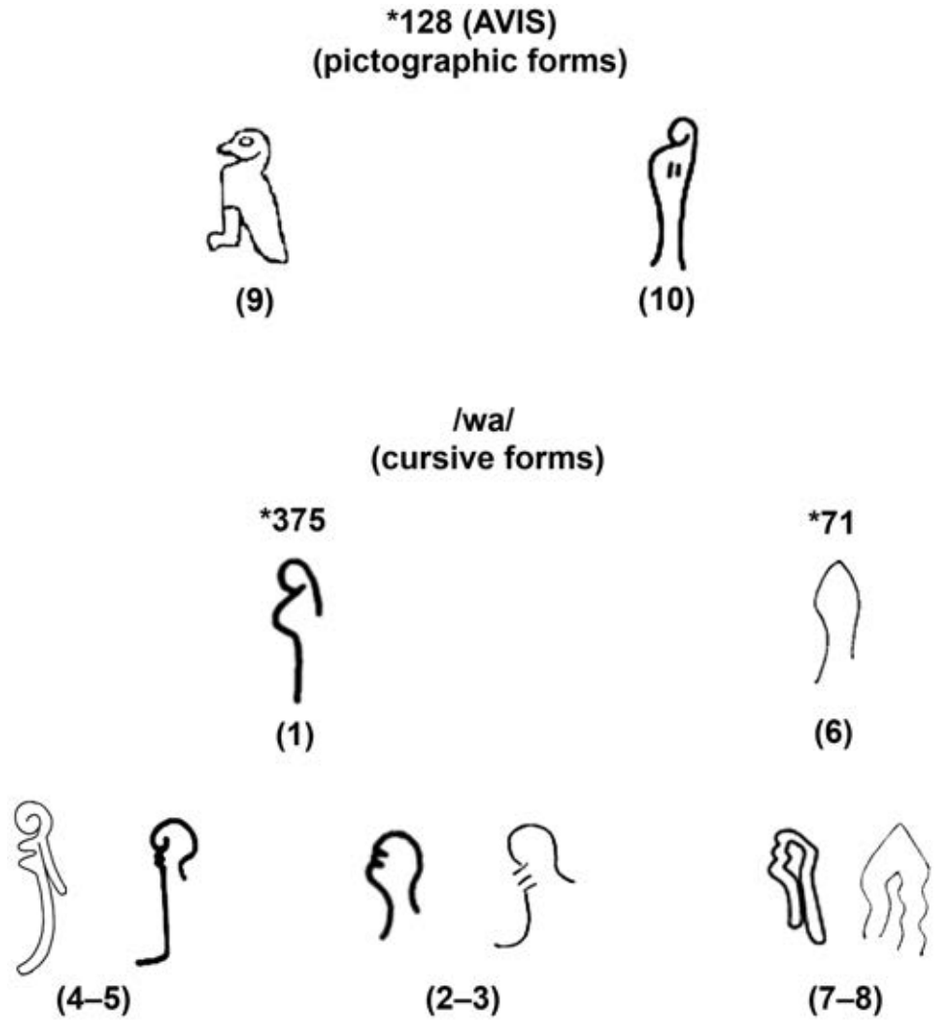


Figure 9.5. The relative graphic development of *128 (AVIS) to the cursive variants *375 and *71 (after fig. 9.2 with variants 1–5, fig. 9.3 with variants 6–9, and fig. 9.4 with variant 10).

find, which add a second historical dimension to the question of the nature of the Assur letters, have made it clear that we may have the entire collection of unopened and undelivered letters destined for different recipients in the same place. This possibility also means that letter *b* could indeed be a supplement to letter *d*. Furthermore, the evidence from the letters themselves indicating that the destination is Karkamiš, now combined with the attestation of a namesake—probably the same individual as in the letters—mentioned in an inscription on a votive bowl dedicated in a temple in that city, makes a dating of the letters to 717 BC, the year of the fall of Karkamiš, even more plausible. On the basis of the identification of the different spellings of the name Parniwarri as referring to the same individual, it follows that the sign *375 has the phonetic value /wa/ (<$wa_{11}$>).

The "rare and undeciphered syllabogram" *375 can then also be successfully read in all other attestations as /wa/. This reading produces the previously unidentified Hieroglyphic Luwian adjective *tawalla/i-* "evil eyed," a word that was already reconstructed as the basis for Cuneiform Luwian *dawalli(ya)-* "to cast the evil eye upon." Furthermore, the verb *ahha li-**375- is read as *ahha liwa-*, previously translated as "to damage." I propose here to return to the original interpretation "to wipe away," which then assumed a meaning more akin to "to delete." I also propose considering Luwian *liwa-* as the cognate of stem **liu̯(a)-* and its reduplication **leliu̯a-*, the base of Hittite *leliu̯ant-*.

Finally, based on its graphic variants in the cursive forms, the sign *375 does indeed appear to be related to the sign *128 (AVIS), with its cursive form *71, for which Goedegebuure (2019) has also proposed a syllabic value /wa/. In turn this conclusion also makes the reading of /wa/ for *375 much more certain.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter other than the following one are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

*ISAD(G)* International Council on Archives, *General International Standard Archival Description*. 2nd ed. 2000. https://www.ica.org/resource/isadg-general-international-standard-archival-description-second-edition/

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# 10 DEALING WITH BESTIALITY IN HITTITE ANATOLIA: THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN RITUAL AND JURISPRUDENCE

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## DEDICATION

It is with great pleasure that I dedicate this short essay to Theo van den Hout in admiration of his scholarship and in gratitude for his support throughout the years.[1]

## 1. INTRODUCTION

KUB 41.11+ is a one-column *Sammeltafel* dating to the very end of the Empire period and containing two rituals. The obverse begins with a badly preserved ritual for the cleansing of impurity in a house, performed by a Man-of-the-Storm-god. The second ritual, comprising twenty-nine lines and occupying most of the reverse side of the tablet, is better preserved. It contains a ritual of purification from bestiality. This ritual was edited by Harry A. Hoffner (1973, 85–88) in his study of Hittite sexual offenses. The ritual shows distinct Kizzuwatnian traits (Hoffner 1973, 86; Strauß 2006, 86–87), but it likely represents a very late, secondary adaptation of Kizzuwatnian ritual materials. Other fragments were later joined to the tablet by Francesco Fuscagni (2015), who has also provided an edition of the first ritual. As I have argued elsewhere (Gilan 2018), the most striking feature of the short bestiality ritual recorded on KUB 41.11+ is its unique and innovative treatment of the scapegoat sheep. The sheep was covered "like a bride" and afterward received a dowry meticulously itemized in the ritual. The endowment of the scapegoat sheep with a dowry likely served the same function as the adornment of the scapegoat animal in other scapegoat rituals.[2] The scapegoat was given a dowry to make it more attractive to its new "husband," ensuring in this way that the "bride," and the impurity she carried with her, would never return.[3]

The following essay focuses on another question that emerges from KUB 41.11+: its function within society, and more specifically, its relation to Hittite jurisprudence. The performance of a purification ritual was only one of several measures by which bestiality was dealt with in Hittite Anatolia. Other sanctions included banishment and execution.

1 I thank the editors of this volume for their kind invitation to participate in it and their highly valuable comments. I also thank Shai Gordin, Emily Bischoff, and Tal Nemet, as well as Ilan Peled for sharing his unpublished work with me.

2 Rita Strauß (2006, 128) has made this keen observation.

3 On Hittite scapegoat rituals, see, among others, Taracha 2000, 207–24; Haas 2003a; 2003b, 434–39; Strauß 2006, 119–26; Oettinger 2010; Christiansen 2013 Mouton 2014. On scapegoat rituals in a wider cultural context, see Bremmer 2008, 169–214.

## 2. THE LAWS

Hittite law cases dealing with bestiality are found, with other sexual offenses, at the end of the Laws collection (§187 in Hoffner 1997, 148; see there for variants).[4]

> KBo 6.26 iii 20–22: (20) *ták-ku* LÚ-*iš* GUD-*aš kat-ta* [*wa-aš-t*]*a-i ḫu-u-ur-ke-el a-ki-aš* (21) LUGAL-*an a-aš-ki ú-wa-t*[*e-ez-z*]*i ku-en-zi-ma-an* LUGAL-*uš* (22) *ḫu-iš-n*[*u*]*-zi-i*[*a-an* LUGAL-*u*]*š* LUGAL-*i-ma-aš Ú-UL ti-i-ez-zi*
>
> If a man transgresses with a cow, (it is) perversion; he is bound to die. He shall conduct him to the king's court gate. The king may have him executed or spare his life, but he shall not approach the king.

The next law case is practically similar but concerns a sheep rather than a cow (§188 in Hoffner 1997, 148–49). The two cases declare the act of bestiality as a perversion (*ḫurkil-*) punishable by death.[5] The king's court may have the offender executed or commute the death sentence, but the offender should under no circumstances approach the king. The last interdiction reveals the danger posed by the act of bestiality: the impurity the offender has accrued by the sexual act is contaminating and could therefore be transferred to the monarch or, in other cases, to the community. The danger of contamination also explains the severe punishment. By executing and thus physically destroying the offender, the impurity he accrued by his act of perversion would be destroyed with him. The fate of the animal partner is never explicitly stipulated, but it too was presumably killed (Hoffner 1973, 83; Peled 2015, 291).

The other two bestiality laws offer interesting variations on the preceding cases. The first of the two is §199 (Hoffner 1997, 157):

> KBo 6.26 iv 16–22: (16) *ták-ku* ŠAḪ UR.GI$_7$*-aš kat-ta ku-iš-ki wa-aš-ta-i a-ki-aš* (17) *A-NA* KÁ É.GAL-*LIM ú-wa-te-ez-zi ku-en-zi-uš* (18) LUGAL-*uš ḫu-iš-nu-zi-ia-aš* LUGAL-*uš* LUGAL-*i-ma-aš Ú-UL* (19) *ti-i-ez-zi ták-ku* GUD-*uš* LÚ-[*ni*] *wa-at-ku-zi* (20) GUD-*uš a-ki* LÚ-*aš-ša Ú-UL* ˹*a*˺[*-ki*] 1 UDU LÚ-*na-aš* (21) *ka-a-aš-ša-aš ḫu-u-it-ti-ia-a*[*n-ta*] *na-an-kán ku-na-an-zi* (22) *ták-ku* ŠAḪ-*aš* LÚ-*ni wa-at-ku-z*[*i*] *Ú-UL ḫa-ra-a-tar*
>
> If anyone transgresses with a pig (or) a dog, he is bound to die. He shall bring (them) to the palace gate. The king may have them executed, the king may spare them, but he (the human offender) shall not approach the king. If an ox leaps on a man (in sexual excitement), the ox shall be killed and the man shall not d[ie]. They pull one sheep as substitute[6] for the man and they kill it. If a pig leaps on a man (in sexual excitement), it is not an offense.

The wording of the law concerning a sexual act with a pig or a dog is almost identical to the previous cases. The accusative plural enclitic personal pronouns in lines 17 and 18 refer presumably not to the human and animal sexual partners but to both types of human offender specified—the lover of the dog and the lover of the pig. In contrast to the previous bestiality cases, the specification that these acts were considered *ḫurkil-* is omitted. If, however, a man was mounted sexually by an aroused ox, the ox was killed; the man, however, was spared. A sheep was pulled as substitute for the man and was subsequently killed.

The act of "pulling a sheep as substitute" deserves a closer look. It is attested in two other laws, one of which also concerns a *ḫurkil-* offense (HED 4, 119; Eichner 2002, 143–49). It makes its first appearance in law §167 (Hoffner 1997, 134), itself a mitigating alteration of an earlier case involving an especially gruesome death penalty (§166 in Hoffner 1997, 133):

> KBo 6.26 i 34–40: (34) *ták-ku* NUMUN-*ni še-er* NUMUN-*an ku-iš-ki šu-ú-ni-ez-zi* (35) GÚ-*SÚ* GIŠAPIN-*an še-er ti-ez-zi* [I]I$^{?}$ *ṢÍ-IM-DÌ* GUD$^{HI.A}$ (36) *tu-ri-ia-an-zi ke-e-el me-n*[*e*]$^{!}$*-iš-ši-it du-wa-a-an* (37) *ke-e-el-la me-ne-iš-ši-it du-wa-a-an* (38) *ne-e-ia-an-zi* LÚ-*eš*$_{17}$ *a-ki* GUD$^{HI.A}$*-ia ak-kán-zi* (39) *Ù* A.ŠÀ-*LAM ka-ru-ú-pát ku-iš šu-ú-ni-et* (40) *ta-az a-pa-a-aš da-a-i ka-ru-ú ki-iš-ša-an e-eš-šer*

4 The law texts given here are taken, with some alterations, from Hoffner's critical edition (1997), using the better-preserved late copy KBo 6.26. A comprehensive study on bestiality in Hittite sources is Peled 2020.

5 On *ḫurkil-*, see Hoffner 1973, 83–84; 1997, 224, 278; HED 3, 401–2; Cohen 2002, 88–89; HW$^2$ III 754–56.

6 On *kaššaš* as a postposition, see HED 4, 119, and Hoffner 1997, 282; differently, Heiner Eichner (2002, 143–49) considers *kaššaš* an adnominal genitive and translates it as "Schaf des Ersatzes."

> If anyone sows seed on seed, they shall place his neck on a plow. They shall hitch up [tw]o teams of oxen: they shall turn the face of one in one direction and of the other in the other direction. The man will be killed and the oxen will also be killed. The party who first sowed the field shall reap it for himself. This is the way they used to proceed.

The next paragraph (§167) depicts the current situation (Hoffner 1997, 134; Eichner 2002, 147):

> KBo 6.26 i 41–45: (41) *ki-nu-na* 1 UDU LÚ-*na-aš ka-aš-ša꞊aš-ša-aš ḫu-it-ti-an-ta* (42) 2 UDU$^{ḪI.A}$ GUD$^{ḪI.A}$ *ka-aš-ša-aš-ša-aš ḫu-u-it-ti-an-ta* 30 NINDA$^{ḪI.A}$ (43) 3 DUG KA.D[Ù] *pa-a-i ta a-ap-pa šu-up-pí-ia-aḫ-ḫi* (44) *Ù* A.ŠÀ-*LAM ka-ru-ú-pát ku-iš šu-ú-ni-e-et* (45) *ta-az a-pa-a-aš wa-ar-aš-zi*
>
> But now they shall pull one sheep as a substitute for the man and pull two sheep of/as substitution for the oxen. He shall give thirty loaves of bread and three jugs of beer. Then he shall consecrate (the field) again. And the one that sowed the field first shall reap it.

The brutal nature of the original punishment and the substitution of the sheep that replaced it suggested to many scholars that the offense committed in §§166–67 was a severe violation of a religious taboo (Haase 1994, 74–75; Hoffner 1997, 215; Singer 2009, 158; Christiansen 2015, 42). The offense was related to the biblical rules about forbidden mixtures in Deuteronomy 22:9–11 and Leviticus 9:19 prohibiting, among other illicit combinations, sowing with two kinds of seed (Haase 1994, 74; Singer 2009, 158). Intriguingly, the biblical forbidden-mixture rules were interpreted, in their turn, as reflecting ancient sexual taboos or as a commentary on sexual themes in the book of Genesis (Carmichael 1982, 1995; Haase 1994, 74). The Hittite case §§166–67, however, probably has more to do with theft of the harvest (Friedrich 1959, 110) than with the illicit mixture of seeds. Both cases that follow it, §168 and §169, deal with different violations of field boundaries (Hoffner 1997, 134–36). The horrific punishment of tearing a person apart was also applied "in the past" in the case of theft of a plow, but it was later mitigated to a monetary fine (§121 in Hoffner, 1997, 110–11). A similar punishment was applied in another case of theft. In the so-called Palace Anecdotes (CTH 8) a certain Nunnu, a man of Ḫūrma, embezzled silver and gold from the palace and was consequently severely punished, together with his replacement Šarmaššu, by being mortally hitched up like oxen (KBo 3.34 i 11–23; Gilan 2015, 117–18). Moreover, in §166 not only the offender but also the oxen were put to death and in §167 were substituted later by a pair of sheep. The oxen were presumably killed because of the impurity they may have accrued during the unlawful sowing by the offender (Friedrich 1959, 111). This accrual is probably also why the field had to be reconsecrated before it was reaped. Significantly, the text distinguishes between the single provider of bread and beer for the reconsecration of the field, presumably the offender himself (third sg. pres. verbs), and the substitution sheep consigned by someone else, probably the local authorities (third pl. pres. mediopassive verb). This distinction will become significant later.

The second occurrence of pulling a sheep as substitute is found in law §196, concerning an act of *ḫurkil-* committed by slaves (Hoffner 1997, 155; Eichner 2002, 148):

> KBo 6.26 iv 1–5: (1) *ták-ku* ARAD$^{MEŠ}$-*ŠU* GÉME$^{MEŠ}$-*ŠU* [*ḫu-u-ur-ki-il i-e*]*n*?-*z*[*i*?] (2) *tu-uš a-ar-nu-wa-an-z*[*i*] *ku-u-un-na ta*-*ki-ia* URU-*ri* (3) *ku-u-un-na ta-ki-ia* [U]RU-*ri a-še-ša-an-zi* (4) *ke-e-el* 1 UDU *ke-e*-[*e*]*l-la* 1 UDU *ka-aš-ša-aš* (5) *ḫu-u-it-ti-ia-an-ta*
>
> If anyone's male and female slaves commit [an act of perversion], they deport them, but they shall settle the one in one town and the other in another town. They shall pull a sheep for the one and a sheep of/as substitution for the other.

Even if the actual act of killing the substitute sheep is explicitly stipulated only in §199, it is assumed that the animals were killed in all three cases (Eichner 2002, 144). But why exactly were these sheep killed? Johannes Friedrich (1959, 85), commenting on the case of the *ḫurkil-* committed by the slaves (§196, *82) explains that "dieses Schafopfer scheint ein Ersatz für ursprüngliche Todesstrafe zu sein."[7] Birgit Christiansen (2015, 50, 52) suggests that the ritual substitution of the sheep was presumably conducted to purify the

7 Similarly, Christiansen (2015, 42) notes that "§196 sieht zudem für den unerlaubten sexuellen Verkehr zwischen Unfreien eine an Substitutstieren vollzogene Todesstrafe vor."

town in which the perversion took place as a supplementary measure to the deportation of the offenders to other towns. Viewed together, the three instances of pulling a sheep as substitute emerge as an elimination rite of substitution. In all three cases, the sheep took the place of the person or animal afflicted with impurity so that the impurity accrued by the offenders could be transferred to the sheep, thus freeing the offenders from contamination. The substitute sheep had to be subsequently killed to make sure the pollution it now carried was completely destroyed.[8] This necessity may also explain, as we have seen, why in the case of the man who sowed a field for the second time not only the offender but also the oxen were killed (§166) and later substituted by sheep (§167). They may have been contaminated with impurity by physical contact with the offender. The actual ritual that was required to enact the substitution was obviously not elaborated in the laws themselves.

The bestiality law §199 concludes with the somewhat surprising stipulation that, unlike the case of the person who was approached sexually by an aroused ox, a sexual act performed by an aroused pig was not considered an offense at all. Nor, famously, were sexual acts with equids (§200a in Hoffner 1997, 157–58):

> KBo 6.26 iv 23–27: (23) *ták-ku* LÚ-*aš* ANŠE.KUR.RA-*i na-aš-ma* ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA *kat-ta* (24) *wa-aš-ta-i Ú-UL ḫa-ra-tar* LUGAL-*uš*!!-*aš Ú-UL ti-ez-zi* (25) LÚSANGA-*ša Ú-UL ki-i-ša ták-ku ar-nu-wa-la-an* [*ku-iš-ki*] (26) *kat-ta še-eš-ki-iz-zi an-na-aš-ša-an n*[*e-*]*k*[*a-ša-an-na ú-en-zi*] (27) *Ú-UL ḫa-ra-tar*
>
> If a man transgresses with either a horse or a mule, it is not an offense. He shall not approach the king, nor shall he become a priest. If [anyone] sleeps with a deportee-woman (while) [fucking] her mother and her sister, it is not a crime.

This unique tolerance toward sexual intercourse with equids received considerable scholarly attention, most notably from Indo-European comparatists who connected this abatement in the Hittite law to Indo-European horse traditions and associated it with horse sacrifice rituals attested in Ireland, India, and Rome.[9] Hittite tolerance toward acts of bestiality with equids awaits, however, a more convincing explanation. The inclusion of the second stipulation in §200a, concerning sexual intercourse with deportee women of the same family, may lead us in the right direction. Both stipulations may primarily concern situations occurring during (long) military campaigns by members of the Hittite elite. Here it will suffice to note that this law, too, underlines the gravity of the impurity accrued by the act of bestiality, even if the act itself was not considered an offense.

## 3. KING ARNUWANDA I'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE FRONTIER-POST GOVERNORS

The instructions issued by King Arnuwanda I to the frontier-post governors (CTH 261.I) also deal with the handling of sexual perversions in the border provinces. These occurrences of sexual perversions may have included, based on the evidence of the laws, also some cases of bestiality (translation, with some modifications, after Miller 2013, 228–29, §37', with duplicates):

> KUB 13.2 + iii 9–16: (9) *nam-ma a-ú-ri-ia-aš* EN-*aš* LÚMAŠKIM.URUKI! LÚ.MEŠŠU.GI *DI-NA-TI* (10) SIG$_5$-*in ḫa-aš-ši-kán-du nu-uš-ša-an kat-ta ar-nu-uš-kán-du* (11) *ka-ru-ú-li-ia-az-ia ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* KUR.KUR-*kán an-da ḫu-ur-ki-la-aš* (12) *iš-ḫi-ú-ul i-ia-an ku-e-da-ni-aš-kán* URU-*ri ku-aš-ke-er na-aš-kán* (13) *ku-wa-aš-kán-du ku-e-da-ni-ma-aš-kán* URU-*ri ar-ḫa pár-ḫi-iš-ke-er* (14) *na-aš-kán ar-ḫa pár-ḫi-iš-kán-du nam-ma-za* URU-*aš* EGIR-*an-da wa-ar-ap-du* (15) *nam-ma wa-tar-na-aḫ-ḫa-an e-eš-du na-aš-ša-an* EGIR-*pa le-e* (16) *ku-iš-ki tar-na-i ku-i-ša-an-ša-an* EGIR-*pa tar-na-i na-an ša-ku-wa-an-za*
>
> Further, let the governor of the post, the town magistrate, (and) the elders judge law cases properly, and let them investigate them thoroughly. And as the regulation regarding a sexual offense has been handled traditionally in the provinces, in a town in which they used to execute, let them execute them, while in a town in

8 See also implicitly in the Hebrew translations of these passages by Itamar Singer (2009, 157–58, 162, 164).

9 Puhvel 1970, 1987; Watkins 2004. The Hittite tolerance of sexual contact with equids has now been comprehensively explored in Peled 2020.

> which they used to banish, let them banish them. Further, the town must bathe afterward, and moreover, let it be decreed: No one shall allow them back. They will impale whomever allows him/her back.

While the Hittite dominion of the border provinces respected local judicial customs concerning *ḫurkil-* offenses, the Hittite governor had to make sure these procedures were in fact put into place. If the local form of punishment was banishment, it was the duty of the frontier-post governor to make sure the offender, afflicted with impurity, would not return. Moreover, it was his obligation to ensure that the whole town in which the perversion took place was cleansed. Thus a supplementary purification ritual for the town was prescribed by the instruction text (Hoffner 1973, 85; Christiansen 2015, 50). If we zoom out and consider the larger context in which §37' is embedded within the instructions, conveniently using the outline of the text provided by Jared Miller (2013, 215–17), their significance becomes even clearer. The instructions concerning *ḫurkil-* are situated between instructions concerning the maintenance of the cult and religious institutions and instructions pertaining to the administration of justice in the border provinces; *ḫurkil-* offenses cause impurity, touching both the legal and the religious spheres.

## 4. RITUAL TREATMENT

Several rituals pertaining to *ḫurkil-* offenses are indeed preserved, even if only scantily.[10] One ritual that probably deals with incest, KBo 59.9, echoes the Arnuwanda instructions to the frontier-post governors by mentioning not only the offender himself but also the town in which the offense took place (KBo 59.9 obv. 1–9; Hoffner 1973, 89; Peled 2010, 633; Melzer and Görke 2015):

> §1: (1) *ma-a-an* UN-*aš IT-TI* AMA-[*ŠU* . . .] (2) *na-aš-ma ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-aš ši-*[. . .] (3) *na-aš ma-a-an* EGIR-*zi-iš* [*ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-iš* . . .][11]
>
> When a man [. . .] with [his] mother [. . .] or with a member of his family[. . .]. If he is low ranked [or high ranked . . .].
>
> §2: (4) UN-*aš ku-iš wa-aš-da-i n*[*a-an*ʔ . . .] (5) *nu* URU-*aš ḫu-u-ma-an-za an-d*[*a* . . .] (6) *a-pé-da-ni* URU-*ri* EGIR-*a*[*n*ʔ . . .] (7) MUNUSŠU.GI *a-ni-ia-ta-a*[*n*ʔ . . .][12] (8) [. . .] *i-ia-an-zi n*[*a-*]x [. . .] (9) ʳ*nu* LÚ $^{D}$10ʾ x [. . .]
>
> The man that transgresses[. . .]. The whole town[. . .]. In that town [. . .] back/afterward. The Old Woman [. . .] the job. They make[. . .]. [. . .]. The Man-of-the-Storm-god[. . .].

An even more fragmentary ritual is KBo 12.115 (dupl. IBoT 2.117), of which almost nothing but the colophon is preserved (Hoffner 1973, 88–89; Görke and Melzer 2015; Waal 2015, 326; Gordin 2015, 43):

> KBo 12.115 rev. 1'–5' (with dupl. IBoT 2.117 iv 1'–4'): (1') DUB.1.KAM *QA-TI* (2') ʳ*ma-a*ʾ*-an* UN-*aš ḫ*[(*ur-ke-el i-ia-zi*)] (3') [*n*]*u-za* DUMU.MUNUS-*ŠU* NI[N-*ŠU* (AMA-*ŠU da-a-i*] (4') ʳ*nu*ʾ*-za* ʳ*ki-i*ʾ *da-*[*aḫ-ḫi*] (5') ŠU $^{m}$ʳ*Ma*ʾ*-d*[*a*(-) . . .]
>
> Tablet 1. Complete. If a man commits *ḫurkil-* and takes his daughter, [his] sis[ter, (or) his mother (sexually), [I] take these. Hand of Ma[da(-). . .].

The ritual itself is almost completely lost. Line 7' of the obverse lists, in the accusative case, a cow, a sheep, a pig, and a dog, precisely the four animals that are explicitly forbidden in the Hittite bestiality laws. The fragmentary nature of the text, however, does not allow the context in which these animals appear in the ritual to be determined (Görke and Melzer 2015). A catalog entry (KUB 30.67 iv 7'–9'; Hoffner 1973, 84; Dardano 2006, 166–67) lists yet another ritual, by Ḫuntarittā, that deals with *ḫurkil-*. The minute ritual fragment HFAC 19 (Hoffner 1973, 84), also mentioning *ḫurkil-*, closes the list.

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10 An overview of the pertinent fragments has already been given by Hoffner (1973). Many other rituals deal with *ḫurkil-* as part of a longer *Unheilskette*; see the references in Hoffner 1973, 84; HW² III 755–56.

11 For the incipit, with occasionally differing readings and reconstructions, see Kühne and Otten 1971, 43; Hoffner 1973, 89; HED 3, 216; Peled 2010, 633; Gordin 2015, 43; and Görke and Melzer 2015.

12 The rare variant spelling with only one t is also attested in KuT 50: 50 (Hoffner 2009, 265).

Evidently, not much information can be gleaned from these fragments. They do show, however, that the archives and libraries in Ḫattuša contained a number of different rituals all designed to deal with sexual taboos. Furthermore, these rituals seem to originate from varied traditions. In KBo 59.9, mentioned above, both the Old Woman and the Man-of-the-Storm-god seem to have taken part. The latter, especially, represents a local, north-central Anatolian ritual tradition (Haas 2003b, 14–16). In a well-known episode in the letter HHCTO 1 (Çorum 21-9-90),[13] an Old Woman and a Man-of-the-Storm-god are held by the authorities in order that the two together perform a purification ritual against a matter of *maršaštarri-* "sacrilege, profanement, desecration" (CHD L–N, 198–99), an offense that is quite contiguous to *ḫurkil-*.[14] KUB 41.11+, in contrast, has distinct Kizzuwatnian traits. This ritual for purification from bestiality, the best preserved of the rituals against aberrant sexual practices, is the focus of the next section.

## 5. THE RITUAL FOR PURIFICATION FROM BESTIALITY KUB 41.11+

The join with Bo 4398 established by Fuscagni not only supplements the obverse of KUB 41.11+ but also considerably adds to the text of the colophon. The reconstructed colophon, in which the two rituals are presented in the opposite order from which they appear on the tablet (Hoffner 1973, 87), has been edited by Fuscagni (2015):

> §6: (31') *k[e]-e-da-ni-iš-š[a-an]*[15] *A-NA TUP-PÍ* 2 SISKUR *a-ni-ia-an* (32') 1 SISKUR *ták-ku* UN-*aš* U[DU-]*i na-aš-ma* $UZ_6$ GAM-*an wa-aš-ta-i* (33') 1 SISKUR *ma-a-an-kán* É-ᵉ*riˀ an-da pa-ap-ra-tar ku-it-ki* [. . .] (34') *ki-i-ša na-at* LÚ ᵈ10 GIM-*an pár-ku-nu-uz-zi*
>
> Two rituals are recorded on [this] tablet: One ritual: If a man transgresses with a sheep or a goat. [One ritual: When inside a house] any impurity [. . .] occurs, this is how the Man-of-the-Storm-god cleans it.

As the colophon shows, the wording of the bestiality ritual text is very similar to law §188, concerning a transgression with a sheep. It also introduces a goat, an animal that is not specifically mentioned in the laws. One tiny detail revealed by the join, one not known to Hoffner in 1973, is of special interest here. Like the laws, ritual colophons and incipits have a casuistic structure. In ritual texts, however, usually the newer conditional subordinating conjunction *mān* is used, not the archaic *takku*, which is characteristic of the laws. This is also the case in the fragmentary rituals, incipits, and colophons dealing with *ḫurkil-* surveyed above. In KUB 41.11+, however, the Old Hittite conditional *takku*, typical of the laws, appears in the ritual concerning bestiality.[16] Significantly, in the second ritual, performed by the Man-of-the-Storm-god, *mān* is used. This use suggests, in my opinion, that the scribe who wrote the tablet had an intimate knowledge of the laws. It is therefore plausible to reconstruct *takku*, rather than *mān*, at the beginning of the ritual description itself (KUB 41.11+ rev. 2'–5'; Gilan 2018, 227).

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

The affinity between the conditional sentences in the bestiality ritual KUB 41.11+ and the laws brings to mind another question already raised by Hoffner in 1973, concerning the social embeddedness of the ritual. More specifically, how does it relate to other forms of handling bestiality that were practiced in Hittite Anatolia and surveyed above? Hoffner's initial point was the observation that *ḫurkil-* offenses had grave social implications. Unlike most of the offenses enumerated in the laws, *ḫurkil-* offenses were transgressions against the community in which the offender lived (Hoffner 1973, 85). As the laws and the Arnuwanda

13 Edited by Ünal 1998, 17–31; see now Hoffner 2009, 259–60.

14 This interpretation follows Christiansen 2013, 141. Other scholars, among them Volkert Haas (2001; 2003b, 15) and Hoffner (2009, 259–60) (with references to older literature) consider the two ritual practitioners as the offenders causing the desecration, not as the experts that were called to counter it.

15 See Fuscagni 2015; Waal 2015, 333–34.

16 The conditional *takku* occurs in other genres as well—for example, in omen texts; cf. HEG III, 50.

instructions distinctly document, communities could defend themselves by destroying the source of impurity either by executing the offender or by banishing him. Through a careful analysis of the ritual, Hoffner identifies a local, town-level involvement in KUB 41.11+ too. He suggests that the ritual was performed by the village elders, acting on behalf of the local population and cleansing it of impurity (recognizable in the ritual as the actors in the third pl. pres.) (Hoffner 1973, 87). The instructions issued by Arnuwanda to the frontier-post governors, emphasizing the role of the local elders in the purification of *ḫurkil-* offenses, certainly support the idea. Almost half a century later, however, this suggestion has lost its appeal. Third-person plural present verbs occur very frequently in ritual texts without necessarily denoting a specific group of actors. Nor are "the elders" ($^{LÚ.MEŠ}$ŠU.GI), at least to my knowledge, attested elsewhere as ritual practitioners.[17]

According to Hoffner, the ritual constituted a third option for handling bestiality, one that introduced a mitigating alternative to the harsh penalties of banishment and execution, attested in the laws and in the Arnuwanda instructions. Such an "evolutionary model" fits favorably with the well-known tendency of the laws to introduce, in time, alterations that are mitigating in nature, sometimes even involving a change from physical punishment to monetary restitution (Hoffner 1973, 90). The model is based on Hoffner's dating of the ritual KUB 41.11+ to the reign of Muwatalli II or Ḫattušili III, considered at the time the heyday of Hurro-Kizzuwatnian influence on Hittite religion (Hoffner 1973, 85–86). However, we know now that the bulk of Kizzuwatnian rituals were composed earlier, during the reigns of Arnuwanda I through Šuppiluliuma I, the immediate successors of Tudḫaliya I/II (Melchert 2013) and that in the late phases of the Hittite Empire the knowledge of Hurrian and Kizzuwatnian ritual traditions in Ḫattuša was rather in decline (Klinger 2001; Campbell 2016). KUB 41.11+, containing no incantations in Hurrian but full of erasures and errors, may in fact be an embodiment of this decline. The close link between the ritual of purification from bestiality KUB 41.11+ and the laws, indicated by the wording of the colophon and especially by the use of the old conditional subordinating conjunction *takku*, suggests that the bestiality purification ritual was copied with some knowledge of the laws and aimed to provide an alternative solution to a problem that was already treated there. Thus the ritual for the purification from bestiality KUB 41.11+ emerges as the more humane treatment of the dangers of bestiality, provided the offender could afford the considerable costs of the ritual.[18] Paradoxically, however, precisely the affinity between the ritual and the laws, indicated by the wording of the colophon, makes it unlikely that this ritual was specially imported from Kizzuwatna to address the dangers of bestiality. Far likelier, it constitutes a scholarly scribal product sketching a blueprint of a ritual, adapting well-known Kizzuwatnian techniques and introducing with the scapegoat-sheep-as-a-bride motive an interesting twist to the scapegoat ritual.

As we have seen, the solution to the impurity caused by bestiality provided by the scapegoat ritual KUB 41.11+ is very similar to the solutions brought about by banishment and execution. All three methods are directed toward permanently removing the impurity from society.[19] Hoffner's "evolutionary model" was therefore correctly criticized by Christiansen (2015, 50), who highlighted the concurrency of the different methods of treating *ḫurkil-*. Moreover, the evidence of the Hittite laws has shown that some law cases in general, and the bestiality law §199 in particular, already included the performance of a substitution ritual, if the interpretation of "pulling a sheep as substitute" as an elimination rite is correct. The Arnuwanda instruction has shown that supplementary purification rituals were performed as well, perhaps by ritual practitioners who were enlisted by the authorities for this purpose, in much the same way as described in the letter HHCTO 1, mentioned above. The overall evidence tends to suggest that throughout Hittite history, rituals for purification from bestiality and other sexual offenses offered a feasible alternative to the harsher sanctions of banishment and execution, presumably to the relief of the offenders themselves.

17 On the "elders," see Klengel 1965.

18 On some of the monetary aspects of religious services in Hittite Anatolia, see Hutter 2019.

19 As already noted by Hoffner (1973, 85).

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

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# 11 "POLDERING" IN BEYOND-THE-RIVER: REVISITING THE END OF THE ÇİNEKÖY INSCRIPTION

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## DEDICATION

It is a great pleasure and an honor to offer this tribute to Theo van den Hout, a longtime mentor, colleague, and friend. The following examination concerns several Luwian lexemes from the Phoenician-Luwian ÇİNEKÖY inscription, a text that has been of interest to both of us. I hope he finds my rather Dutch reinterpretation of the end of this inscription as creating land out of wetlands, or the act of "poldering" that created much of the Netherlands, a fitting tribute![1]

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Compared with other Syro-Anatolian city-states, indigenous documents from Iron Age Cilicia are rare. Whereas Karkamish, for example, has provided us with about 80 inscriptions (and counting), only five inscriptions thus far come from Cilicia. One of those is the ÇİNEKÖY inscription[2] of King Waraika[3] of Hiyawa (= Que, classical Cilicia), a Phoenician-Luwian bilingual text inscribed in the spaces between the legs of the two bulls pulling a chariot with a statue of the Storm-god. The Phoenician text is located on the front between the two bulls, while the Luwian text runs around the statue, starting on the bull on the right (with the statue as deictic center). Found in 1997 on farmland near the village of Çine in the Çukurova Plain, it now supplies a third bilingual text from Cilicia,[4] in addition to the well-known Phoenician-Luwian KARATEPE 1 bilingual[5] and the extremely eroded and often-illegible Assyrian-Phoenician İncirli bilin-

1 I am very grateful for comments on this essay from my coeditor, Joost Hazenbos, and an anonymous reviewer. Their questions and remarks considerably improved the chapter. Any remaining errors and problems remain my responsibility.

2 First edited by Recai Tekoğlu and André Lemaire (Tekoğlu et al. 2000), closely followed by Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011. For updated editions, see Payne 2012, 42–44; Hawkins 2024, 108–13.

3 Following Lipiński 2004, 119–23; Simon 2014; and Yakubovich 2015, I do not equate King Waraika of ÇİNEKÖY with King Awar(i)ku of KARATEPE 1. For further discussion of the different persons attested with these names throughout the history of Cilicia, see especially Simon 2014; Novák and Fuchs 2021. I follow Ilya Yakubovich's reading of the royal name in ÇİNEKÖY as Waraika instead of Warika (Yakubovich 2015, 42).

4 Another Luwian-Phoenician bilingual, found in İvriz, was commissioned by King Warpalawa of the kingdom of Tuwana. This inscription can be read but is still awaiting publication. For a preliminary report, see Dinçol 1994.

5 The main editions are Çambel 1999 (Phoenician) and Hawkins 2000, 45–68 (Luwian and Phoenician). For updated editions, see Payne 2012, 20–42; Hawkins 2024, 178–86, 296–99.

gual.[6,7] Because it is an important political document with historical implications, it is necessary to identify correctly the main protagonists, especially the Assyrian king, and the location of the narrated events.

Based on a reanalysis of the river name *Sabri* (= Seyhan River) in ÇİNEKÖY §8 as *habaspari(ya)n* "Beyond-the-River," which I suggest should be interpreted as a calque on Phoenician *ʾbr nhr* and Assyrian *eber nāri* "Beyond-the-River," I propose that the building activities described in ÇİNEKÖY §§8–10 do not take place in the heartland of Hiyawa near the Seyhan River but in the territory of Gurgum, to the east of Hiyawa.

According to the İncirli inscription, found in Gurgum itself (see fig. 11.1 below), Waraika received this region, which he calls "the frontier territory of Beyond-the-River," from Tiglath-Pileser III for his assistance in crushing the anti-Assyrian coalition led by the Urartian king Sarduri II in 743 BC. The unification of Hiyawa and Assur described in ÇİNEKÖY, which could hardly have occurred after Tiglath-Pileser's gift of a part of Gurgum to Waraika, therefore took place during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser, not Sargon II as has been argued, for example, by Trevor Bryce (2012, 156).[8] Perhaps the unification took place in 743 BC itself.

## 2. SETTING THE STAGE: THE INSCRIPTIONS FROM HIYAWA

Of the inscriptions that can be understood, KARATEPE 1[9] deals mainly with internal affairs during the reign of Azzatiwada, regent on behalf of the children of King Awar(i)ku, and refers to other rulers in only the vaguest of terms.[10] İncirli, though often very difficult to read, seems to deal with the revolt of Mati-ilu of Arpad against Tiglath-Pileser III in 743 BC and commemorates the reward Waraika received from the latter for his support in helping crush the rebellion. Excluding İncirli for the moment, the ÇİNEKÖY inscription therefore remains the only indigenous text from Cilicia that can shed light on the history of the mid- and late eighth century BC and the interactions with the Assyrians from a Cilician perspective. Here we find explicit references to the "unification" of Hiyawa and Assyria[11] followed by Waraika's conquests to the east and the west under the aegis of the Assyrians. The relevant lines in the Phoenician version translate as:

§5 And the [Assyrian] king and the whole Assyrian House were to me as father [and] mother.

§6 And the Danuneans and the Assyrians were as one house.

§7a And I subdued fortresses, at the rising of the sun eight 8 and at the setting of the sun seven 7,

§7b and there were (a total of) 15.

The Hieroglyphic Luwian version translates as:

6 The Phoenician text was edited by Stephen Kaufman (2007). The original inscriptions of the İncirli Stele are in Phoenician and Neo-Assyrian, with a Greek text added much later to the back of the stele. The presence of Hieroglyphic Luwian is not assured, but even if it were present, it would be only a sign or two in front of the image of the ruler (Swartz Dodd 2012, 214). Those signs could represent the ruler's name or perhaps deities, as is the case with the Kulamuwa inscription (KAI 24). The image of Kulamuwa at the left-hand side of the orthostat points at four divine symbols: a horned hat, stylized horns(?), a winged solar disk, and a moon. The same four symbols, in the same order, occur in the Bar-Rakib I inscription (KAI 216).

7 The two remaining inscriptions, Hassanbeyli and Cebelireis Dağı, are written in Phoenician only. Cebelireis Dağı is a land deed from the second half of the seventh century BC, retranslated and discussed by Wolfgang Röllig (2008). For Hassanbeyli, see the edition in Lemaire 1983 and the crucially different reading of lines 4'–6' in Lipiński 1985, 83; 2004, 117–18.

8 The date of the inscription and the date of the narrated events are, of course, not necessarily the same. ÇİNEKÖY was probably composed toward the end of Waraika's reign, as Tekoğlu and Lemaire plausibly suggest (Tekoğlu et al. 2000, 1004–5), but the narrated events could have taken place anytime during Waraika's reign. For the same view, see Lanfranchi 2007. Tekoğlu and Lemaire place the end of Waraika's reign under Sargon II, but Mirko Novák has recently argued that it ended between 727 and 722 BC, just before the start of Sargon's reign (Novák and Fuchs 2021, 439).

9 KARATEPE 1 is usually dated later than ÇİNEKÖY, although Lipiński 2004, 116–17; Novák 2010, 407; and Novák and Fuchs 2021 argue for the reverse. I follow Novák and Fuchs (2021, 457) and date KARATEPE 1 to between 764 and 743 BC or earlier.

10 KARATEPE 1 §18: "And every king made me his father because of my justice, and wisdom, and my goodness."

11 The Hassanbeyli inscription, in Phoenician only, is open to multiple interpretations and may or may not mention the unification with Assyria. (For further discussion, see Simon 2014, 99–100.) See also n7.

§5 Indeed, the Assyrian king and the whole Assyrian House became a fa[ther and mother] to me,

§6 and Hiyawa and Assyria became one house.

§7a Indeed, I smote fortresses, in the east . . . 8 and the west 7 fortresses.

§7b —

Unfortunately, after these lines, both the Luwian and the Phoenician texts become difficult to read, although it is clear that the conquests are followed by building activities.

## 3. ÇİNEKÖY §§8–10: CREATING LAND IN BEYOND-THE-RIVER

The building activities occur in §§8–10, presented here first in the transliteration and translation of J. David Hawkins (2024, 110–11; also 2017b, 212–14, with commentary on various readings that differ from the editio princeps of Tekoğlu et al. 2000):

§8 |REL-*pa-wa/i* "LOCUS"-*da-da-za*

|*za-ia* ("FLUMEN")*sa-pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi* (||) MAGNUS+*ra/i*.FONS.SCALPRUM-*zi* |*á-sa-tá*

§9 |*wa/i-a* |*á-mu* |*á-mi-ia-ti* COR-*na-ti* ("TERRA")*ta-sà*-REL+*ra/i-zi* |*i-zi-ia*<-*ha*>

§10 *a-wa/i* URBS+*MI-ni-zi* SOLIUM[. . .]

§8 So in the places

—these were the "great.pool.stones" of the river Sabri—(= "barrages")

§9 I by myself made lands,

§10 and cities [I] settl[ed. . . .

According to Hawkins, the form ("FLUMEN")*sa-pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi* is a nominative(-accusative) common plural of an ethnicon in -*wani*- (2017b, 213). The base *Sa-pa+ra/i* would then be the river name *Sabri* and would be identical to the Hittite river $^{\text{ID}}$*Šamri*, which forms the boundary between Hatti and Kizzuwatna and has been identified as the Seyhan River or classical Saros,[12] the main river of Cilicia at the time. In support of this interpretation, line 13 of the Phoenician version might show the sequence *šwry*, which would then be the Phoenician version of the river name *Šawri* (Hawkins 2017b, 213), followed by the *nisbe* marker -*y*. (For a different interpretation of line 13 of the Phoenician version, see n30.) The location of the statue in or near the village of Çine, to the east of the Seyhan River, would certainly be appropriate if §§8–10 describe building activities in this area.

The new readings and reinterpretation allow a major improvement over previous editions of these lines.[13] Nevertheless, we are dealing with two hapaxes, ("FLUMEN")*sa-pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi* and MAGNUS+*ra/i*.FONS.SCALPRUM-*zi*, so there is still room for a different view. First, I follow Rostislav Oreshko's (2019b, 227–29) reading of Hawkins's MAGNUS+*ra/i*.FONS.SCALPRUM "great.pool.stone" as MAGNUS+*RA/I*.FONS.*311[14] and understand it not as "barrage" or "dam" but as flooded land, wetland, swamp, or marsh,

12 See also Hawkins 2005, 156 with n26: "An Stellen die . . . des Flusses Sapara waren, (machte ich selbst Länder)." There, Hawkins already suggests equating the river name *Sapara* with Saros/Seyhan.

13 Tekoğlu et al. 2000, 970, 972, with |REL-*pa-wa/i* ("LOCUS") *pi*$_{\text{x}}$-*tà-za* |*za-ia* "FLUMEN"-*sa pa+ra/i-ni-wa/i-i* (||) MAGNUS+*ra/i* L.180+L.311-*za* |*á-sa-tá* "Ainsi ces lieux ont été . . . pour le palais du pays du fleuve"; Payne 2012, 43, reading *pa+ra/i-ni-wa/i-zi* instead of *pa+ra/i-ni-wa/i-i* (no translation offered). For the correct reading *pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi*, see also Lebrun and De Vos 2006, 46.

14 Oreshko (2019b, 227–28) rejects Hawkins's reading of SCALPRUM (sign L.268) and returns to L.311, because the sign SCALPRUM should look different from the sign attested in ÇİNEKÖY §8. However, SCALPRUM in KARABURUN §6 is very similar to the sign in ÇİNEKÖY §8 (the only difference being the length of the vertical), while SCALPRUM in TÜNP 1 §6 is quite close as well. Nevertheless, I find Oreshko's reading convincing in view of the fact that he has identified the sequence FONS.*311 in ʿAZAZ line 1.

with Hawkins (2017a[15]) and Oreshko (2019b). I propose a different parsing and understanding of what Hawkins reads as ("FLUMEN")*sa-pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi* "of the river Sabri"—namely, as "FLUMEN"-*sa-pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-* = *habaspari(n)wani-* "belonging to the region beyond the river." This could of course refer to the plain to the west of the Seyhan River or east of the Ceyhan River, as seen from the findspot of the inscription (and also assuming that the original site of the statue was somewhere between these two rivers), but it is also possible to understand it as a calque on Phoenician *ʿbr nhr*, itself a translation or calque of the Assyrian geographical name *eber nāri*, Beyond-the-River, that is, the Trans-Euphrates.

Based on these two reinterpretations, my readings and translation of ÇİNEKÖY §§8–10 are as follows:

§8 |*kwi/a-pa-wa/i* "LOCUS"-*da-da-za* |*kwi/a*$^{!}$-*ia* "FLUMEN"-*sa-pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi*

|| MAGNUS+*RA/I*.FONS.*311-*zi*[16] |*á-sa-tá*

§9 |*wa/i-a* |*á-mu* |*á-mi-ia-ti* COR-*na-ti* ("TERRA")*ta-sà-kwi/a+ra/i-zi* |*i-zi-ia*<-*ha*>

§10 *a-wa/i* URBS+*MI-ni-zi* SOLIUM-*ha*[17]

§8 Indeed, in the places which were the wetlands of Beyond-the-River,

§9 I, on my own authority, made lands,

§10 and I settled towns.

In sections 3.1–3.5 below, I provide the philological support for these readings and translations. In section 4, I explain why I believe the actions take place in Gurgum.

### 3.1. "LOCUS"-*DA-DA-ZA* |*KWI/A*$^{!}$-*IA* "IN THE PLACES WHICH"

At first sight, "LOCUS"-*da-da-za*[18] might seem to be the dative plural on *-anza* of the lexeme *alant-* "place"—that is, *alant-anza*—but the spelling renders this view problematic. This lexeme is mostly spelled with <la/i> or <lá/í> (Yakubovich 2017, 2–3). While in later texts *-l-* may be represented by <da> (Rieken and Yakubovich 2010, 215), explaining the first <da>, the second <da> is unexpected (Yakubovich 2017, 8). The consonant cluster *-nt-* should have led to a spelling <ta> or <tá>, not <da> (see Rieken 2008 for this phenomenon); compare the dative plural LOCUS-*la/i-ta-za-*$^{a}$ (KARATEPE 1 Hu. §23) and LOCUS-*la/i-ta-za* (KARATEPE 1 Hu. §33). Yakubovich (2017, 8) now proposes reading our form as *allad-anza*, the dative plural of the neuter noun *allad(a)-* "place," derivative of the same root *alla-* as in *allant-*. Following Annick Payne and Anna Bauer (2022), I read the stem as *ala-*. Oreshko (2019a) reads the word for "place" not as *allant-* but as *alada-*. The form "LOCUS"-*da-da-za* would therefore be the regular dative plural.

Despite the use of different lexemes, comparison with especially the phrase LOCUS-*la/i-ta-za* . . . |REL-*ia* in the earlier inscription KARATEPE 1 Hu. §33 in its wider context is still instructive and helps us further understand the syntax of ÇİNEKÖY §§8–9. The context of KARATEPE 1 Hu. §33 is (Hawkins 2000, 53; 2024, 182 with my slightly different readings and translation; Çambel 1999, pls. 67–70):

§33 |*á-pa-ta-za-pa-*||*wa/i-ta* | "LOCUS"-*la/i-ta-za-ha-*«*pa-wa/i*» |*kwi/a-ia hwi/a-sà-ta rú-wa/i-na* |*á-sa-ta*

§34 CAPUT-*ti-sa-wa/i+ra/i kwi/a-i-ta-na hwi/a-sà-i-ia* || "VIA"-*wa/i-na* ("PES$_2$")*i-u-na*

§35 *kwi/a-pa-wa/i a-mi-ia-za* ("DIES")*há-li-ia-za* |FEMINA-*ti-zi-há* ("FUSUS")*si-tara/i* PES$_2$.PES$_2$-*da-ti*

15 Hawkins (2017a) originally translated MAGNUS+*RA/I*.FONS.SCALPRUM as "great *marshes*(?)" as well, but he abandoned this translation in favor of "barrages, dams" (Hawkins 2017b, 213).

16 The cast seems to show <zi>, not <za> (Tekoğlu et al. 2000, 979, fig. 17). I therefore do not read *zi*$^{!}$ but, with Hawkins 2024, 110, merely *zi*.

17 Oreshko (2019b, 226n4) has pointed out that the ending *-ha* is visible on the image in Tekoğlu et al. 2000, 979, fig. 18.

18 For this reading instead of the *pi*$_x$*-tà-za* of the *editio princeps* (Tekoğlu et al. 2000, 970, 986–88) or the *pa-tà-za* of Rieken and Yakubovich 2010, 209 with n11, see Hawkins 2017b, 212.

§33 Even in those places that were formerly feared,

§34 where a man fears to walk their roads (lit., fears them, to go the road),

§35 indeed, in *my* days even women walk with spindles.

KARATEPE 1 Hu. §33 shows a highly unusual syntax for a restrictive relative clause: the head noun already takes the grammatical case that is required by the main clause in §35, in this case a dative plural ("In those places . . . even women walk with spindles"), while the relative pronoun *kwi/a-ia* is a nominative plural neuter, as required by the syntax of the relative clause, "(places) which were formerly feared." In regular syntax, the case of "(those) places" should have been nominative plural neuter as well—namely, LOCUS-*la/i-ta-ha-pa-wa/i-ta kwi/a-ia* "Also which places (were formerly feared)" (or, less likely, *á-pa-ia-pa-wa/i-ta* LOCUS-*la/i-ta-ha kwi/a-ia*). The unusual syntax is possibly the result of calquing of the Phoenician *w-b-mqmm ʾš kn* . . . "and in places which were . . . ," with the head *mqmm* outside the relative clause.[19]

Based on collation of ÇİNEKÖY §8, Hawkins reads *za-ia* instead of the rather similarly shaped *kwi/a-ia* and also rejects emendation to *kwi/a-ia* after first reading a relative instead of a demonstrative (Hawkins 2017a: "Correct the editor's *za-ia* 'these' to REL-*ia* 'which'; cf. KARATEPE, §XXXIII, 172–73"). This reading, however, is problematic. Hawkins translates "in the places—these were . . ." (2017b, 213; 2024, 113),[20] which means that he treats |*za-ia* ("FLUMEN")*sa-pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi* (||) MAGNUS+*ra/i*.FONS.SCALPRUM-*zi*$^{!}$ |*á-sa-tá* as a parenthetical clause that provides identifying information. Syntactically, such an analysis is certainly possible, and parentheticals may indeed provide identifying information. My issue is that parentheticals often convey the speaker's attitude to the narrated content. In the case of "that is" reformulations, which is how we should understand Luwian and Hittite parenthetical expressions with a proximal demonstrative, the speaker provides some additional information that may not have been present in the original context, as illustrated by the following example (Blakemore 2007, 336):

> The lecturers believe that the department needs more tables, that is to say, **tables that students can sit around**.

The "that is" reformulation conveys the speaker's assessment of what kind of tables the lecturers believe are needed. During a meeting, for example, the lecturers might merely have said that they believe that the department needs more tables. The speaker reporting on the meeting then added the necessary identifying information for those who were not present.

For this kind of reformulation to work in an official inscription, we need to assume that the scribe added information that was not provided by the author. This possibility does not seem likely to me. Alternatively, the author of the text decided to deliberately present the host of the parenthetical, the "LOCUS"-*da-da-za* "places," as unidentifiable, thus requiring a "that is" parenthetical for whatever rhetorical effect. Though possible, this alternative sounds unnecessarily complicated to me. With the caveat that parentheticals in Anatolian languages require further study, I therefore still prefer to emend *za-ia*[21] to *kwi/a*$^{!}$*-ia*,[22] following Hawkins's preference (2024, 112: "Before collation I hoped to read REL-*ia* for *za-ia*, and after collation I am

19 On the primacy of the Phoenician inscription, see Yakubovich 2015.

20 The Phoenician text is too eroded at this point to be of any use. Only *w-b-mq*[*m(m)* . . .] "and in (the) pla[ce(s) . . .]" is visible. For an attempt at reconstruction, see n29.

21 Oreshko (2019b, 228) treats the neuter plural *za-ia* "these" without further explanation as an adverb of place and translates "here," even though the adverb of place is *zadi* or *zari*. This ad hoc translation of *za-ia* must be rejected. Nevertheless, I follow his overall understanding of the passage as denoting an emphatic contrast between something negative in §8 and Waraika's positive actions in §9.

22 As an anonymous reviewer points out, writing *za-ia* instead of *kwi/a-ia* is not an obvious mistake to make because, I assume, writing <za> means adding two diagonal strokes at the bottom of the sign—additions seem more deliberate than omitting something. For Hittite, too, it has been argued that it is easier to imagine that scribes omitted something than added something by mistake (see, e.g., Kloekhorst 2008, 964; HEG IV 332). Nevertheless, erroneously adding something certainly happened. As I could show for several manuscripts of CTH 324, *The Disappearance of Telipinu* (Goedegebuure 2021, 130–31), scribes regularly made mistakes through addition: for example, we find AN 𒀭𒆳 instead of AŠ 𒀸 (KUB 33.24 + KBo 26.124 i 19'), NE 𒉡𒆳 instead of ET 𒂊 (KUB 33.24 i 26'), ZÍZ 𒌝 instead of PA 𒉿 (KUB 33.24 iv 24'), Ḫ A 𒄩 instead of ZA 𒍝 (KUB 17.10

tempted to emend *za-* to REL-"). The embedded relative clause shows the same syntax as the closely related and earlier KARATEPE 1 §33 and also identifies the referent of "LOCUS"-*da-da-za* "places." Where that referent might be is the topic of section 5.

### 3.2. MAGNUS+*RA/I*.FONS.*311 "WETLAND"

The next problem is orthographic and lexical. Do we read MAGNUS+*RA/I*.FONS.SCALPRUM "dam, barrage" or MAGNUS+*RA/I*.FONS.*311 "wetland, swamp" in §8? Hawkins (2017b, 213; 2024, 113) reads MAGNUS+*ra/i*.FONS.SCALPRUM "dam, barrage," which in my rereading of the passage would lead to "Indeed, in the places which were the 'FLUMEN'-*sa pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi* dams, I, on my own authority, made lands, and I settled towns." But I do not easily see how one creates land by means of dams or barrages. Dams serve to store water and thus create lakes, while barrages are dams that divert water into irrigation canals. But to create land, one needs above all to dig canals to drain the area, not build dams or barrages. Before the review of this study, I had therefore accepted Hawkins's (2017a) original suggestion "great *marshes*(?)" and Oreshko's (2019b) "swamps" and interpreted MAGNUS+*RA/I*.FONS.SCALPRUM as something like "great pool(gen.).hillock," an area where large rocky outcrops are surrounded by pools or lakes ("hillock of the pool/lake," "pooled hillock"). Such an area could be interpreted as a wetland, marsh, or swamp, perhaps as the result of seasonal floods. This interpretation would better explain §9, the creation of land in these places. However, the anonymous reviewer also pointed out that SCALPRUM "chisel" can be used only for cut stones, never for naturally occurring stone. My analysis of MAGNUS+*RA/I*.FONS.SCALPRUM as "great pool(gen.).hillock" is therefore not valid. The noun MAGNUS+*RA/I*.FONS.SCALPRUM needs to refer to a man-made entity in, on, or at which one can create land. The reviewer suggested translating MAGNUS+*RA/I*.FONS.SCALPRUM as "dike" instead of "dam," because dikes prevent water from coming in during seasonal flooding. My main objection to this suggestion is that one does not create land and settlements on dikes.

If we wish to maintain the reading MAGNUS+*RA/I*.FONS.SCALPRUM, another man-made feature that protects people from water might provide the solution: the terp or *wierde* (both are Dutch words). Terps are man-made mounds created as refuges from rising water. Moreover, terps are often permanently inhabited. This solution might work in §§8–10 if we understand the dative-locative "LOCUS"-*da-da-za* as the beneficiary of the action. (A locative reading does not work well: it is difficult to imagine how one creates lands on man-made mounds.)

§8 Indeed, for the benefit of the places that were the man-made mounds(?) of Beyond-the-River,

§9 I, on my own authority, made lands,

§10 and I settled towns.

Irrespective of the exact meaning of MAGNUS+*RA/I*.FONS.SCALPRUM or, as I prefer, MAGNUS+*RA/I*.FONS.*311, land can be created only through drainage works, so the overall theme remains the same.

### 3.3. *Á-MI-IA-TI* COR-*NA-TI* "ON MY OWN AUTHORITY"

Hawkins (2017b, 213; 2024, 113) translates the ablative expression *á-mi-ia-ti* COR-*na-ti* as "by my person, personally." The notion "personally," however, is expressed with the accusative of respect *atrin*, likewise spelled with COR (Yakubovich in Melchert 2011, 84). The expression *á-mi-ti* COR-*na-ti* also occurs in KÖRKÜN §3, an inscription of a subordinate of King Astiru of Karkamiš. Doing or not doing something *á-mi-ti* COR-*na-ti* is the language of subordination, and this interpretation applies to ÇİNEKÖY §9 as well.

COR-*na-ti* is the Luwian equivalent of the Hittite expression ZI-*it* (inst.) or ZI-*az* (abl.) (without adjectives) "willfully, on someone's own authority/volition" (HED 1/2, 469–70), "aus (eigenem) Willen"

i 38'), PA 𔓎 instead of PÁR 𔓐 (KUB 17.10 ii 29'), and IŠ 𔓓 instead of UŠ 𔓔 (KBo 55.8 ii 2'; KUB 33.28:6') (Fonts created by Sylvie Vanséveren, available on the Hethitologie Portal Mainz).

(HW² IV 261). ZI-*it* (inst.) or ZI-*az* (abl.) are used to describe actions of only subordinates of the Hittite king. In clear context, the expression is found in nonparity treaties—for example, *āppa=ma=an kan* **ZI-*it*** *UL nēanzi* "(Whatever enemy sends a messenger, [. . .], they shall dispatch him to My Majesty.) They shall not turn him back **on their own authority**" (KUB 23.72 rev. 23) (see also KBo 3.3 iii 24'; KBo 5.9 iii 28; KUB 14.1 obv. 20; KUB 23.77+ rev. 76; etc.)—and instructions—for example, *mān=at=za* **ZI-*azza*=*ma*** *ḫappiraizzi* "But if he sells it **on his own volition**, (it is a capital offense for him)" (KUB 13.4 ii 45'; see also IBoT 1.36 i 31, 32, 47; KUB 13.1+ iv 22'; KUB 31.99 obv. 6').

The expression *á-mi-ia-ti* COR-*na-ti* in combination with the independent pronoun *á-mu* in §9 points to heavy emphasis. An exact parallel with an independent subject pronoun and possessive pronoun occurs in a famous passage from the Huqqana treaty, where Huqqana is emphatically forbidden to get sexually involved with female relatives of his wife: *n=at zi*[*k*] ***tuel*** **ZI-*it*** *lē ēpši* "*You* shall not initiate it **on your *own* volition**. (Even if someone else were to lead you astray in such a matter, you shall not listen to him/her)" (KBo 5.3 iii 39'–40'). Waraika states equally emphatically that *he* was able to perform drainage works on his *own* volition or authority.

We need to reconcile the subservient language with the fact that Waraika is still king of Hiyawa. Why would he have to emphasize so heavily that it is *he* who could create land on his *own* authority near the Seyhan River as though it is somehow unexpected? To me, this emphasis seems highly unusual: Hiyawa became an Assyrian province only sometime after the reign of Waraika, which presumably ended between 727 and 722 BC (Novák and Fuchs 2021, 439), and tributary kings to the Assyrian Empire retained control over domestic affairs. The language of ÇİNEKÖY §9 is highly problematic if we assume that the actions took place in Hiyawa.

But there is yet another problem that relates to the rationale of the location of the ÇİNEKÖY statue—namely, the current lack of archaeological evidence connecting the contents of the inscription to the Çukurova Plain.

### 3.4. MISMATCH BETWEEN ARCHAEOLOGY AND TEXT

Marjory Seton-Williams's 1954 survey still provides the most comprehensive overview of sites that are potentially relevant to the creation of land and new settlements in the area in the mid-eighth century. The survey showed only two new Iron Age sites, Çanakcı Çıftlık I (no. 127, west of the Karataş-Adana Road and about 18 km south of Adana) and Hacı Hassan I (no. 120, west of the Karataş-Adana Road and about 18 km northwest of Karataş). Otherwise, all sites in the area of Çine and west of the Seyhan River date at least to the Bronze Age, if not earlier. These sites are also located near relict canals that likewise already existed in the Bronze Age (Rutishauser et al. 2017, fig. 14). The only site that otherwise does not contain pre–Iron Age artifacts is the area of Çine itself, but further excavations at the site showed that the statue was not found in situ (Tekoğlu et al. 2000, 967; Hawkins 2017b, 215). Novák's suggestion that the statue's original location was alongside an irrigation channel diverting water from the Seyhan River is possible but must remain unsupported for now (Novák and Fuchs 2021, 419).

As was suggested to me by W. Tomasz Gliniecki (personal communication), the land-creating activities of Waraika could also refer to the wetlands or marshes south and southwest of Adana alongside the Seyhan River, marshes that were perhaps already described in Homer's Bellerophon narrative, when Bellerophon, hated by the gods, wandered forlorn in the Aleian plain (πεδίον τὸ Ἀλήϊον). But based on Seton-Williams's survey, there does not seem to be evidence for new Iron Age sites in formerly marshy areas, and the marshes closer to the coast were inhabited only as of Roman times.

Until new evidence appears that does support drainage works, land creation, and founding new villages in the area, I suggest we move away from the Seyhan River, abandon the reading *sa-pa+ra/i-* = *Sabri*, and find another location that matches the deeds of Waraika. A reanalysis of ("FLUMEN")*sa-pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi* will lead the way.

### 3.5. "FLUMEN"-*SA-PA+RA/I-WA/I-NI-ZI* "BEYOND-THE-RIVER"

#### *3.5.1. pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi as Adjectivized "Beyond"*

Hawkins reads the phrase following "LOCUS"-*da-da-za* |*kwi/a*$^{!}$*-ia* (his *za-ia*) as ("FLUMEN")*sa-pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi*. I suggest we return to the original editors (Tekoğlu et al. 2000, 970, 972), Lebrun and De Vos (2006, 46), and Payne (2012, 43) in separating "FLUMEN"-*sa* from the following string of signs but follow both Hawkins and Lebrun and De Vos in how to read that string—namely, as *pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi*. If we maintain, with Hawkins, the ethnicon *-wani-*, the base is now no longer the river Sabri but *pa+ra/i-*. This element could be interpreted as the place word *pa+ra/i(-i)* /prī/ "forward, over," or, preferably (to be further explained below), /parīn/ < /pariyan/ "across, beyond." Alternatively, we could compare *pa+ra/i-wa/i-n*$^{\circ}$ wholesale with Hittite *pariyawan*, a direction or manner of bird flight, "oblique, aslant" (Brosch 2014, 387; CHD P, 154).

The local adverb *pa+ra/i-(i)* "forward, over," usually spelled PRAE-*(ia)*, is well attested, but the other two require some explanation. The adverb /pariyawan/ "oblique, aslant" is attested only in Hittite (as *pariyawan*) but is most likely a borrowing from Luwian, together with the similarly formed adverb *zilawan* "along" (Brosch 2014, 387). The local adverb /pariyan/ "beyond," already known from Cuneiform Luwian (Melchert 2024, 178), is now attested in almost full rendering in Hieroglyphic Luwian as PRAE-*i-ia-n*[*a*]-$^{i}$ in PANCARLI §2, edited by Herrmann, van den Hout, and Beyazlar (2016, 61–62).

Irrespective of the preferred solution, *pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi* must be an adjective, modifying the nominative plural common head noun and nominal predicate MAGNUS*+RA/I*.FONS.*311-*zi* "wetlands," and "FLUMEN"-*sa* /habas/ "river" must be a genitive. As mentioned above, analyzing /prī/ "forward, over" and /parīn/ < /pariyan/ "across, beyond" gives us the adjectival morpheme *-wani-*. In the case of /parīwan/ < /pariyawan/ "oblique, aslant," the adjectival morpheme is *-iya-* > *-ī-*, hidden in the ending *-inzi* (/parīwanīnzi/).

Adjectives do not control genitives, so *pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-*, whether it is a contraction of /parīwan-iya-/ or a *-wani-* formation of /prī/ or /parīn/, should therefore not be able to control the genitive /habas/ unless it is substantivized. But this cannot be the case, because our form still modifies MAGNUS*+RA/I*.FONS.*311-*zi*. There are two options that explain this situation: (1) *pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi* modifies MAGNUS*+RA/I*.FONS.*311-*zi*, and both govern the genitive FLUMEN-*sa*; and (2) *pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi* governs the genitive FLUMEN-*sa*, while the nominal phrase FLUMEN-*sa pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi* modifies MAGNUS*+RA/I*.FONS.*311-*zi*. For option 1, we need to take /prī/ "forward, over," /parīn/ "across, beyond," or /parīwan/ "oblique, aslant" as substantivized local adverbs that are adjectivized by means of /wani/ or /ī/. This option leads to the "over(-lying)," "beyond(-lying)," or "oblique(-lying)" wetlands of the river. The syntax of this complex nominal phrase is as follows: FLUMEN-$sa_{\text{GEN}}$ [$pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi_{\text{ADJ}}$ MAGNUS*+RA/I*.FONS.*311-*zi*]. (This option is rejected in section 3.5.2.) In the case of option 2, we need to treat /parīwan/, /prī/, or /parīn/ as substantivized local adverbs that govern the genitive /habas/ and then treat this nominal phrase as a lexicalized compound that could be subjected to adjectivization (see table 11.1).

Table 11.1. Possible analyses of FLUMEN-*sa pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-*.

| **Compound** | **+ Adjective formant** | **Translation of compound** |
|---|---|---|
| [$\text{habas}_{\text{gen.}}$ parīwan] | -ī- | the aslant, across[23]-of-the-river |
| [$\text{habas}_{\text{gen.}}$ prī] | -wani- | the forward, over-of-the-river |
| [$\text{habas}_{\text{gen.}}$ parīn] | -wani- | the beyond-of-the-river |

In each case, we are dealing with a geographical designation, such as a region, that serves to locate the places where Waraika created land. Although none of the three options proposed above is attested with the meaning "region," /parīn/ "beyond" is the best candidate, given that it already serves as a substantive

23 The more literal translation "aslant/oblique of the river" still implies "across the river," since rivers need to be crossed diagonally and downstream.

at the basis of the temporal adjective *pāriyanalla/i-* "future < of the (time) beyond" (Melchert 2024, 178). It is not too much of a stretch to assume that substantivized *pariyan* could also mean "the (region) beyond," especially since temporal expressions are often semantic extensions of spatial expressions. I therefore translate /habasparīn/ as "the (region) beyond the river" and the whole phrase as "the wetlands of the (region) Beyond-the-River." Why I choose /habasparīn/ "Beyond-the-River" and not merely /habas parīn/ "the (region) beyond the river" is the subject of the next section. The syntax of the complex nominal phrase is now [FLUMEN-*sa*$_{GEN}$ *pa+ra/i-*]*wa/i-ni-zi*$_{ADJ}$ MAGNUS*+RA/I.*FONS.*311-*zi*.

### *3.5.2. /habasparīn/ as a Compound Place Name*

Hawkins's reading ("FLUMEN")*sa-pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi* accounts for the lack of a word divider and the position of the sign <pa> immediately below <sa>, while "FLUMEN"-*sa pa+ra/i-wa/i-ni-zi* as two separate words does not. Moreover, as the anonymous reviewer points out, new words do not start in the middle of a column. Treating /habasparīn/ as a compound place name solves this problem. As a *single* word, it is not available for certain otherwise-productive morphological and syntactic processes within the nominal phrase, such as pluralization (no "Beyonds-the-River" or "Beyond-the-Rivers," no "Walls Street" or "Wall Streets"[24]) or modification within the phrase (no "Beyond-the-fast-flowing-River").

The lack of a geographical determinative, such as REGIO or FLUMEN.REGIO, is not common but cannot count against the proposed solution, especially since geographical names with *-wani-* may occur without REGIO; see for example |"LUNA"-*ma-sá-(pa-wa/i-na)* |*ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sá* "The Moon-god of Harran" (SULTANHAN §31) and *za-na* |*HALPA-pa*||(obv.)|*-wa/i-ni-sá* |(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za "*This Storm-god of Aleppo" (KÖRKÜN §5).

"Beyond-the-River" as a place name is well known: it refers to the Trans-Euphrates as seen from Mesopotamia. Waraika therefore uses /habasparīn/ as a calque on the Assyrian geographical name *eber nāri* "Beyond-the-River" (CAD E, 8a) or preferably on Phoenician *ʿbr nhr*, which itself is a translation of *eber nāri*. The term /habasparīn/ "Beyond-the-River" could technically refer to everything that lies west of the Euphrates as seen from Assyria, including Waraika's own country. But such a vague geographical reference is difficult to reconcile with the necessarily limited aspirations of a vassal king ruling a province of the Assyrian Empire: the last thing a loyal vassal should do is raise the suspicion that he is claiming activities in areas that are controlled by the suzerain or other vassal kings.

Therefore, under the proposed analysis, ÇİNEKÖY §§8–10 no longer describes creating land in the center of Cilicia but in a region west of the Euphrates and to the east of Cilicia. In my view, this area is Gurgum, a polity that was given to Waraika as a reward for his loyalty to Tiglath-Pileser III and ties ÇİNEKÖY with the İncirli Stele, found in Gurgum itself. This understanding of the phrase aligns the contents of ÇİNEKÖY with the İncirli Stele, with its mention of *ʿbr nhr* (see section 4).

## 4. CONNECTING ÇİNEKÖY AND İNCİRLİ

It is possible to match the new translation of ÇİNEKÖY §8 with our knowledge of both the physical geography of Gurgum (see section 5) and Waraika's presence in Gurgum as described in the İncirli Stele (Kaufman 2007). Tiglath-Pileser III rewarded Panamuwa II of Sam'al for his loyalty during the revolt of 743 BC with cities from Gurgum.[25] The İncirli Stele shows that Waraika likewise received part of the territory of Gurgum, immediately to the east of Hiyawa. This territory is described as a border territory of the lands of Beyond-the-River (*ʿbr nhr*) to the south and Kummuh to the northeast[26] (fig. 11.1):

24 "Beyond-the-Rivers" and "Wall Streets" would be fine if there exist(ed) multiple places with these names.

25 "And [to] his territory his lord Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, [added] cities from the territory of Gurgum and . . ." (KAI 215, translation Younger 2018).

26 Front 1–5 (uncertain words that are based on substantive physical traces are underlined): (1) *h-gbl z* <u>*mtn/t*</u> *tklt'plśr p'l mlk ʾšr* (2) <u>*l-mlk w-l-špḥ*</u> *mlk dnnym* | *h-gbl gbl* (3) <u>*pḥt/ʾrṣ*</u> *ʿbr nhr w-gbl* <u>*kmḥ*</u> *l-m-ym śwś-dd* <u>*sr*</u> (4) <u>*ʾšr*</u> *w-ʿd kl ym tklt'plśr p'l ml*[*k*] (5) *ʾšr* <u>*rb*</u> (Kaufman 2007, 11). My translation differs slightly from both Kaufman's (2007) and Nadav Na'aman's (2019).

> (1) This boundary stone[27] is a gift of Tukultī-ʾapil-Iśarra, Puʾal, King of ʾAššur (2) to the king and the offspring of the king of the Danunites. The border zone (is) a territory (3) within the boundary of the land(s)/province of **Beyond-the-River** and of Kummuḥ from the days of Śawśi-(A)dad, king of (4) ʾAššur to all the days of Tukultī-ʾapil(E)śarra, Puʾal, King of (5) ʾAššur, my lord.[28]

It is unclear whether the designation "Beyond-the-River" refers to the general area to the west of the Euphrates including Karkamish and Samʾal (which would correspond to the reading *ʾrṣ* in İncirli Front 3; see n26), as seen from Assyria, or already to the area that would later form the Assyrian province of *eber nāri* (which would correspond to the reading *pḥt* in İncirli Front 3; see n26), whose northern border seems to have been formed by the annexed kingdoms of Arpad, Hamath, and Unqi by 738 BC. These three kingdoms were transformed into the Assyrian provinces of Arpad, Hatarikka, and Kinalua, respectively. This timing would mean that Waraika received his new territory only around or after 738 BC. Either way, Waraika, perhaps in a propagandistic move, conveniently overlooks the kingdoms of Samʾal and Karkamish to the south and southeast of Gurgum.

In my view, the reference to *ʿbr nhr* in the İncirli Stele and that to "FLUMEN"-*sa-pa+ra/i-(wa/i-ni-zi)* in ÇİNEKÖY tie the two passages to the same historical event and its aftermath—namely, the crushing of the rebellion against Assyria in 743 BC with the help of Waraika (and Panamuwa II of Samʾal), followed by the unification of Hiyawa and Assyria, as well as the transfer of part of the territory of Gurgum to Waraika at an unspecified moment in time but still during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III.

## 5. "POLDERING" IN GURGUM

The building of towns on land that was originally unfit for occupation is an idiosyncratic topos that ÇİNEKÖY shares with Waraika's İncirli Stele. Lines 21–23 of the back of the İncirli inscription read as follows (Kaufman 2007, 14, 17):

> (22) *w-yḥpkt* ***mkn***[29] ***ṣpn*** *nṣbt/nṣrt ḥzq* (23) [*l*]-*ʿm*
>
> "And I turned **a hidden place** into a strong fortification for the people."

Kaufman (2007, 17) interprets *ṣpn* as "hidden," from the root *ṣpn* "to conceal," but there is another option. Hebrew צוף qal "to flow," hifil "to overflow" (among other meanings), Jewish Aramaic טוף "to flood," Syriac *ṭāp* (peʿal and afʿel) "to inundate" (see HALOT, s.v. צוף), and Akkadian *ṣabû* or *ṣapû* "to flood, soak" (often said of fields) (CAD Ṣ, 45–46) allow us to analyze *ṣpn* as a root *ṣup* followed by the morpheme *-ōn*, reflex of the substantivizing Proto-Semitic suffix **-ān*, which, among other functions, derives verbal nouns and abstracts.[30] This leads to:

---

27 Naʾaman (2019, 80) treats *h-gbl* as a semantic parallel to Akkadian *taḫūmu* "boundary stone," which I follow here. But like *taḫūmu* "border, boundary, border zone, territory" (CAD T, 56), *gbl* also means "border, boundary, territory within boundary" (DNWSI, 209). I use the latter translation for the second mention of *h-gbl*, where Naʾaman chooses "boundary stone."

28 Kaufman (2007, 15) translates *ml*[*k*] *ʾšr rb* as "the *great* king of Assyria." Elsewhere in this text, the title of Tiglath-Pileser is simply *mlk ʾšr*. I therefore take *rb* as the substantive "lord."

29 The *mem* is clearly visible, but I am not convinced about the *kaf* and *nun*. Of the *kaf*, only the downward stroke is visible (to me), though barely, thus also allowing the reading *qof*, and the *nun* might as well be read as *mem*. For the images, see the Inscriptifact page of the Digital Library of the University of Southern California (https://digitallibrary.usc.edu/Folder/2A3BF1OL6PW). I used the four images designated "Back, Frame 11."

30 We can use this understanding of *mkn ṣpn* as "place of flooding" to experiment with line 13 of the Phoenician, corresponding to Luwian §8 in ÇİNEKÖY. This line is so eroded that it is missing the majority of the signs, and what is left is barely visible. The editors of ÇİNEKÖY originally read the line as follows (Tekoğlu et al. 2000, 994), with signs difficult to read in italics (and boldface by me for the word under discussion): w*bmq*[– – – –]***šwrk/b***. The boldface word became *šwry* on last reread (Hawkins 2017b, 213), which would account for the river name *Šawri* = Saros = Seyhan. Based on the drawing provided by the editors (Tekoğlu et al. 2000, 995), there seems to be more space for restoration, and one sign, the *aleph*, was not represented in the transliteration. What now follows is highly conjectural and based only on an attempt to read and restore the line(s) in correspondence with my proposal for the reading of the Luwian lines and my understanding of the İncirli passage. It cannot be taken as strong support for my understanding of the Luwian text. First, we read *wbmq*[. . . ] as

Figure 11.1. Map of Waraika's new territory (dotted line) and its neighboring polities. Adapted from the Anatolian Atlas of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/camel/anatolian-atlas).

(22) *w-yhpkt* ***mʿqˋmʔ*** ***ṣpn*** *nṣbt/nṣrt ḥzq*[*tʾ*] (23) [*l*]-*ʿm*

"And I turned **the place of flooding** into a strong fortification for the people(s) (from multiple countries)."

The prominence Beyond-the-River receives in the ÇİNEKÖY inscription strongly suggests that, following the obligatory celebration of conquests in the east and west, Waraika considered his activities in Gurgum among his main feats, namely, creating land where there must have been a lack of land that was suitable for occupation.

The proposed new readings of ÇİNEKÖY §§8–10 and the İncirli Stele are supported by the physical geography of Gurgum and the increase in settlements there in the Middle Iron Age. In marked contrast with other areas of the ancient Near East, Gurgum's problem is that it is wet. Autumn rains, winter snows, and spring snowmelt from the mountains resulted in seasonal flooding of the rivers and also led to a seasonal lake and a marshy area (Swartz Dodd 2012, 217–18). The University of California, Los Angeles Kahramanmaraş Valley Survey has shown how, in the Middle Iron Age, the valley of Gurgum witnessed a 37 percent increase in the number of settlements compared with the preceding period. This increase occurred over two centuries and reflected the Assyrian strategy of resettlements and deportations.

The increase in population density must have been accompanied by increased agricultural activities—for example, through the redistribution of land or the cultivation of formerly unused land (Swartz Dodd 2012, 221). Combining the latter with the wet conditions of the natural environment, one could imagine how improved drainage of marshy lands could lead to new agricultural land to support the new settlements. If my interpretation of ÇİNEKÖY §§8–10 ("Indeed, in the places which were the wetlands of Beyond-the-River, I, on my own authority, made lands, and [I] settl[ed] towns") is correct, then Waraika did not merely add "at least forty-eight productive new settlements to fill his coffers" (Swartz Dodd 2012, 229) but was also responsible for founding at least some of them. But first creating usable land where there was formerly none was indeed a remarkable feat that deserved pride of place among the deeds of Waraika.

*w-b-mq*[*m ṣpn* . . .] "and in the place[(s) of flooding]." The space between the restored phrase and *ʾšwr*{*k/b/y*} allows for a restoration of, for example, *rb* "great." *ʾšwr*{*k/b/y*} could be read as *ʾš wrb*[. . .], with *ʾš* as the relative and *wrb*[. . .] as a cognate of Akkadian *urbatu* "reed." This understanding leads to *w-b-mq*[*m ṣpn rb b-*]*ʾš wrb*[*tm*] "And in a [wide] place [of flooding in] which (there are) reed[s]."

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter other than the following ones are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

| | |
|---|---|
| DNWSI | Jacob Hoftijzer and Karel Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1995 |
| HALOT | Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament Online*. Leiden: Brill, 2017. Accessed July 4, 2018. https://dictionaries.brillonline.com/halot |
| Hu. | Hieroglyphisch unten |
| KAI | Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 5th ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002 |

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# 12 Weil sein kann, was nicht sein darf! KBo 58.216 + KBo 7.44: zum Problem der Bilokation einer hethitischen Tontafel

Detlev Groddek
*Essen*

Dank der *Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte*, initiiert 1988[1] von H. Otten und dann penibelst in der Mainzer Arbeitsstelle von S. Košak ausgearbeitet, steht der Forschung ein Instrumentarium zur Verfügung, das aus der täglichen Arbeit nicht mehr wegzudenken ist. Fußend auf dem Material der *Konkordanz* standen in den letzten Jahren auch immer wieder Arbeiten zur Frage der Zusammensetzung und Struktur der hethitischen Tafelsammlungen im Vordergrund, damit ein Thema aufgreifend, das bereits im Vortrag 1983 auf der 30. Rencontre assyriologique in Leiden mit der Diskussion einiger Tafelkataloge bei Otten 1986 thematisiert worden war. Die erschöpfende Bearbeitung der Tafelkataloge sollte dann von P. Dardano 2006 erfolgen (Dardano 2006). In den letzten Jahrzehnten haben Fragen in Bezug auf die Entstehung und Aufbewahrung der Texte in den verschiedenen Tafelsammlungen Ḫattušas verstärkt Interesse gefunden. Stellvertretend für entsprechende Arbeiten seien an dieser Stelle nur Košak 1995 zu den Texten aus Gebäude A von Büyükkale; Alaura 1998 zu den Texten aus Gebäude E von Büyükkale; van den Hout 2007 zu der Überlieferung der Gebete im „Haus am Hang" und 2008 mit generellen Überlegungen zur Struktur der Verteilung der Texte verschiedener Gattungen auf die einzelnen Aufbewahrungsorte; Torri 2009 zu althethitischen Textzeugen aus dem „Haus am Hang"; van den Hout 2009 mit weitreichenden Schlußfolgerungen zur hethitischen Sprachgeschichte aufbauend auf Überlegungen zu den Tafelsammlungen; Torri 2010 zur Frage, wo die Texte, die teils in den Archiven des Großen Tempels, teils im Haus am Hang archiviert wurden, entstanden; Gordin 2010, ebenfalls zur Entstehung der Texte in den Scriptorien der späten Großreichszeit; Wilhelm 2015 zu spärlichen Überresten von Tafelsammlungen der Oberstadt; die großangelegte Studie Gordin 2015 mit Überblick über die einzelnen Tafelsammlungen (S. 7ff.); oder zuletzt Francia 2015, Pisaniello 2015 und De Vincenzi 2015, alle drei zu den Texten der Gebäude B, C und H von Büyükkale genannt. Grundlage all dieser Untersuchungen bildet, wie schon erwähnt, die *Konkordanz*, in der nicht nur die Fundortangaben der Tafeln genau angegeben erscheinen, deren Fundortangaben eben bewahrt sind, sondern über zwischenzeitlich erfolgte Textanschlüsse auch Zugehörigkeiten zu Tafelsammlungen für Material rekonstruiert, dessen Herkunft nicht mehr bekannt,[2] insbesondere also den „alten" Funden der Grabungen von Winckler und Makridi.

Nun führt die weitere Arbeit an den Texten aber bisweilen zu Ergebnissen, die Erstaunen auslösen mögen. So konnte M. Dijkstra (2008, 206ff.) den direkten Anschluß KBo 27.219 + KBo 12.79 gewinnen, wobei KBo 27.219 im Großen Tempel ergraben ward, KBo 12.79 sich im „Haus am Hang" anfand mit weiteren vergleichbaren Fällen (Dijkstra 2008, 207 A. 13). Diese Diskrepanzen des Fundortes harren nach wie vor einer stimmigen Erklärung. Bei der Ausarbeitung der Transkripte von KBo 58 für Groddek 2012 kam es aber noch schlimmer. Mit KBo 7.44, einem Tafelstücke von Büyükkale, ergab sich ein direkter Anschluß an KBo 58.216, welch letzteres Stück aus dem Großen Tempel stammt. Immerhin kann man darauf verweisen,[3]

1 Vgl. Otten im Vorwort bei Košak 1992, VII.

2 Zum Verlust der diesbezüglichen Angaben siehe zuletzt Torri 2016, 154–55.

3 So auch Košak (private Mitteilung).

daß KBo 7.44 sich in phrygischem Schutt anfand, somit damit zu rechnen wäre, daß in nachhethitischer Zeit das Tafelfragment im Zusammenhang mit Erdaushub nach Büyükkale verbracht ward. Bislang steht dieser Fall m.W. für sich allein. Als Parallele wäre der von Otten, KBo 42 VII erhobene Befund heranzuziehen, daß Tontafelfragmente, die auf Büyükkaya ergraben wurden, durch Anschlüsse an Texte aus dem Stadtgebiet anderer Herkunft, sich als sekundäre Verlagerungen erklären. Hält man sich diesen Befund vor Augen, braucht auch die Tatsache, daß mit KBo 7.44 auf Büyükkale ein Anschlußstück zu der im Großen Tempel ursprünglich aufbewahrten Tafel KBo 58.216 auftauchte, nicht sonderlich zu überraschen. *Einen* Unterschied gibt es nun freilich zwischen Büyükkale und Büyükkaya. Während auf Büyükkaya ursprünglich keine Tafelsammlungen anstanden, also anzunehmenderweise alle dort gefundenen Tafeln sekundär von anderen Stellen des Stadtgebietes mit Erdaushub dorthin verlagert wurden, war Büyükkale reich an Tafelsammlungen gewesen, Gebäude A und E sowie der Komplex B, C und H wurden eingangs schon erwähnt. Der sich so ergebende Befund ist zwangsläufig irritant. Es ist kaum davon auszugehen, daß mit Erdaushub in phrygischer Zeit nun ausgerechnet nur ein einziges Tafelfragment nach Büyükkale gelangte. Man wird in Zukunft die Augen offenzuhalten haben, inwieweit mit weiteren vergleichbaren Fällen zu rechnen wäre. In Frage für sekundäre Verlagerung kommen insbesondere Fragmente, die inhaltlich in den Tafelsammlungen von Büyükkale als erratische Fremdkörper wirken, so etwa die Tafel KBo 47.68,[4] die als einziges Fragment zur Textgruppe CTH 638, soweit die Fundortangaben erhalten, von Büyükkale stammt, wobei der Fundort z/16 im Bereich des unteren Burghofes zu suchen, zumindest keine Tontafelsammlung in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft sich befindet. Konklusiv können dabei allerdings nur eindeutige direkte Anschlüsse sein, Fällen in Erwägung zu ziehender indirekter Anschlüsse kann keine Beweiskraft zukommen. Immerhin bleibt festzuhalten, daß man sich bei Durcharbeitung einzelner Textgruppen keinesfalls auf Grundlage der Fundsituation gewonnene vermeintlich sichere Archivzusammenhänge beschränken kann!

Der zu gewinnende Text stellt sich heute dar wie folgt:[5]

A. KUB 45.50[6] (Bo 2581) + KBo 52.204 (1202/u) +[7] KUB 20.35[8] (Bo 4853)
B. KBo 58.216[9] (358/z) + KBo 7.44[10] (57/k)

. . .
A Vs. I
x+1 [ -]x[11]-*ri*
2' [ -*n*]*u-u̯a-an-zi*

4 Vgl. die Umschrift bei Groddek 2011, 60–61 mit älterer Literatur.

5 In der *Konkordanz* sub 1202/u als weiteres Duplikat genanntes KBo 23.67 Vs. II 11'ff. (vgl. Wegner 2002, 74–78 [Nr. 3]) ist nur eine Elementarparallele und ist als solche in die Textherstellung nicht mit einzubeziehen.

6 Vgl. die Umschrift bei Wegner 2002, 83–84 (Nr. 8).

7 Zu den Details des Anschlusses siehe Groddek 2012, 147 A. 616, wo KBo 52.104 + in KBo 52.204+ zu korrigieren wäre. Die Handschrift von KUB 45.40 + KBo 52.204 paßt gut zu der von KUB 20.35. Ohne daß in beiden Teilstücken die Handschrift bis in letzter Konsequenz normiert wäre, begegnet übergreifend eine Reihe charakteristischer Zeichenformen, z.B. – Beschreibung nach Tafelphotos – NINDA in der Variante HZL 369/5, bei der der erste Senkrechte nicht in der oberen Reihe über dem unteren Senkrechten gesetzt erscheint, sondern gewissermaßen unverbunden in praktisch ganzer Zeilenhöhe vor dem Rest des Zeichens steht; ḪA mit deutlich kleinerem ersten gebrochenen Senkrechten und entsprechend winzigem ersten Winkelhaken; BI mit asymmetrischer Ausführung, der untere Bestandteil (BAD) erscheint gegenüber der oberen Zeichenhälfte deutlichst minimiert; identische Zeichenform von TI etc. Besonderer Erwähnung verdient noch der Fehler *da-a*[1]*-i* in beiden Teilstücken (KUB 20.35 III 24' und KUB 45.50+ II 22'), wo von A der erste Senkrechte fehlt, erklärbar wohl auch dadurch, daß der Schreiber diesen ersten Senkrechten, wo er bei *da-a-i* steht, sehr klein ausführt. Unglücklicherweise läßt sich der Anschluß an den Originalen nicht prüfen, da KUB 45.50 + KBo 52.204 im Museum zu Ankara, zu Istanbul im Museum hingegen KUB 20.35 verwahrt wird.

8 Vgl. die Umschrift bei Groddek 2004, 62–63, sowie Umschrift und Übersetzung bei Wegner 2002, 231–34 (Nr. 115).

9 Vgl. die Umschrift bei Groddek 2012, 147–49.

10 Vgl. die Umschrift bei Wegner 2002, 234–35 (Nr. 116).

11 Am Photo sieht man noch schwach das Ende eines Waagerechten, etwa Zeichen U̯A.

3' [ -*z*]*i*ʔ SISKUR-*i̯a-kán*
4' [ ]x
5' [ ]
6' [ *pa-aḫ-ḫ*]*ur*[12] *iš-ḫu-u-u̯a-i*
7' [ *ḫu-u-up-ru-*]*uš-ḫi*
8' [ *pé-eš-ši*(?)-*i̯*]*a-az-zi*
9' [ -]*zi*
10' [ ]x-*ŠU*
11' [ ]x LÚSANGA
12' [ ]x-*i̯a-kán*
13' [ ]
14' [ -]*i̯a-kán*
15' [ *ḫal-*]*u̯a-ni-in ME-E*
16' [ *d*]*a-a-i*
17' [ -]ʿ*i*ʾ
18' [ -A]Ḫʔ-*zi*
19' [ ]x
. . .

A Vs. II[13]
x+1 [EGIR-*an-da-ma* tu-u-ni tap-ri g]e-ʿeʾ[-eš-ḫi a-da-ni]
2' [ne-r]a-am-b[i] š[a[14]-la-a]n-ʿniʾ dU-ub-b[i-na]

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3' [EGIR-*a*]*n-*ʿ*da*ʾ*-ma* u-ʿšuʾ-ni ni-ir-ni du-pa-an-ʿziʾ[-ki-ip-u̯a$_a$]
4' [dU-ub-]bi-na ʿar-ga-aʾ-pa ʿú-eʾ-ri [ ]
5' [EGIR-*a*]*n-*ʿ*da-ma* šap-šiʾ ḫi-iš-ša-ʿamʾ-mi [ ]
6' [A]LAM dʳNINʾ.É.ʿGALʾ dU.GUR šu-ma-ta-a-n[i]
7' [z]u-u-uš-ši tu-u-ʿeʾ-ni dU-ub-bi-ʿnaʾ [ ]

---

8' EGIR-*an-da-ma* DINGIR$^{MEŠ}$-na ku-la-aḫ<-ḫi>-na DINGIR$^{MEŠ}$-na
9' ku-lu-pa-ti-na {Ras.} I NINDA.SIG *pár-ši-i̯a* NINDA.SIG$^{MEŠ}$*-ma*
10' *ku-*ʿ*e*ʾ *pár-ši-*ʿ*i̯a*ʾ*-an-na-i na-at ku-e-*ʿ*da*ʾ*-ni-i̯a*
11' *A-*ʿ*NA*ʾ {Rasur} DINGIR$^{LIM}$ *pé-ra-an kat-ta*
12' z*i-ik-ke-ez -zi*

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13' *nu-kán* GAL *ŠA* dIŠKUR GEŠTIN-*it šu-un-na-i*
14' *na-an-ša-an* EGIR-*pa PA-NI* DINGIR$^{LIM}$ ʳ*da-*aʾ*-i*
15' *nu* GEŠTIN *nam-ma A-NA* DINGIR$^{MEŠ}$ *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš*
16' *pé-ra-an kat-ta ši-pa-an-ti ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-*ʳ*ma-aš-ša-an*ʾ[15]
17' TU$_7^{ḪI.A}$ *a-ri nu a-da-an-na ú-*ʿ*e*ʾ*-kán-zi*
18' *nu* $^{NINDA}$*a-a-an*$^{ḪI.A}$ NINDA.KU$_7^{ḪI.A\ 16}$ *ku-e pár-ši-*ʳ*i̯a*ʾ*-an-na-i*
19' *na-aš-ta ga-az-mi-ta pé-ra-an ar-ḫa*
20' *da-a-i na-*ʳ*at-ša*ʾ*-an* EGIR-*pa PA-NI* DINGIR$^{LIM}$ *da-a-i*

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12 Vgl. KUB 27.22 Vs. 11 (Wegner 2002, Nr. 123).

13 Vs. II x+1–9' beinhaltet das Ende der Standard-*kaluti*-Liste für Teššub, siehe Wegner 2002, 53–54.

14 Von ŠA ist am Photo deutlich mehr zu sehen denn autographiert. Vorn oben steht noch der Kopf des oberen Waagerechten, der kleine eingeschriebene Senkrechte ist da und am Ende sieht man vor dem Schlußsenkrechten noch den Abstrich des unteren Winkelhakens.

15 In dieser Zeile, auf Grund des Raumes mit *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-aš-ša-an* (abgebrochen) beginnend, setzt das Duplikat B II x+1 ein.

16 ḪI.A bei Wegner 2002, 84 versehentlich ausgelassen.

21' *IŠ-ʳTUʾ* DUGÚTUL-ʳ*i̯a*ʾ*-kán u̯a-al-la-aš ḫa-aš-ta-i*
22' *da-a-ʳiʾ na-at-ša-an* EGIR*-pa PA-NI* DINGIR*LIM da-a-i*

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23' *nu a-ku-u̯a-an-na ú-e-kán-zi*
24' *nu ḫa-an-te-ʳezʾ-zi pal-ši* dU GUB*-aš e-ku-zi*[17]

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25' [EGI]R*-an-da-m*[*a*] d*Ḫé-pát*[18] GUB*-aš e-ku-zi*
26' [EGIR*-an-d*]*a-m*[*a*] ʳdʾ*Šu-u̯a-li-i̯a-at-ta-an*
27' [GUB?*-aš e-ku-z*]*i* EGIR*-an-da-ma* d*Ḫal-ki-in* GUB[*-aš*]
28' [*e-ku-zi*] EGIR*-an-da-ma* d*É-A*[19] ʳGUBʾ*-a*[(*š*)]
29' [(*e-ku-z*)]*i* EGIR*-an-da-ma* dZUE[N GUB?*-aš* (*e-ku-z*)]*i*[20]

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30' [EGIR*-an-da-ma*] ʳdʾUTUʾ [GUB?*-aš e-k*(*u-zi*)]
31' [EGIR*-an-da-ma* (GUB*-aš e-ku-z*)]*i*[21]
32' [ ]
33' [ ]
34' [ *-z*]*i*
35' [ ]x
(etwa 3 Zeilen bis zum unteren Rande)
. . .
Vs. III

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x+1 [*ma-a-an I-NA* UD.I]I?[22]KAM *lu-uk*[23]*-kat*[*-ta*]
2' [(*nu-za* LÚSANG)]A *a-ar-ri na-aš š*[(*a*)*-ra-a*]
3' [(*I-NA*)] É.DINGIR*LIM pa-iz -z*[(*i*)]

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4' *na-aš-ta* LÚ.MEŠ*ka-ri-im*[24]*-ma-n*[(*a-li-uš*)]
5' *ŠA* d*Ti*[25]*-i̯a-pé-en*[26]*-ti* ʳúʾ[(*-nu-u̯a-aš-ḫu-uš*)]
6' *IŠ-TU* É d*Ḫé-pát pa-ra-a* ʳúʾ[(*-da-an-zi*)]
7' *nu* d*Ti*[27]*-i̯a-pa-ti-in ú-nu*[(*-u̯a-an-zi*)]
8' *nu* LÚSANGA I NINDA.SIG I DUG*tal-la-*ʳ*a*ʾ[(*-i* Ì.DÙG.GA)]
9' I *ḫal-u̯a-ni-in* KAŠ.GEŠTIN *PA-NI* ʳdʾ[(*Te-i̯a-pa-an-ti da-a-i*)]

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10' *nu* LÚSANGA Ì.DÙG.GA *A-NA* d*Ti-i̯a-p*[(*a-an-ti*)]
11' *me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an*<(*-da*)> *pa-ap-pár-aš-zi*
12' I NINDA.SIG *pár-ši-i̯a na-at PA-NI* d*Ti*[28]*-i̯*[(*a-pa-t*)]*i*

17 In KBo 58.216 Vs.ᴵ II folgt hierauf kein Paragraphenstrich.

18 In KBo 58.216 Vs.ᴵ II 10' wohl verschrieben. Auf einen Winkelhaken folgend steht noch ein kleiner Keilkopf eines Senkrechten.

19 KBo 58.216 Vs.ᴵ II 13' add. d*DAM-K*]*I-NA-an.*

20 In KBo 58.216 Vs.ᴵ II folgt hierauf kein Paragraphenstrich.

21 Hier endet mit Kolumnenende das Duplikat KBo 58.216 Vs.ᴵ II.

22 In Frage kommt auch II]I oder eine höhere Zahl wie, e.g., XI]I.

23 An dieser Stelle setzt das Duplikat KBo 7.44 Vs. III x+1 ein.

24 KBo 7.44 Vs. III 4' *-im-* om.

25 KBo 7.44 Vs. III 5' dTe-°.

26 KBo 7.44 Vs. III 5' °*-pa-an-*°.

27 KBo 7.44 Vs. III 7' d*Di-*°.

28 KBo 7.44 Vs. III 13' d*Te-*°.

13' *da-a-i nu* KAŠ.GEŠTIN *ši-pa-an-ti* [ ]

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14' *na-aš-ta* LÚSANGA[29] *PA-NI* DINGIR*LIM* *an-da*[30] *pa-iz-zi*[31]
15' *na-aš*[32] *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an*[33] É*ḫi-i-li a-ri*
16' *nu A-NA* d*Te-e-nu* I NINDA.SIG[34] *pár-ši-i̯a*
17' KAŠ.GEŠTIN-*i̯a ši-pa-an -ti*[35]

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18' *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an*[36]*-ma-aš PA-NI* DINGIR*LIM* *a-ri*
19' *nu PA-NI* DINGIR*LIM* SÍSKUR[37] *ḫa-an-da-a-an*
20' NINDA.SIG$^{MEŠ}$ GIŠERIN LÀL Ì.UDU MUN
21' GIŠ*IN-BU* GIŠPÈŠ GIŠGEŠTIN ḪÁD.DU.A!
22' GIŠ$SE_{20}$*-ER-DUM* I *ḫal-u̯a-ni-iš*[38] KÙ.BABBAR[39]
23' *ME -E*

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24' *nu-za* LÚSANGA Ì.DÙG.GA *da*!*-a-i*[40]
25' *n*[(*u*)] *A-NA* DINGIR*LIM* *me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da pa-a*[(*p-pár*<*-aš*>*-zi*)]

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B Rs. IV
11 ˹*nu* I˺ [NINDA.SIG$^{M}$]$^{EŠ}$ *pár-ši-i̯a na-at* [*PA-NI* DINGIR*LIM*]
12 [*da-a-i*] *nu* KAŠ.GEŠTIN *ši-p*[*a-an-ti*]

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A Rs. IV
x+1 [ (x *ḫ*)]*u*[41]*-u*[42]*-up-r*[(*u-uš-ḫi*)]
2' [ -]˹*a-i*˺ *na-aš-ta* I ˹UDU˺ [ ]
3' [(I) *an-da u-u*]*n-ni-i̯a-an-zi* [ ]
4' [*nu-uš-ma-aš-ša-an A-NA* SA]G.DU-*ŠU-NU*[43]
5' [UZUZAG.UDUḪI.A*-ŠU-NU-i̯a* GIŠERI]N *ti-an-zi*

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6' [ *d*]*a-a-i*
7' [ *me-na-aḫ-ḫ*]*a-an-da*
8' [ -]*i̯a-kán*
9' [ *š*]*a-ra-a pa-ap-pár-aš-zi*

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29 KBo 7.44 Vs. III 15' *-aš* add.

30 KBo 7.44 Vs. III 16' fügt vor *an-da* einen doppelten „Glossenkeil“ zur Markierung der Ausrückung der letzten Zeile der Kolumne ein.

31 An dieser Stelle bricht das Duplikat KBo 7.44 Vs. III mit Kolumnenende ab.

32 KBo 7.44 Rs. IV 1 *-kán* add., das mit dieser Wortform als Duplikat einsetzt.

33 KBo 7.44 Rs. IV 1 GIM-an.

34 KBo 7.44 Rs. IV 2 MEŠ add.

35 KBo 7.44 Rs. IV 3 BAL-*an-ti*.

36 KBo 58.116 Rs.! IV 3' GIM-*an*-°.

37 KBo 7.44 Rs. IV 5 SISKUR.

38 KBo 7.44 Rs. IV 8 ZA.ḪUM.

39 KBo 7.44 Rs. IV 8 *IŠ-TU* add.

40 KBo 7.44 Rs. 9 ME-*i*.

41 Der Kopf des Schlußsenkrechten ist am Photo zu sehen.

42 KBo 7.44 Rs. IV 13 -u- om.

43 In dieser Zeile bricht das Duplikat KBo 7.44 mit insignifikanten Resten zweier Zeichen ab.

10' [ ] *da-a-i*
11' [ *ḫ*]*u-u-up-ru-uš-ḫi da-a-i*
12' [ ]x[44] ˹GEŠTIN[45]˺
13' [ *ši-*]*pa-an-ti*
14' [ ]x-*uš*
15' [ ]x[46]
. . .
B Rs.[!] V
1 [ *an-d*]*a* ˹*pa*˺*-iz-z*[*i*]
2 [ ]x *pa-ap-pár-ša-*˹*an*˺[*-zi*]
3 [ [L]]Ú˹SANGA˺[d]U Ì.DÙG.GA [*d*]*a*[?]*-a*[?]*-i*[?][47]
4 [ I] ˹NINDA˺.SIG *pár-ši-i̯a* KAŠ-*i̯a* BAL-*ti*

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5 [*na-aš-ta* I UDU *an-da u-u*]*n-ni-i̯a-an-zi*
6 [*nu-kán A-NA* SAG.D]U UDU [UZU]ZAG.UDU-*i̯a*
7 [[GIŠ]ERIN *ti-an-zi nu-za* [L]]Ú SANGA ZA.ḪUM KÙ.BABBAR
8 [*IŠ-TU ME-E da-a-i* [GIŠ]E]RIN-*i̯a-kán an-da* GAR-*ri* {Ras.}
9 [ -]*an-zi*
10 [ *ša-r*]*a-*˹*a*˺ *pa-ap-pár*<*-aš*>*-zi*
11 [ ]x-*ta da-a-i*
12 [ -*š*]*a A-NA* ˹UDU˺[ḪI.A]
13 [ ]x x[
. . .

. . .
A I x+1–19' [ -]t er. [ ] man [ -]t. [ ]. . . Und das Opfer [ ]. . . [ Feue]r schüttet er. [ Räucherge]fäß [ ] er [wirf[?]]t. [ -]t er/man. [ ] Priester [ .] Und [ eine *K*]*anne*[48] Wasser [ ] er [n]immt/[l]egt. [ ]. . . [ ] er [ -]t. [ ]. . .
. . .

A II x+1–2' [Danach aber *Fußbank*,[49] Stuhl, T]hro[n, *Schemel*, Fle]chtwer[k-]O[pferti]sch des Wettergotte[s]. §

II 3'–7' [Dan]ach aber ušuni, nirni, dem dupanzi[ki-]Gefäß[50] des [Wettergottes], argapa, *Pfeil*[?]. [Dan]ach aber die glänzende *Sonnenscheibe*[?], [das B]ildnis NIN.É.GALs, šumatani U.GUR, zušši (und) tūenni des Wettergottes.

II 8'–12' Danach aber die genannten Götter (und) die ungenannten Götter. Ein *Fladenbrot* bricht er. Die *Fladenbrote* aber, die er bricht, legt er einer jeden Gottheit vor. §

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44 Am Photo sieht man noch einen Winkelhaken.

45 Am Photo ist von GEŠTIN noch mehr zu sehen denn in der Autographie.

46 Nach Photo insignifikanter Zeichenrest auf dem Tafelrande.

47 Nichtautographierter Zeichenrest nach Photo.

48 Da im Text *ḫalu̯ani-* duplikatmäßig mit ZA.ḪUM „Kanne[?]“ wechselt (KUB 20.35 III 22'// KBo 7.44 IV 8), wird *ḫalu̯ani-* hier entsprechend übersetzt.

49 Vgl. Richter 2012, 470.

50 Dativ *dupanzikki=vva* oder *dupanzikk*(*i*)*=i=vva* mit Possessivpronomen der 3. Person Singular (vgl. Wegner 2007, 65 bzw. 63). Zum Worte vgl. auch Haas 1995, 516–17.

II 13'–22' Den *Kelch*[51] des Wettergottes füllt er mit Wein. Er stellt ihn wieder vor der Gottheit auf. Ferner libiert er Wein vor allen Göttern. Sowie aber die Suppen angelangen, verlangt man zu essen. Die *warmen* Brote (und) süßen Brote, die er bricht, (davon) nimmt er zuvor Kostproben weg. Er legt sie (sc. die Brote) wieder vor die Gottheit. Und mit einem Topfe nimmt er einen *Keulen*knochen. Er stellt sie wieder vor die Gottheit. §

II 23'–24' Zu trinken verlangt man. Beim ersten Male trinkt[52] er im Stehen dem Wettergott. §

II 25'–29' [Da]nach abe[r] trinkt er im Stehen Ḫepat. [Danac]h ab[er trink]t er [im Stehen?] Šuṷaliạt. Danach aber [trinkt] er im Stehen der Getreidegottheit. Danach aber trinkt er im Stehen Ea <und Damkina>. Danach aber trinkt er [im Stehen?] dem Mondgot[te]. §

II 30'–35' [Danach aber tr]inkt er [im Stehen?] der Sonnengottheit. [Danach aber] trinkt er im Stehen [ er . . .-]t. [ ]. . .

. . .

III x+1–3' [Wenn es am zwei]ten Tage hell wir[d,] wäscht sich der Priester. Er geht in den Tempel hi[nauf]. §

4'–9' Die Tempelbediensteten schaffen Tiịapentis Schmuckstücke aus Ḫepats Tempel heraus. Tiịapenti schmücken sie. Der Priester stellt ein Fladenbrot, ein *tallai*-Gefäß aromatisiertes Öl[53] (und) eine Kanne Wein[54] vor Tiịapenti. §

10'–13' Der Priester sprengt das aromatisierte Öl Tiịapenti entgegen. Das eine Fladenbrot bricht er und legt es vor Tiịapenti. Den Wein libiert er. §

14'–17' Der Priester geht vor die Gottheit hinein. Sowie er im Hofe angelangt, bricht er für Tenu ein Fladenbrot. Und Wein libiert er. §

18'–23' Dann, wenn er aber vor die Gottheit gelangt, ist vor der Gottheit das Opfer zugerüstet: Fladenbrote, Zedernholz, Honig, Schaffett, Salz, Obst, Feige(n), Rosine(n), Olive(n), eine silberne Kanne Wasser. §

24'–25'; B IV 11–12 Der Priester nimmt sich das aromatisierte Öl. Der Gottheit sprengt er es entgegen. Eines [der Fladenbrot]e bricht er. Er [legt] es [vor die Gottheit.] Wein lib[iert er.] §

A IV x+1–5' [ . . . R]äuchergefäß [ -]t er. Ein Schaf (und) ein [ t]reibt man [hinein]. [Ihnen] legt man [auf] ihren [K]opf [und ihre Schultern Zeder]nholz. §

A IV 6'–15' [ er n]immt/[l]egt. [ entg]egen [ .] Und . . . [ ] er sprengt empor. [ ] er nimmt/legt. [ ] er legt in das [R]äuchergefäß. [ ]. . . Wein [ er l]ibiert. [ ]. . . [ ]. . .

. . .

B V 1–4 [ ] er geh[t hine]in. [ ]. . . [ma]n sprengt. [ ] Der Priester des Wettergottes [n]immt aromatisiertes Öl. [ ein] Fladenbrot bricht er. Und Wein libiert er. §

B V 5–13 [Ein Schaf tr]eibt man [hinein]. [Auf den Kop]f des Schafes und eine seiner Schultern [legt man Zedernholz.] Der Priester [nimmt sich] die silberne Kanne [mit Wasser.] Und [Z]edernholz liegt darin. [ ] man [ -]t. [ ] er sprengt [em]por. [ ]. . . er nimmt/legt. [ ]. . . den Schafen [ ]. . .

51 Zu GAL (*teššummi*-) als „Kelch“ oder „Tasse“, nicht „Becher“, siehe Soysal 2010, 354.

52 Das Verständnis der Konstruktion GN *eku*- mit ursprünglich dativischem GN folgt Soysal 2008, 45–58. Allerdings wird hier in der Übersetzung einer elementarsten Regel des Deutschen folgend bei Eigennamen kein Artikel gebraucht, so daß in diesen Fällen an der Oberfläche der jeweilige GN bezüglich der Zuordnung zu Dativ oder Akkusativ indifferent erscheint.

53 Vgl. Groddek 2014, 156 mit Literatur.

54 Zum Verständnis von KAŠ.GEŠTIN als „Wein“ (im Wechsel mit bloßem GEŠTIN) siehe del Monte 1995, 211ff.

Auf der inhaltlichen Seite verbleibt nur, die konzisen Ausführungen von Groddek 2012, 147 A. 612 leicht erweitert zu wiederholen: Bei Wegner 2002, VIf. bzw. XII(f.), sind die einzelnen Stücke der hier behandelte Textgruppe auf CTH 704.1 und CTH 706.2 verteilt. Durch die Anschlüsse und den Duplikatcharakter wird diese Verteilung gegenstandslos. Aus Wegners Gruppe IX („Ein Ritual für Tiabendi“) sind die Nummern 115 und 116 nunmehr auszuscheiden. Es ist eben so, daß im Rahmen eines und desselben Rituals im Ablauf mehrere *kaluti*-Listen Aufnahme finden konnten, was nicht überraschen kann, da sich der Schauplatz der Ritualhandlung auf verschiedene Tempel verteilte, deren jeweilige Göttergruppe beopfert werden mußte. Ob der Ansatz der Gruppe IX als ganzer als gerechtfertigt zu betrachten wäre, bedürfte noch eingehenderer Prüfung. Das Problem ist einerseits darin gelegen, daß keine Kolophone und/oder Texteinleitungen vorliegen, die die Eigenständigkeit dieser Gruppe erweisen könnten, andererseits in der oft geringen Größe der Stücke im Verbund mit der Tatsache, daß bei Brüchen entlang Interkolumnien oder Paragraphenstrichen grundsätzlich die Möglichkeit besteht, wie eben bei Nummern 115 und 116, daß bei näherer Betrachtung Anschlüsse an Texte anderer Textgruppen möglich werden. Eine Durcharbeitung aller Texte aus Wegner 2002 unter Zugrundelegung der Tafelphotos mit genauer Beobachtung der jeweiligen Handschrift und eventueller Eigenheiten der Tafeln hülfe hier wohl wesentlich weiter.

## ABKÜRZUNGEN

Mit Ausnahme der Folgenden sind die Abkürzungen in diesem Aufsatz die im Chicago Hittite Dictionary verwendeten (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

| | |
|---|---|
| add. | *addit*, fügt hinzu |
| om. | *omittit*, läßt aus |
| Rs. | Rückseite |
| Vs. | Vorderseite |

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# 13 BEMERKUNGEN ZUR FUSSBEKLEIDUNG BEI DEN HETHITERN

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## 1. EINLEITUNG

Informationen zur Fußbekleidung von Göttern und Menschen sind vereinzelt einigen hethitischen Textpassagen zu entnehmen. Diese stammen vorwiegend aus Ritualen, besonders den sogenannten Ersatzritualen;[1] aus den Auflistungen in Inventar- und Wirtschaftstexten;[2] sowie aus den Beschreibungen der meist am Morgen stattfindenden Ankleidungszeremonien in den Festen, denen man zusätzlich noch genauere Kenntnisse zur Bekleidung[3] (überwiegend die des Königs) und der Schmuckauswahl[4] entnehmen kann. Bei einigen Ritualen[5] ist die Fußbekleidung von großer Bedeutung und wird sowohl bei den benötigten Gegenständen als auch später bei ihrem Einsatz im Ritualverlauf erwähnt. Kleinere Erkenntnisse lassen sich auch aus anderen Texten, z.B. Mythen, Instruktionen oder Gerichtsprotokollen, erschließen.

Weder aus den Kultinventaren und Bildbeschreibungen[6] von Göttern noch aus den Ankleidungszeremonien[7] von Götterstatuen[8] – bzw. aus vereinzelten anderen Textstellen,[9] die zwar Hinweise auf die

1 Bearbeitung Kümmel 1967. Für Beschreibungen von Ritualfiguren s. Haas 2003, 581–89 (*šena-*, *ešri-*), 607 (*šarrena-*), 608–9 (Götterfiguren), 619–22 (Bekleiden von Defixionsfiguren, lebenden Substituten, Menschen oder Tiere, *tarpalli-, šena-*). Zur Herstellung von Substitutionsfiguren s. Schwemer 1998, 103; Haas 2003, 582.

2 Bearbeitungen: Košak 1978, 1982; Siegelová 1986.

3 Das von Haas (1994, 199) aufgeführte blaue Gewand (KBo 49.189(+) i 10'–11') mit der für Frauen typischen *ḫupiki*-Kopfbedeckung (HW² III 741a–b), kombiniert mit goldenen Ohrringen, gehört jedoch zur Zeremonialkleidung der Königin. Für die Bekleidung des Königs s. Goetze 1947; Haas 1994, 198–200; van den Hout 1995; sowie allgemein Goetze 1955.

4 Ungeklärt ist bisher die Frage, ob ḪUB.BI (hethitisch *ištamaḫura-*) an diesen Stellen nur den Ohrring bezeichnet oder als *pars pro toto* für den gesamten angelegten Schmuck (hethitisch *unuwašḫa-*) steht. Sowohl nach den Abbildungen als auch nach den archäologischen Funden waren Ohrringe, meist in Form eines einfachen Ringes, wobei nach Vuslat und Andreas Müller-Karpe (Doğan-Alparslan und Alparslan 2013, 285) Männer einen Ohrring, Frauen aber Ohrringpaare tragen, ein sehr beliebtes Schmuckstück. Für Schmuck s. Siegelová 2011.

5 Z.B. Ritual der Tunnawiya CTH 409; Ritual der Alli CTH 402; fragmentarisches Ritual wohl mit Aufzählung der im Ritual benötigten Dinge KBo 8.95 Vs. 7–10.

6 Von Brandenstein 1943; Carter 1962; Hazenbos 2003; McMahon 1991; Rost 1961, 1963.

7 Nach dem Waschen und Salben: KBo 15.48 + KBo 40.231+ i 1'–21' (Dupl. KBo 23.28+ i 2'–21'); Wegner und Salvini 1991, 49, 60 und 25, 27 [fortlaufender Text]; KBo 33.194+ vi 25–29 (Wegner und Salvini 1991, 179); KUB 55.54 i 12' (Miller 2004, 112); Haas 1994, 851–52, 855.

8 Die unterschiedlichen Farb- und Gewänderkombinationen sind sicher von Bedeutung: TÚG $SA_5$ 1 *tarpalaš* $SA_5$ *kappandan* „ein rotes Kleid/Tuch (und) ein *tarpala*-(Kleidungsstück) in gedämpftem Rot“ für den Wettergott *manuziya* und für Išḫara-, 1 TÚG ZA.GÍN „ein blaues Kleid/Tuch“ für Allani, 1 TÚG $SA_5$ TUR 1 $^{TÚG}$E.ÍB *MAŠLU* TUR „ein kleines rotes Kleid/Tuch (und) ein kleiner gemusterter Gürtel“ für Nupatik pipita, 1 TÚG $SA_5$ TUR „ein kleines rotes Kleid/Tuch“ für Adamma-Kubaba und 1 $^{TÚG}$E.ÍB *MAŠLU* $SA_5$ „ein roter gemusterter Gürtel“ für $^{D}$UGUR (Nergal), sowie 1 TÚG $SA_5$ 1 $^{TÚG}$ÍB.LÁ *MAŠLU* TÚG $SA_5$=*ya* „ein rotes Kleid/Tuch, ein gemusterter ÍB.LÁ-Gürtel und ein rotes Kleid/Tuch“ für Maliya; für *tarpala-* eine Art Schärpe aus Wolle, in den Farben $SA_5$, „rot“, ZA.GÌN „blau“ und $SIG_7$.$SIG_7$ „gelb-grün“ (HEG III 206–7).

9 Haas 2003, 608–9: Blutrote bzw. blutbefleckte Kleider haben die Ḫantašepa-Gottheiten (KBo 17.1+ i 24–25 mit Dupl. KBo 17.3+ i 19–20), die Innarawant-Gottheiten (HT 1 i 29ff.) und der Mondgott (KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 Rs. 2). Šauška, die auch Männerkleidung anzieht (KUB 31.69 Vs.? 5–6), ist mit blauer Wolle umgürtet und trägt ein *ipulli*-Tuch/Gewand aus roter

Kopfbedeckung, den Schmuck, die jeweiligen Attribute und weitere Details zur Kleidung von Göttern bzw. deren Statuen enthalten – ergeben sich nähere Einzelheiten hinsichtlich der Fußbekleidung.[10]

## 2. INFORMATIONEN AUS TEXTLICHEN QUELLEN

### 2.1. BEZEICHNUNGEN FÜR FUSSBEKLEIDUNGEN

2.1.1. Seit langem bekannt ist der in hethitischen Texten verwendete Ausdruck für Schuhe, $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR (Plural $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR$^{ḪI.A}$),[11] der – im Gegensatz zu Mesopotamien – fast immer mit SIR (HZL 341, MesZL$^2$ 584)[12] geschrieben und mit KUŠ[13] determiniert wird. Akkadisch[14] steht hinter $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR *šēnu* bzw. *mešēnu*, die beide „Sandale, Schuh" bedeuten. Stiefel, akkadisch *šuḫuppatu*, sumerisch s/šúḫub (MesZL$^2$ 247), werden in hethitischen Texten nur in einem Vokabular und in einem Ritual (innerhalb einer Auflistung von benötigten Gegenständen) erwähnt.[15] Bekannt ist auch das hattische Wort für Schuh, *šep-*, meist in der reduplizierten Form *šepšep-* (Soysal 2004, 307), während das hethitische Wort, als **šarku-*[16] (Grundform des *terminus technicus* für „[Schuhe] anziehen" *šarkuwai-*) erschlossen wird. $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR$^{ḪI.A}$ *la-*[17] bezeichnet das Ausziehen von Schuhen.

2.1.2. Eng mit Schuhen verknüpft sind GAD.DAM[18] „Gamaschen" bzw. „gaiters, leggings" und *KABALLU*[19] „Strümpfe, Gamaschen" oder „leggings, stockings, leg of the shoe", die beide mit und ohne Determinativ

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Wolle (KUB 9.28 i 16–17), jedoch keinen *šeknu*-Mantel (KBo 10.45+ ii 26–29), aber Ohrschmuck in Form von *šurašura*-(Vögeln[?]) und einen *palaḫša*-Umhang/Mantel aus Silber, der anscheinend auch von Ḫebat (KUB 60.153 + IBoT 2.119+ i 16/4) verwendet wird. Ḫebat wird auf einer Reise/Transport mit einem *alalu*-Leinen eingekleidet, das ihr bei der Ankunft wieder abgenommen wird (KBo 21.34 ii 12, 26). Für Ḫebat und Šarruma sind ein feines/dünnes, purpurfarbenes und/oder blaues, kapittašamnäisches Gewand (KUB 42.14 iv 8–10 mit Dupl. KUB 42.15 r.Kol. 6–8) bestimmt. Sieben Unterweltsgottheiten (KUB 58.88 + KUB 38.22 ii 4/Rs. 5) haben neben *iškalliššar*-Kleidern und *kariulli*-Umhängen auch Schuhe an. Für eine weitere Gottheit (KUB 15.23:10–11) ist ein goldenes oder goldbesticktes bzw. gewirktes hurritisches Hemd belegt.

10 Goetze 1947, 181–82; 1955, 60–61; Otten 1971. Schuhe sind auch für Götter selbstverständlich, obwohl sie bei ihrem Bekleiden nicht erwähnt werden, vgl. das Motiv der „schnellen Winde" als Schuhe der Götter (z.B. KUB 33.98+ i 11 mit Dupl. KUB 33.96+ i 13'–14'; KUB 24.7 iii 66; KUB 33.102 ii 34; KUB 33.106+ ii 3–4; CHD L–N, 62a; CHD P, 231b; HW$^2$ III 813b) bzw. das der „verwechselten Schuhe" (s. Anm. 48). KBo 13.239 i 1–7 [*AN*]*A* $^{D}$UTU $^{URU}$*Ari*[*nna*…(5) 1$^{NUTI}$$^{KUŠ}$E.SIR [X] (6) 1$^{NUTI}$$^{KUŠ}$E.SIR MUNUS.L[UGAL/$^{MUNUS}$x[ X ] (7) 1 ḪAR GÚ KÙ.BABBAR 6 GÍN.GÍN[.

11 Selten $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR$^{MEŠ}$; vgl. KUB 15.13:2' ]x $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR$^{MEŠ}$(-)$^{r}$*na*$^{?}$[-.

12 Ausnahme: KBo 12.126 i 19, wohl mit MUŠ=ZÌR[?] (HZL 342, MesZL$^2$ 585), s. Weitenberg 1984, 135; anders Jakob-Rost 1972, 22–23.

13 KUB 42.19 Rs.[?] 4' (Siegelová 1986, 54–55) 3 TA $^{TÚG}$E.SIR *ḫa*[*ttili-*[?], von Siegelová (1986, 54 Anm. 2) als Fehler für $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR interpretiert; KUB 42.64 Rs. 18' (Siegelová 1986, 428–29) 1$^{NU}$ $^{<KUŠ>}$E.SIR.

14 AHw II 648b; AHw III 1213b–1214a; CAD M/II 38a–b; CAD Š/II 289b–92b; CAD Š/III 210a–11a; Salonen 1969, 10–12, 13–43 (Sandalen und Pantoffeln), 44–62 (Stiefel und Halbschuhe); Stol 1984, 539a–b (Sandale), 539b (Stiefel); 2011, 289; Paoletti 2012, 275–78 (sandals), 278–81 (boots), 283–88 (materials, features, decoration); Goetze 1947, 182 Anm. 43 („hoher Stiefel"), vgl. aber AHw III 1262a. In der altbabylonischen Zeit verdrängt *mešēnu* den Begriff *šuḫuppatu* (Salonen 1969, 53ff.; Stol 1984, 540a).

15 KBo 26.34 iv 10 (Otten und von Soden 1967, 41, Taf. III; Cohen 2006, 423 mit Anm. 29; CAD Š/III 210b; vgl. *MSL* 2, 132) (sumerisch) [SÚḪUB] „Stiefel" = (akkadisch) *šaḫuppatum* „Stiefel" = (hethitisch) *ištappanda* „Zugedecktes" (Otten und von Soden 1967, 41), „Stiefel" (AHw II 1054b), „boots" (CAD Š/III, 210b; Cohen 2006, 423). KBo 8.95 Vs. 10 X $^{KU}$]$^{Š?}$E.SIR *ištappa*$^{i}$*nt*[*eš.* In EA 22 iii 25 und EA 25 ii 41 (CAD Š/III 211a; Adler 1976, 160–61, 186–87) werden sie unter den Geschenken aufgeführt.

16 Weitenberg 1984, 135, 427 Anm. 282; Otten 1942, 50–51 mit Anm. 5 (mit Literatur); HEG II 910; CHD Š, 270b; Kloekhorst 2008, 735; Weeden 2011, 474.

17 CHD L–N, 2a. In IBoT 1.36 i 53–54 (Güterbock und van den Hout 1991, 10–11) scheint dies eine Strafmaßnahme für einen ertappten Leibgardisten zu sein, der versuchte einen Speer am Pförtner vorbeizuschmuggeln, s. Hoffner 1969, 42ff.

18 Nur in Ḫatti belegt; Goetze 1955, 60; Dinçol 1996, 222–25; Weeden 2011, 226–27, 491b–92a.

19 CAD K 2b–3a "leg of the shoe, leggings"; AHw I 414b (ein Gewand); Goetze 1955, 62 ("hose, stockings"); Salonen 1969, 64–65 („Beinwindel"), 93; Kümmel 1967, 77 Anm. 6 („Gamaschen"); Dinçol 1996, 222–25 „Strumpf" (mit früheren Deutungen); in KUB 41.11 iv$^{i}$ 13–15 (Haas 2003, 442) zählt eine Kleidergarnitur bestehend aus 1 TÚG$^{TUM}$ (14) [ X ] 1 $^{TÚG}$ŠÀ.GA.DÙ 1 $^{TÚG}$*kuressar* SÍG BABBAR SÍG G[E$_6$] (15) [ X ]*QADU* $^{TÚG}$*KA-PAL-LI* zur Mitgift der Braut, in diesem Fall einem bekleideten Schaf. Für Strumpf s. Völling 2012.

TÚG geschrieben werden können.[20] Beide werden öfter vor den Schuhen[21] als danach erwähnt. In welcher Beziehung sie zueinander (akkadischer Begriff und dessen Pseudologogramm oder zwei unterschiedliche Begriffe) und zu Schuhen[22] stehen, ist unklar. Zwischen GAD.DAM und den meist direkt davor oder danach aufgezählten Schuhen scheint keine spezielle Verbindung[23] zu bestehen. GAD.DAM wird zudem auch mit $^{TÚG}$*puwaliya* (s. Anm. 37) verbunden. *KABALLU*[24] hingegen scheint an zwei Belegstellen[25] mit einem nicht mehr erhaltenen Begriff näher kombiniert worden zu sein. *QADU* $^{TÚG}$*ŠA-TÚR-RA-TI*[26] als Spezifizierung von GAD.DAM ist nicht gesichert, da GAD.DAM doppelt erwähnt wird und deshalb ein Schreiberfehler (Goetze 1955, 58) vorliegen könnte. Wie B. Dinçol (1996, 225) bereits feststellte, unterscheiden sich *KABALLU* und das weit häufiger belegte GAD.DAM vor allem bei den Farb- und Verzierungsangaben. Während für *KABALLU* nur ein einziges Mal die Farbe Weiß bezeugt ist (KBo 25.85:4'), ist GAD.DAM in allen belegten Farben[27] (außer ḪI.ḪI) hergestellt worden und konnte, neben unverzierten Exemplaren, mit Applikationen und Stickereien (mit Goldfäden? oder Perlen) verziert werden. Einmal wird bei GAD.DAM, das von beiden Geschlechtern paarweise[28] getragen wird, auf die Verwendung durch eine Frau hingewiesen.[29] *šarkuwai-* wird an einigen Stellen für das Anziehen von GAD.DAM gebraucht,[30] aber anscheinend nicht bei *KABALLU*.[31] Das Ausziehen bzw. Entfernen[32] von GAD.DAM wird durch das Verbum *parā da-* „heraus/wegnehmen (vom Fuß)" bezeichnet. Eine gesicherte Aussage darüber, ob die beiden Ausdrücke sich entsprechen oder verschiedene Fußbekleidungen bzw. Teile von diesen bezeichnen sowie zu Dinçols (1996, 225) Vorschlag, in *KABALLU* Strümpfe vor allem für den Hausgebrauch zu sehen und die Verwendung von GAD.DAM eher im öffentlichen Bereich anzusiedeln, kann nicht getroffen werden.

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20 Bo 3299:12: *KABALLU* mit Determinativ SÍG (Dinçol 1996, 223).

21 GAD.DAM davor: KUB 17.18 ii 19–21 (Dupl. KUB 46.46 i 18); KBo 5.2 i 34; KBo 8.95 Vs. 7–10; KBo 39.33+ i 8; KBo 57.159:4; KUB 7.53+ i 14–15; KUB 32.129 i? 8; KUB 42.77 Vs. 3 (Kollation Weeden 2011, 492); KUB 42.98 i 12'–13'; danach: KBo 5.2 ii 51; KUB 35.133 i 20–21; KUB 38.22 Rs. 7 [beschädigt]; KUB 27.28 + KUB 45.22 ii 7, 10–11, iii 7, 10–11; *KABALLU* davor: KBo 22.1 Vs. 10; KUB 17.18 ii 22–23; danach: KBo 15.31 iv 13'–14'; KUB 7.33 + KBo 35.101 i 20–21 (Dupl. KUB 59, 75 + KBo 35, 103 i 5).

22 *kaballu* (meist ohne Determinativ TÚG) wird in Texten aus Mari, Alalaḫ und el-Amarna (CAD K 2b–3a; CAD M/II 38a) oft direkt nach einer Schuhbezeichnung ($^{KUŠ}$E.SÍR, *mešēnu*, *šēnu*, nicht jedoch nach ŠÚḪUB, *šuḫuppatu*), in mittelbabylonischen Texten auch zwischen der Schuhbezeichnung und einem folgenden Adjektiv, in EA 22 ii 26, 32, 35 (Adler 1976, 154ff.) auch mit der näheren Beschreibung *ša i-li* (Adler 1976, 154–56; Salonen 1969, 64–65 von *e'ēlu* „binden") aufgeführt und ist in Nuzi (CAD K 3a) in verschiedenen Ausführungen belegt. Nicht eindeutig geklärt (CAD K 3a) ist, ob damit ein Schuhbestandteil oder eine eigene Fußbekleidung bezeichnet wird.

23 Wie z.B. $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR *QADU* GAD.DAM „Schuhe mit Gamaschen"; ohne Schuhe: IBoT 1.31 Vs. 8; nacheinander ohne übereinstimmende Anzahl: KUB 32.129 [i] 8 $^{TÚG}$GAD.DAM$^{MEŠ}$ 2 *TAPAL* $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR$^{ḪI.A}$.

24 Ohne Schuhe: KUB 58, 104 i?/ii? 12': *n*]*u* 1 TÚG 1 $^{TÚG}$*KA-BAL-LI*$^{ḪI.A}$ 1 $^{TÚG}$*KA-BAL-LI*$^{ḪI.A}$.

25 KUB 41.11 Rs. 14–15: SÍG G[E$_6$] (15) [ X ]*QADU*$^{TÚG}$*KABALLI*; KUB 46.30:27–28 *šer=a=ššan*[ X ] (28) [ x x-]*aš* $^{TÚG}$*KABALLI=ya dāi*.

26 KUB 17.18 ii 19–21 mit fragmentarischem Duplikat KUB 46.46 ii 17–19 (ähnlich KUB 58.104 i?/ii? 2'–3') 1$^{NU-TÌ}$ $^{TÚG}$GAD.DAM$^{MEŠ}$ (20) *QADU* $^{TÚG}$*ŠA-TÚR-RA-TI* 1$^{NU-TIM}$ $^{TÚG}$GAD.DAM$^{MEŠ}$ 1$^{NU-TÌ}$ $^{KUŠr}$E'[(.SIR$^{ḪI.A}$)] (21) *QADU* $^{KUŠ}$*MARŠUM waššan ḫarzi*. Eine Emendation analog zu KUB 29.4 i 48 ist ebenfalls problematisch, da *ŠATURRATU* nur zwischen $^{TÚG}$BAR."TE" und $^{TÚG}$E.ÍB *TAḪAPŠI* aufgezählt, nicht aber mit diesen kombiniert wird. Nach Goetze (1955, 58) müßte demnach auch $^{TÚG}$BAR."TE"$^{MEŠ}$ (im Plural!) den Gürteln (meist Singular) zugewiesen werden.

27 Dabei scheint die Farbe GE$_6$ „schwarz" nur im Ritual der Tunnawiya (KUB 7.53+ i 14–15) Anwendung zu finden und als *ḫanzana-* in KBo 8.95 Vs. 8, einer Aufzählung von im Ritual benötigter Dinge. Teils scheinen verschiedene Kleidungsstücke farblich aufeinander abgestimmt bzw. in derselben Farbe gehalten worden zu sein, z.B. KUB 22.70 Rs. 10ff., KUB 42.49 Vs. 8, KUB 42.106 Vs. 10, IBoT 1.31 obv. 8; KUB 7.53+ i 13ff.

28 Dies muß in den Texten nicht ausdrücklich angegeben werden, s. KUB 42.49 Vs. 4–5 1 GAD.DAM *ḪAŠMAN* 3 GAD.DAM BABBAR. Oder konnte das Paar GAD.DAM auch unterschiedliche Farben aufweisen?

29 KUB 42.56:4 (Košak 1982, 131–32; Siegelová 1986, 522–23).

30 KUB 45.22 ii 7, 10–11, iii 7, 10–11: $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR$^{ḪI.A}$*=ya* $^{TÚG}$GAD.DAM *šarkuwan ḫarzi*.

31 In KUB 58.104 i?/ii? 8'–13' (sehr fragmentarisch; Taracha 2000, 78–79) wird *KABALLU* zusammen mit den anderen Kleidungsstücken wohl eher mit *waššan ḫarzi* gebildet als mit *šarkuwan ḫarzi*.

32 KUB 12.58+ ii 18/43 (Goetze 1938, 14–15; CHD P, 234b) ($^{MUNUS}$ŠU.GI zerreißt das schwarze Hemd des Opfermandanten von oben bis unten) $^{TÚG}$GAD.DAM GE$_6$*=ya=ši=šan* GÌR-*az parā dāi* „Schwarze Gamaschen nimmt sie ihm vom Fuß weg".

2.1.3. Weitere Bezeichnungen, die im weitesten Sinne Fußbekleidungen sein könnten bzw. im Zusammenhang mit Fußbekleidungen genannt werden, sind: $^{TÚG}$*puššaimi-*[33] (luwisches Partizip), das in Kombination mit Kleidungsstücken die Bedeutung „(ver-/ge)filzt" (CHD P, 399b) haben könnte, $^{TÚG}$*puššali-*,[34] das paarweise gebraucht und zwischen *KABALLU* und $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR[35] aufgeführt wird, sowie $^{TÚG}$*puwaliya-*,[36] das in großer Anzahl (19 Stück) in den Farben Rot, Blau und Weiß belegt ist und bei dem anscheinend GAD.DAM[37] ebenfalls Verwendung findet.

2.1.4. Ob auch die Worte $^{(TÚG)}$*patalla-*,[38] ein langer Stoffstreifen (CHD P, 238b), der in einem Inventar u.a. neben drei weißen GAD.DAM-Fußbekleidungen erwähnt wird, aber auch zur Fußfesselung eingesetzt werden konnte, und $^{GIŠ}$*patalḫa-*,[39] dessen Bedeutung entweder als „(hölzerne Schuh)sohle" (CHD P, 239a–b; HEG II 536–37 mit früherer Literatur) oder als ein Gegenstand zum Fesseln bzw. als Fußring (HED 8, 201–2) angegeben wird, je nachdem ob *patalḫa-* (ohne Determinativ GIŠ) als „(Fuß)Sohle" oder „Fußknöchel" aufgefaßt wird, zu den Fußbekleidungen gehören, ist unsicher.

2.1.5. Zudem könnten auch die $^{TÚG}$BAR.DUL$_8$-Kleidungsstücke[40] dem Bereich Fußbekleidung zugeordnet werden, da sie getrennt von den auf einem Stuhl zusammengefaßten Prachtgewändern, zusammen mit $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR$^{ḪI.A}$ und $^{TÚG}$GAD.DAM$^{MEŠ}$ auf einem Schemel bereitgestellt[41] werden. Eine Identifikation mit einem der oben genannten hethitischen Begriffe ist nicht möglich. Am ehesten käme noch *puššali-* (s.o. 2.1.3) in Betracht, da es auch zwischen einer Fußbekleidung, *KABALLU*, und den Schuhen aufgelistet wird.

## 2.2. EINZELHEITEN ZUM AUSSEHEN VON SCHUHEN

2.2.1. Den wichtigsten Teil der Fußbekleidung bilden die Schuhe.[42] Sie dienten zum Schutz der Füße,[43] konnten aber auch den gegen den Schadensstifter gerichteten Zauber aufnehmen und dann wohl als drückende

33 Košak 1982, 42; Siegelová 1986, 409–10 Anm. 22; Melchert 1993, 181; CHD P, 399a–b; HEG II 672; HED 9, 146–47 (sub *puwai-* „pound, press, stamp", Iterativ *puššai-*, Partizip *puššant-*, luwisches Partizip *puššaimi-*).

34 Unverziert (KBo 21.82 iv 16–17), aber wohl auch verziert belegt; vgl. auch KUB 28.87 + KBo 37.3 Rs. 5; KUB 34.92 + KBo 39.64 r.Kol. 14'; Archi 1979, 45, 48; Košak 1982, 42 (mit *puššaimi-* verbunden; hethitisch/luwisches Wort für GAD.DAM?); CHD P, 399b; HEG II 672; HED 9, 143.

35 KBo 21.82 iv 16: 2 *TAPAL puššaliuš* (gibt man aus dem Lagerhaus); KBo 22.1:10: 3 *KABALLU* 3 *puššaleš* 3 *TAPAL* $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR, da die drei Posten in gleicher Menge aufgeführt werden, könnten sie eine Art Garnitur bilden; man beachte aber, daß *TAPAL* sowohl bei *KABALLU* als auch bei *puššali-* fehlt und kein Determinativ bei *puššali-* verwendet wurde. Hierher? vielleicht auch 4 *TAPAL puššā*[- (KBo 34.64:3).

36 Goetze 1955, 59 (akkadisch *TAḪAPŠU*); Košak 1982, 131 („Band, Gürtel"); Siegelová 1986, 524 (ein Kleidungsstück); CHD P, 369a–b; HEG II 679; HED 9, 147–48. Nach Siegelová (1986, 524n6) weist die Kombination von *puwaliya-* mit GAD.DAM lediglich auf den Bereich von Schuhwerk hin, da Bekleidungskollektionen sehr variabel sein können.

37 KBo 2.20 Vs. 6: 3 $^{TÚG}$*puwaliya QADU* $^{TÚG}$GAD.DAM; KUB 42.56 Rs.? 9: 19 $^{TÚG}$*puwalianza* ŠÀ 10 *ḪAŠMAN* 3 ZA.GÌN 6 BABBAR.

38 CHD P, 238a–b („puttee, leg wrapping") mit früherer Literatur; HEG II 535–36 (Fußfessel); HED 9, 200 („foot-strip, legging").

39 KUB 17.1 ii 10: GAM-*an=ma=šši=kan* MUNUS-*aš* $^{GIŠ}$*patalḫaš kitta*[*ri* „Darunter aber liegt die Sohle/Fußring einer Frau auf ihm".

40 Goetze 1955, 57. Zur Lesung s. HZL Nr. 20 Anmerkungen; Weeden 2011, 170, 447–48.

41 KUB 35.133 i 18–21; oft neben GAD.DAM und/oder $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR erwähnt: KBo 18.181 Vs. 31, Rs. 16; KBo 47.266:8; KBo 55.238 i? 12–13; KBo 57.159:3–4; KUB 42.49 Vs. 4; KUB 42.52:5 [beschädigt]; KUB 42.59 Rs. 26; KUB 42.61 i 8–9; KUB 42.106 Vs. 10.

42 Für Schuhe: Otten 1971; Haas 1994, 199; 2003, 619, 637–38, 766 (Modelle).

43 KBo 9.127 + KUB 36.41 i 28 (Groddek 2007, 320, 324 Anm. 52, 332–33) [*nu=wa=šš*]*i=kan* $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR <GÌR>-*az* [*kuit ēšta šankuwai*] (28) [*ar*]*ḫa watkutta* „(ihre Schuhe zog sich die Gottheit aus) und [weil] ihr das Schuhwerk vom Fuß (weg war), sprangen [die Zehennägel] weg (= brachen ab)".

Schuhe Beschwerden verursachen.[44] Sie werden als Belohnung[45] vergeben oder als Strafe (s. Anm. 17) abgenommen. In den Geschenklisten der ägyptisch-hethitischen Korrespondenz scheinen Schuhe als eigene Posten zu fehlen.[46]

2.2.2. Wir wissen, daß (wie in Mesopotamien) zwischen Männer- und Frauenschuhen unterschieden wurde,[47] ebenso wie zwischen dem rechten und dem linken Schuh.[48] Die Schuhe des Königs scheinen ausnahmslos aus Rindsleder verfertigt worden zu sein,[49] das aus dem Haus der Köche stammte, also wohl aus der hauseigenen Produktion,[50] um die Reinheit des Königs zu gewährleisten. Nach A. Ünal (1996, 84[1]) gab es aber auch Schuhe aus Wolle (Filz[?]),[51] die er als „socks, leggings", vergleichbar mit $^{TÚG}$GAD.DAM, auffaßt. Falls dieses eine Schuhpaar nicht aus einem schwarzen und einem weißen Schuh (s. hierzu auch Anm. 28) bestand, ist, da kein Hinweis erfolgt, wie diese Wolle in Bezug auf die Schuhe verwendet wird[52] wohl eher ein Posten weißer und schwarzer Wolle aufgeführt.

2.2.3. Die Schuhe des Königs haben die Farben[53] Weiß[54] und Schwarz,[55] die er auch während eines Festes wechseln kann. Weiße Schuhe trägt auch der Prinz bei der Durchführung eines Festes.[56] Schwarze Schuhe sind ansonsten nur Bestandteil der (ganz in Schwarz gehaltenen) Bekleidung des Opfermandanten, die diesem bei der Entsühnung wohl gemeinsam mit den anderen schwarzen Kleidungsstücken abgenommen[57] werden und durch deren endgültige Vernichtung die Entsühnung vollzogen ist. Zusammen mit Männerschuhen werden rote Frauenschuhe in einem Inventar aufgelistet. Ansonsten sind sie nur in Ritualen erwähnt.[58]

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44 Sofern die Interpretation von KBo 12.126 i 19 (Jakob-Rost 1972, 22–23) so korrekt ist: $^{KUŠ}$E.ṢIR/ZÌR=*ma=at=ši ēšdu n=at=za šarkuddu* „(wenn ihn aber eine Frau (magisch) behandelt hat, dann soll das ihr (der Zauberin) ein Gürtel sein, und der soll sie einschnüren;) und das soll für sie ein (drückender) Schuh sein und diesen soll sie sich anziehen". Zu Schuhen in magischer Verwendung s. Haas 2003, 619–20, 637–38.

45 KBo 6.2+ i 48–49 (Dupl. KBo 6.3 i 56–57; Hoffner 1997, 31–32) [*ta*]*kku* ARAD-*ašḫuwāi n=an āppa kuiški uʳwateʾzzi takku manninkuan ē*[*pzi*] (49) *nu=šše* $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR-*uš pāi* „[We]nn ein Sklave (weg)läuft, und irgendjemand ihn zurück bringt, wenn er (ihn) in der Nähe er[fasst], (49) dann gibt er ihm Schuhe".

46 Aber reich verzierte Schuhe in den Geschenklisten Tušrattas an Amenophis III.: EA 22 ii 23–35, iii 25–26, EA 25 ii 41 (Adler 1976, 154ff., 162–63, 186–87) und Amenophis IV. an Burnaburiaš: EA 14 i 76 (CAD M/II 38b).

47 HKM 113 Vs. 4: ]x ʳ3ʔʾ *TAPAL* $^{KUŠ}$Eʾ.SIRʾ (geschrieben SIR.E) MUNUS 6 *TAPAL* $^{KUŠ}$*ŠE-NI* LÚ; KBo 18.170a (+) Rs. 9': x+[?]20 *TAPAL* $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR LÚ$^{LÍ}$ 11 $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR$^{ḪLA}$ MUNUS$^{TI}$ SA$_5$; KBo 13.98 Rs.[?] 9': MUNUS$^{MEŠ}$-*aš* $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR[; KBo 35.246 + KBo 39.185 Vs. 6: 1$^{NU\text{-}TÌ}$ $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR *ŠA* $^{MUNUS}$[Š]U.DIB (Dupl. KBo 21.30 i 9 MUNUS$^{TÌ}$); KBo 35.115 Vs.[?] 13': $^{KUŠ}$]ʳEʾ.SIR *ŠA* MUNUS. Für Mesopotamien: Salonen 1969, 18–19, 47–48, 55–56; Stol 2011, 290a; CAD Š/III 210b.

48 Zum Motiv des Verwechselns der Schuhe seitens erzürnter Gottheiten s. Haas 1994, 708 mit Anm. 59; HW$^2$ III 651a–b; HEG II 909.

49 In Mesopotamien werden Schuhsohlen oft aus Rindsleder hergestellt, das Oberleder gerne aus weicheren Ledersorten, z.B. Ziegen- bzw. Schafleder, s. Salonen 1969, 67–86, besonders 81, 85–86; Stol 1984, 540a; Paoletti 2012, 281–84.

50 KUB 13.3 iii 3–8 (Miller 2013, 82–83).

51 KUB 2.2 iv 5: 1$^{NU\text{-}TÌ}$ $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR 1 SÍG BABBAR 1 SÍG GE$_6$; Schuhe aus Stoff z.B. in EA 22 ii 33 (Adler 1976, 156–57). Vgl. auch KUB 42.19 Rs.[?] 4', s. Anm. 13.

52 Vgl. hierzu z.B. KUB 2.6 iv 6–8: *nu=za išḫuzzin* (7) SÍG BABBAR SÍG SA$_5$ *anda* (8) *taluppandan dāi* „Und er (König) legt sich einen Gürtel an, (7) in den weiße Wolle (und) rote Wolle (8) geflochten ist"; aber KUB 41.11 iv[!] 14 s. Anm. 19.

53 Zu Farben s. Haas 2003, 638–49.

54 KBo 2.6 Vs. iii 26; KBo 23.59 iv 4'; KUB 57.76 i 7'–8'; mit Schuhwechsel von weißen zu schwarzen Schuhen: KUB 34.118+ r.Kol. 6'–7'. Bei mesopotamischen Schuhen: Paoletti 2012, 284.

55 KBo 10.23+ i 16; KBo 11.43 i 16; KUB 34.118 r.Kol. 7'.

56 KUB 56.35 i 1.

57 KUB 7.53 + KUB 12.58 i 13–26; KUB 12.58 ii 18/43–20/45.

58 KBo 18.170(+)170a Rs. 9' (Siegelová 1986, 386–87; Košak 1982, 110–11) x+]20 *TAPAL* $^{KUS}$E.SIR LÚ$^{LÍ}$ 11 $^{KUS}$E.SIR$^{ḪLA}$ MUNUS$^{TI}$ SA$_5$[ ; KUB 7.29 Vs. 6–7 (Marquardt 2004, 448–49); KBo 5.1 ii 52 (Strauß 2006, 291, 299) 4 *TAPAL* $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR SA$_5$ TUR *ŠA* LÚ$^{LÍ}$ (Kinderschuhe).

2.2.4. Schuhe können mit Gold oder Silber besetzt,[59] vollständig aus Gold[60] (Schuhe einer Gottheit[?]) oder damit verziert bzw. mit Goldfäden durchwirkt sein. Eine weitere Verzierungsform ist *ḫulpazinant-* „mit Buckeln versehen".[61] Als nähere Beschreibung für Schuhe (Schuhtyp, Eigenschaft oder Verzierung) dient auch das nur einmal belegte *zazzapi-*.[62] Sehr selten ist eine Größenangabe (TUR).[63] Singulär ist die Erwähnung von hohen, hattischen Schuhen.[64]

2.2.5. Es scheint Schuhe mit und ohne Riemen ($^{KUŠ}$*MARŠUM*)[65] zu geben, da ansonsten der Zusatz *QADU MARŠUM* wohl überflüssig wäre und auch das Bereitstellen von Schnürschuhen ohne den Schnürsenkel (sofern $^{KUŠ}$*MARŠUM* „Schnürsenkel bedeutet) wenig Sinn ergäbe.

2.2.6. Durch ihren Herkunftsort werden hinsichtlich ihrer Machart oder ihres Aussehens unterschiedliche Schuhtypen bestimmt. Am häufigsten belegt sind die hattischen Schuhe,[66] die zum königlichen Festornat[67] und zur Kleidung des Königtums[68] gehören und in Ritualen[69] unter den benötigten Gegenständen aufgelistet werden. Da sie zusammen mit dem Schmuck der Gottheit (u.a. Ohrringen) und Kleidungsstücken aus dem Lagerhaus geliefert[70] werden, könnten sie auch zur Bekleidung einer Götterstatue benötigt worden sein. Sie können auch aus Stoff (s. Anm. 13) bestehen. Im Inventar KUB 42.34:9' (Siegelová 1986, 56–57) beträgt ihre Anzahl 20 Paar. In KUB 42.64 Rs. 13'–14' (s. Anm. 59) werden Schuhe aus der Ortschaft X-*pura* erwähnt.

Bei Paraden[71] tragen Offiziere oder höhergestellte Unteroffiziere ($^{LÚ}$DUGUD, $^{LÚ}$SIG$_5$) der Speermänner ($^{LÚ.MEŠ}$ŠUKUR) und der LÚ$^{MEŠ}$ *LĪM ṢERI* Prachtuniformen und gute Schuhe nach *ḫilammili*-Art, einem Kleidungstyp, der den Kultdienern zugewiesen wird (HW$^2$ III 592a–b).

59 KUB 42.64 Rs. 13'–14' (Košak 1982, 148–49; Siegelová 1986, 426–27) 3 *TAPAL* $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR ŠÀ 2 $^{URU}$x[-x-]*pura* KÙ.GI GAR.RA 1 KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA 1 *pu*[*šša imi-*$^{?}$ (es folgen weitere Gegenstände aus Gold), Košak (1982, 149) ergänzt den Stadtnamen als Z[aga]pura; weitere Orte auf *-pura-* sind Zanipura- bzw. Kašipura-, das jedoch wegen der Zeichenspuren auszuschließen ist.

60 Gerichtsprotokoll KUB 13.34+ i 10' (Werner 1967, 38) $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR$^{ḪLA}$ KÙ.GI [*ŠA*$^{?}$ M]UNUS.LUGAL=*ma kuieš ḫarki*$^{?}$*r*[ „Diejenigen, die aber die Schuhe aus Gold [der K]önigin (in Besitz) hielten, . . .".

61 KUB 12.1 iv 34–36 (Košak 1978, 99ff.; Dinçol 1996, 221) 6 $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR$^{ḪLA}$ ŠÀ.BA 2 *T*[*APAL* X ]x x [KÙ.]GI *ḫulpanzinaimeš* (35) $^{KUŠ}$*MARŠUM anda* 3 *TAP*[*AL* ca. 6 Zeichen] 1$^{NU\text{-}TUM}$ KÙ.GI *ḫulpazinanteš* (36) 3 *TAPAL purana* KÙ.GI[ ca. 6 Zeichen GAR.R]A „6 (Paar) Schuhe (CHD L–N, 383 „sandals"), darunter 2 P[aar X ]x x [aus Go]ld, mit Buckeln versehen, (35) die Schnürsenkel[?] (sind) darin, 3 Pa[ar ca. 6 Zeichen], 1 Paar aus Gold, mit Buckeln versehen", das folgende *purana* gehört nicht mehr zu den erwähnten Schuhen. Vgl. hierzu auch die mit *d/tard/taraḫḫu* „Buckeln[?]" (AHw I 163b) (Nieten[?], Beschläge[?], Ösen[?]) verzierten Schuhe aus EA 22 ii 27–28 (Adler 1976, 154–55), bei denen die verwendete Menge an Gold (6 Schekel) angegeben wird.

62 KUB 12.1 iv 7 (Košak 1982, 101; Siegelová 1986, 446–47; HEG IV 681) 1$^{NU\text{-}TUM}$ $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR *zazzapiš* TUR-*uš* (8') [ x x *AŠR*]*A* KÙ.GI GAR.RA „1 Paar kleine *zazzapi*-Schuhe, [an x Stel]len mit Gold beschlagen".

63 KUB 12.1 iv 7 s. Anm. 62; KBo 5.1 ii 52.

64 KBo 18.192 Rs. 8–9 (Košak 1982, 65) *MA*]*ŠLU* 1 *TAPAL KABALLI* [ X ] (9) [ X *ḫattil*$^{?}$]*ēš pargauēš IŠTU* É[.

65 CAD M/I 296a–b: „thongs, straps (of sandals, bags, harness, and other objects)", also bei Schuhen wohl Schuhe mit Schnürsenkeln. Belege zusammengestellt von Dinçol (1996, 221). Beachte aber die Kombination von $^{KUŠ}$*MARŠUM* mit einem Kleidungsstück: KBo 22.199 i 4–5 [ ] ˹1˺ *iškalliššar* 1 $^{TÚG}$*kuri*˹*š*˺*š*[*ar*] (5) [*ḫ*]˹*attiliaš* 1$^{NU\text{-}TUM}$ $^{KUŠ}$˹*MARŠUM* 1˺˹$^{NU!\text{-}TUM}$ $^{KUŠ}$x[. In KBo 47.8 (1254/v) Vs. 6 ]x $^{KUŠ}$*MARŠUM* 1-*iš* KÙ.BABBAR 1-*iš*[ KÙ.GI$^{?}$ ist eine Ergänzung 1$^{NU\text{-}TUM}$ vor $^{KUŠ}$*MARŠUM*, wie Dinçol (1996, 121) meint, nicht möglich.

66 Zu hattischen Schuhen vgl. Popko 1989, 26.

67 Zusammen mit weißen BAR.DUL$_8$-Gewändern und silbernen Ohrringen, KBo 11.43 i 15–16 (mit Dupl., Nakamura 2002, 173, 184–85).

68 Getragen von der Substitutsfigur des Königs: KBo 15.16+ iii 7; KBo 24.96:5 (Taracha 2000, 46, 77); von ihm selbst: KUB 42.22 (+) KUB 42.23 i 11' (Siegelová 1986, 38–39; Košak 1982, 48).

69 KBo 15.32+ i 7–8 (parallel KBo 38.224 i 5–6; Glocker 1997, 18–19).

70 KBo 18.191 Rs. 9–12 mit Parallel-Text KBo 18.192 Rs. 5–9 (Košak 1982, 64–65).

71 IBoT 1.36 i 77, ii 47–57 (Güterbock und van den Hout 1991, 20–21).

### 2.3. LAGERUNG UND TRAGEGEPFLOGENHEIT

2.3.1. Auf Vorrat scheinen Schuhe im Lagerhaus[72] aufbewahrt zu werden; ob sie auch zusammen mit den Festgewändern in einem Kleiderkorb liegen, ist ungewiß.[73]

2.3.2. Das Verwechseln der Schuhe (s. Anm. 48) beim Anziehen durch erzürnte Götter – diese trugen offenbar vorher keine (oder andere) Schuhe – zeigt, daß Schuhe anscheinend erst kurz vor dem Aufbruch angezogen werden. Dies könnte Dinçols (1996, 225) Vermutung unterstützen, daß *KABALLU* vielleicht eher im häuslichen Gebrauch anzusiedeln ist, während die reichverzierte GAD.DAM-Fußbekleidung eher als Straßenbekleidung diente. Oder ist GAD.DAM keine eigene Fußbekleidung, sondern eine Art Stulpe, die über den Schuhen oder aus dem Stiefelschaft herausragend getragen wird und gleichzeitig als Zierobjekt dient?

## 3. DARSTELLUNGEN AUS HETHITISCHER ZEIT

### 3.1. UNTERSCHIEDLICHE SCHUHFORMEN

3.1.1. Außer über Farben und einigen nicht genau zu bestimmenden Verzierungen geben die Texte jedoch keinerlei Auskunft über das Aussehen der Schuhe, geschweige über die genauen Bezeichnungen ihrer einzelnen Bestandteile.[74] Die meisten Darstellungen zeigen Schuhe mit aufgebogenen Spitzen, die üblicherweise allgemein als „Schnabelschuhe“ beschrieben werden und, nach den zahlreichen Abbildungen zu schließen, die in Ḫatti gebräuchlichste Schuhform gewesen sein dürften.

3.1.2. Jedoch scheinen mehrere Schuhformen bekannt gewesen zu sein, da nicht alle Schuhe die typisch nach oben gebogenen Schuhspitzen zeigen.[75] Eine Unterscheidung zwischen Männer- und Frauenschuhen ist weder auf den Reliefs[76] noch auf den Reliefvasen (Inandik, Bitik, Eskiyapar, Hüseyindede)[77] zu erkennen, bei denen die Farbe der Schuhe sich nach der Gewandlänge (rot bei langen, cremefarbig bei kurzen) nicht aber nach dem Geschlecht richtet (Özgüç 1988, 94). Durch diese farbige Gestaltung ist aber der Übergang von der Fußbekleidung zu den unbekleideten Beinen oberhalb der Fußknöchel ebenso wie bei einigen Bronzestatuetten[78] deutlich zu sehen, jedoch werden ansonsten bei den Schuhen keine Details hervorgehoben.

3.1.3. Auf zwei Fragmenten von Reliefgefäßen, die beide nur noch die Beine ungefähr vom Knie abwärts bis zu den Füßen wiedergeben, zeigen sich leichte Unterschiede (Beschädigung[?]) bei der Darstellung der Fußbekleidung beim rechten und linken Bein.[79] Beim ersten Fragment ist bei einem Fuß ungefähr in Knöchelhöhe eine waagrechte Linie dargestellt. Darüber ist auf der Wade ein weiterer Bereich mit senkrechten und waagrechten Linien zu sehen. Sofern es sich nicht um eine Beschädigung handelt, könnte dieser Bereich entweder nicht näher erkennbare Details des Schuhs oder eines Strumpfes (z.B. hochgezogene Schienbeinschoner ähnlich wie bei der Fußbekleidung des Mannes aus Maraş, s.u. 6.6.) oder noch sichtbare Teile der Kleidung wiedergeben. Das andere Bein zeigt keine Linien. Beide Fußspitzen scheinen leicht hochgebogen zu sein, könnten also Schnabelschuhe darstellen. Auch beim zweiten Fragment könnte die

72 KBo 18.191 Rs. 9–12 mit Parallel-Text KBo 18.192 Rs. 5–9; KUB 42.22 (+) KUB 42.23 i 11' (Siegelová 1986, 38–39; Košak 1982, 48).

73 KBo 10.36 ii 11'–12' (Taracha 2000, 82–83; ergänzt nach KUB 42.94 i 5'–7') 1 $^{GI}$PISAN.TÚG *n*=[*ašta ANA* $^{GI}$PISAN $^{TÚG}$NÍG.LÁM$^{MEŠ?}$] (12') $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR=*ya anda* [*kittari*].

74 Anders in Mesopotamien: s. Salonen 1969; Stol 2011, 290a–291a; Paoletti 2012, 275–88.

75 Vgl. die Figuren mit spitzzulaufenden Schuhen (ohne aufgebogene Spitzen) auf einer kleinen Vase aus Hüseyindede (Sipahi 2000, 76).

76 Akurgal 1976, 76, 77, 92; Doğan-Alparslan und Alparslan 2013, 424 Abb. 6; Bittel et al. 1975, Taf. 28–30, 31–40, 44–49.

77 Özgüç 1988, Taf. F–M, Taf. 36–59, 67, 69–71, 79; Doğan-Alparslan und Alparslan 2013, 213 Abb. 6, 369 Abb. 11, 233 Abb. 8a–d, 235 Abb. 10a–b.

78 Akurgal 1976, Taf. 50, 51; Kunsthalle Bonn 2002, 228 Abb. 13.

79 Herbordt und von Wickede 2021, 392 Taf. 125/3, Taf. 125/4.

leicht nach oben gebogene Fußspitze auf Schnabelschuhe hinweisen. Das besser erhaltene Bein zeigt ungefähr in Kniehöhe eine vom Schienbein leicht schräg nach oben zum rückwärtigen Teil des Beines führende Linie. Was diese Linie angibt (Stiefel- oder Strumpfabschluß bzw. Kleidersaum, Beschädigung) kann der Abbildung nicht entnommen werden. Ansonsten sind keine weiteren Details zu erkennen.

### 3.2. DARSTELLUNG VON RIEMEN ODER VERZIERUNGEN

3.2.1. Bei einigen Figuren auf der Bitik-Vase (Akurgal 1976, Taf. XIV) weisen die Schnabelschuhe rote Linien auf, die vielleicht als Riemen (vergleichbar mit Riemen auf einigen Fragmenten von Schuhgefäßen[80]) oder Bänder zu interpretieren sind, sofern Beschädigungen des cremefarbigen Überzugs dies nicht nur vorgaukeln.

3.2.2. Die sitzende Göttin auf dem Hirschrhyton aus der Schimmel-Collection[81] trägt (ähnlich wie der Schutzgott auf dem Hirsch und der erste Adorant) Schuhe mit deutlich abgesetzter Sohle, deren nach oben gebogenen Spitzen fast schlaufenförmig[82] dargestellt sind. Um ihre Ferse, den Spann und den Knöchel scheinen Einkerbungen zu verlaufen, die Riemen oder Verzierungen sein könnten. Auch bei den knöchelhohen Schuhen des Schutzgottes, deren Seitenteile sich leicht schräg abwärts neigend von der Ferse bis zur Spitze des Fußes zu erstrecken scheinen, ist ein Riemen[?] um den Knöchel zu erkennen. Die Schuhe der Adoranten scheinen halbhohe Stiefel zu sein, bei denen (zumindest beim ersten Adoranten) Riemen[?] in Knöchelhöhe vom Schienbein schräg abwärts zur Ferse verlaufen. Bei der Frage, ob alle Figuren denselben Schuhtyp tragen, können die Fußbekleidungen auf dem faustförmigen Gefäß[83] wegen ihrer schematischen Darstellung nicht behilflich sein, sie scheinen aber die typischen Schnabelschuhe zu sein.

3.2.3. Hethitische Abbildungen zeigen ansonsten unverzierte Schuhe mit mehr oder weniger deutlich ausgeprägten aufgebogenen Spitzen (teils ist auch nur die Sohle nach oben gebogen), die eine gestauchte, kompakte oder eine lange, schmale Form zeigen.[84]

## 4. VERGLEICH MIT VORGÄNGERMODELLEN

### 4.1. GESTALTUNG

4.1.1. Zumindest für die aus den Texten belegten Schuhe nach „hattischer" Art dürfen als Anschauungsmaterial auch Beispiele aus älteren Perioden herangezogen werden,[85] wie z.B. ältere Schuhgefäße,[86] die meist

80 Schirmer 1969, 58, Taf. 44; Salonen 1969, 132 Taf. XXII = Boehmer 1983, 16 Abb. 6; Fischer 1963, 78, 155 Nr. 1238.

81 Muscarella 1974, Nr. 123; Boehmer 1983, Abb. 49; Güterbock und Kendall 1995, 54 Abb. 3.8; Doğan-Alparslan und Alparslan 2013, 423 Abb. 5.

82 Schuhspitzen mit kugelförmigem Abschluß auf einer späthethitischen Stele aus Maraş: Kunsthalle Bonn 2002, 273 Abb. 8; auf dem Rollsiegel des Kalki (3. Jts. v. Chr.): Salonen 1969, Taf. IV.2.

83 Güterbock und Kendall 1995, 47b–55a mit Abb. 3.7; Schuol 2004, 320ff.

84 Z.B. Akurgal 1976, Taf. 44, 47, 50–51, 71, 97, 99 oben, 102. Lange und schmale Form haben teils auch Schnabelschuhdarstellungen auf Siegeln und Siegelabrollungen meist bei Umarmungsszenen (z.B. Bittel 1976, 168–69 Abb. 185, 186, 191, 171 Abb. 192), die jedoch ansonsten keine Einzelheiten zeigen und deshalb unberücksichtigt bleiben. Unberücksichtigt bleibt auch die Innenstruktur von Hieroglyphenzeichen in Fuß- bzw. Beinform (z.B. Herbordt 2005, 402–3 besonders L 90), da deren Aussagekraft für Details von Schuhen unsicher ist. Die Formen von L 80 (Herbordt 2005, 402) zeigen dieselben Schuhformen wie andere Abbildungen.

85 Nichts zu den Schuhdetails steuern die kleinen massiven, meist am Fußgelenk oder kurz darüber abgebrochenen Tonschuhe (alle ohne Öse bzw. Durchbohrung) bei, die nach Fischer (1963, 79) meist rechte Schnabelschuhe mit glatten Sohlen sind: z.B. Fischer 1963, 72, 79 Taf. 123 (1084), 131 (1239, 1240); Bittel 1935, 24 Abb. 15; von der Osten und Schmidt 1932, 37 Abb. 28 (1106, 1533); von der Osten 1937, 174 Abb. 216.

86 Zu Schuhgefäße vgl. Fischer 1963, 72, 79, 155; Herbordt 2011, 288.

den rechten Schuh (z.B. Fischer 1963, 155 Nr. 1242) darstellen, Stempelsiegel und Amulette in Schuhform[87] sowie schuhförmige Gefäßfüße.[88]

4.1.2. Die meisten weisen eine deutlich abgesetzte Sohle[89] auf, die sich bis in die Spitze des Schuhes erstreckt.[90] Die Sohle war anscheinend aus mehreren Lagen zusammengenäht,[91] wie die Angabe einer Naht auf der Sohle eines mehrfarbig bemalten, allerdings anscheinend eine rechte Sandale wiedergebenden, Schuhgefäßes[92] – zumindest für dieses Beispiel – belegt.

4.1.3. Bei einigen Schuhen sind die Spitzen deutlich zungenförmig nach oben gebogen,[93] bei anderen hingegen ist nur die äußerste Spitze so nach hinten abgeknickt, daß diese eher „knubbel"-förmig[94] oder laut Fischer (1963, 155) „wulstartig erhöht/verstärkt" aussieht bzw. teils nur als Verdickung zu sehen ist. Einige Schuhe scheinen keine dieser beiden Schuhspitzen zu haben.[95] Vielleicht geben diese unterschiedlich geformten Schuhspitzen verschiedene Schuhtypen oder Schuhmoden wieder.

4.1.4. Eine scheibenförmige Erhöhung (sofern dies nicht die Angabe des Knöchels sein soll) ist bei einem Gefäß (von der Osten 1937, 174 Abb. 216 d 1119) in Knöchelhöhe zu sehen, die vielleicht eine Verzierung (aus Metall?) ist und mit der *ḫulpanzinai-* genannten Verzierung der hethitischen Texte gleichzusetzen sein könnte.[96]

4.1.5. Schnürungen? oder ein linienförmiges Muster am Schaft sowie weitere strichförmige Ritzungen auf dem Oberteil des Schuhes sind bei einem weiteren, deutlich als Schnabelschuh zu erkennenden Exemplar (von der Osten 1937, 174 Abb. 216 d 2961) vorhanden. Für weitere Verzierungen s.u. 4.2.1.3.

87 Mellink 1956, 40–41 Taf. 23a–d; von der Osten 1937, 211 Abb. 248 a 430, 223.

88 Fischer 1963, 72, 78–79 Taf. 123 Nr. 1084: dreifüßige Vase (Schicht IVb Büyükkale) mit bemalten Seitenflächen und Tierkopfprotom oberhalb der Füße, die schuhartig ausgebildet sind.

89 Abgegrenzt: z.B. Bossert 1942, 80 Nr. 399, 400; nicht abgegrenzt: Fischer 1963, 79 Taf. 131 Nr. 1242, 1243 = Bittel und Naumann 1939, 30 Abb. 38; Fischer 1963, 79 Taf. 131 Nr. 1241 = Bittel und Naumann 1939, 31 Abb. 39.

90 Von der Osten und Schmidt 1937, 174 Abb. 216 c 1756. Deutlich auch beim Amulett in Form eines Schnabelschuhpaares (Mellink 1956, 40–41 Taf. 23a–d) zu sehen.

91 Vgl. hierzu Salonen 1969, 32.

92 Bei dem Gefäß Nr. 1238 (Fischer 1963, 79 mit Anm. 535, 155 Taf. 131) sind auf der in roter Farbe dargestellten Sohle in regelmäßigem Abstand aneinander gereihte kleine weiße Striche zu sehen, die sich auf der gesamten noch erhaltenen Sohlenlänge erstrecken und wahrscheinlich eine Naht, nach Fischer (1963, 79) eine Ziernaht, darstellen. Wegen der in Rot gehaltenen Riemen, die sich deutlich von dem ansonsten in Weiß gehaltenen Untergrund abheben, schließt Fischer (1963, 79) auf eine Sandale. Zehen sind keine angegeben. Wäre der Schuh ein Halbschuh, könnte die Naht auch die Befestigung des Schuhoberteils an der Sohle wiedergeben, vgl. aber Fischer 1963, 79 Anm. 535.

93 Bossert 1942, Abb. 400; Özgüç und Özgüç 1953, 224–25 Taf. XLII Abb. 338, 339, Taf. XLIII Abb. 341; 1959, 64, Taf. XLIII.4 Abb. 84: jeweils 2 Paare bemalt); Özgüç 1965, 132 Taf. XXXII 103; 2 monochrome Schuhgefäße aus Alişar (von der Osten und Schmidt 1932, 37 Abb. 28 Nr. 1671; Schmidt 1932, 133 Abb. 164 b 2205; ähnlich von der Osten 1937, 174 Abb. 216 c 1756). Auch ein weiteres Stempelsiegel in Schnabelschuhform (von der Osten 1937, 211 Abb. 248 a 430, 223) mit einer deutlich abgesetzten Sohle weist diese Spitze auf. Es zeigt eine Durchbohrung in Höhe des Fußknöchels und eine dreifache Zickzacklinie, die sich von der Schuhspitze bis zur Ferse erstreckt. Die als Stempelfläche genutzte Sohle ist mit Ritzungen verziert, ebenso wie der Beinabschluß oben (Sonne?).

94 Stempelsiegel Mellink 1956, 40–41 Taf. 23a–d; Schuhgefäß (Fischer 1963, 79 Taf. 131 Nr. 1242, 1243 = Bittel und Naumann 1939, 30 Abb. 38) einfarbig plastisch ausgebildet, kaum Details; jedoch wohl eher „knubbel"-förmige Spitze, Sohlen nicht abgegrenzt; wegen der Form wohl rechter Schuh (Fischer 1963, 155); vgl. auch von der Osten 1937, 174 Abb. 216 d 2961; Özgüç 1965, 132 Taf. XXXII 104 = Salonen 1969 Taf. XXIII (unten).

95 Vgl. von der Osten 1937, 174 Abb. 216 c 730, d 2756. Oder Beschädigung?

96 Ob *ḫulpanzinai-* (HW² III 702b–3a) mit *d/tard/taraḫḫu* aus EA 22 ii 23 und einigen mittelbabylonischen Texten (Salonen 1969, 37) gleichzusetzen ist, ist fraglich, da weder die eine noch die andere Bezeichnung genauer definiert werden kann. Jede andere Verzierung wäre ebenfalls denkbar.

## 4.2. SCHNÜRUNGEN

### *4.2.1. Schnürsenkel*

4.2.1.1. Eindeutig ist die Wiedergabe von Schnürsenkeln auf einigen Schuhen zu sehen. Diese können kreuzförmig (Mellink 1956, 40–41, Taf. 23a–d) oder zickzackförmig verschnürt werden und beginnen meist auf dem Spann.

4.2.1.2. Sehr deutlich ist sie bei einem einfarbigen Schuhgefäß,[97] das wegen der starken Andeutung des Ballens ein rechter Schuh (Bittel und Naumann 1939, 30; Fischer 1963, 155) ist, vorne am Spann dargestellt. Der Schnürungsteil beginnt mit einer ovalen Kante und endet ungefähr beim Übergang vom Spann zum Schienbein. Die durch Vertiefungen angegebenen Seiten des Schaftes reichen weit nach vorne und werden durch ein zickzackförmiges Band oder einen dünnen Riemen geschlossen, der auf beiden Seiten in einer Schlaufe endet, die seitlich unten am Spann zu sehen ist. Ob unter der Schnürung eine Lasche, der nackte Fuß bzw. eine weitere Fußbekleidung (Strumpf[?]) wiedergegeben ist, ist unklar. Sofern die Abbildung[98] nicht täuscht, ist der Schaft hinten deutlich höher und im vorderen Bereich gar nicht vorhanden. Dies könnte die Art der Verschnürung (Schlaufen unten am Spann und nicht am Schaft) erklären.

4.2.1.3. Ebenfalls kreuz- oder zickzackförmige Verschnürungen weisen auch die mit geometrischen oder wellenlinienartigen Mustern verzierten Schuhgefäßen[99] auf. Diese werden durch vertikale Linien deutlich von den mit dekorativen Mustern (Spiralen, Strichen und Wellenmustern) verzierten Bereichen auf dem Vorderblatt und dem Quartier (hinteres, seitliches Schaftteil) abgegrenzt. Der Bereich der Verschnürungen zwischen den beiden vertikalen Linien bleibt von diesen Verzierungen ausgespart. Möglicherweise wird damit eine darunterliegende Lasche (ohne Muster) oder eine andere Fußbekleidung betont. Bei keinem Exemplar wird das Ende der Schnürung (z.B. durch Schlaufen) am oberen Schaftrand angegeben. Jedoch könnten bei einem Amulettanhänger mit deutlicher Verschnürung (Mellink 1956, 40–41, Taf. 23a–d) sogar Ösen am Vorderblatt zu erkennen sein. Neben diesen geschnürten Schuhen scheinen auch Schlupfstiefel dargestellt zu werden.[100]

### *4.2.2. Riemen*

4.2.2.1. Sandalen oder Schuhe mit deutlicher Angabe von Riemen zeigen einige Exemplare. Bei einem mehrfarbig bemalten Stück (Fischer 1963, 79, Taf. 131 Nr. 1238) heben sich die roten Riemen und die rote Sohle deutlich von den anderen, in weiß gehaltenen Bereichen des Schuhes ab. Die sichtbaren Teile des Fußes sind nicht in Einzelheiten angegeben (Strumpf[?]). Ein breiter Riemen liegt auf dem Spann, ein weiterer, dünnerer Riemen, der die stark beschädigte Ferse umspannt, endet unterhalb des (nicht erhaltenen) Fußknöchels an der Sohle mit einer runden, knopfartigen Verbreiterung (Verschluß[?]). Die Sohle weist anscheinend vorne nur eine sehr kleine, knubbelartige Aufbiegung auf.[101]

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97 Fischer 1963, 79 Taf. 131 Abb. 1241 = Bittel und Naumann 1939, 31 Abb. 39.

98 Nach Fischer (1963, 155) sind Teile des Schaftes ergänzt.

99 Bossert 1942, 80 Nr. 400; Salonen 1969, 132 Taf. XXIII unten, Taf. XXIV; Özgüç und Özgüç 1953, 258 Taf. XLII 341. Das Muster auf einem bei Akurgal 1976, Taf. 33 abgebildeten Schuhgefäß erinnert an ein Muster (oder eine Verschlußform) auf viel später belegten achämenidischen Schuhen (Salonen 1969, Taf. XXXIII, Umzeichnung Taf. XXXIV). Wahrscheinlich ist dies rein zufällig. Meist sind diese Gefäße schmaler und länger mit einer deutlich nach innen gebogenen Spitze (Herbordt 2011, 288a).

100 Salonen 1969, 132 Taf. XXIII (oben) = Özgüç 1965, 86 Taf. XXXII 103; Fischer 1963, Taf. 131 Nr. 1240; halbhohe glatte, undekorierte Stiefel mit aufgebogener Spitze und deutlich abgesetzter Sohle, die – da keine Zehen, Absätze und auch keine Schnürung zu sehen sind – wohl als Schlupfstiefel interpretiert werden dürfen.

101 Fischer (1963, 155) verweist auf einen kleinen Ausbruch (Knopf[?]) auf der rechten Seite, etwa in Höhe des Knöchels des kleinen Zehes.

4.2.2.2. Alle Schuhgefäße[102] mit dicken, wulstförmig erhöht abgebildeten Riemen (Boehmer 1983, 16: Bänder) zeigen, obwohl sie unterschiedliche Beschädigungen aufweisen, wohl eine ähnliche Riemenverschnürung. Diese besteht aus einer horizontalen Riemenverstärkung im Bereich der Ferse, sowie mehreren nebeneinanderliegenden, vertikalen Riemen an den beiden Fersenseiten und wohl auch am Fersenende, die die Sohle wahrscheinlich mit einem (nicht mehr erhaltenen) um die Ferse bzw. das Bein herumlaufenden Riemen verbinden, da sie ansonsten – außer einer schmückenden – keine Funktion hätten. An diesem wiederum ist auf dem Spann ein Mittelriemen befestigt, von dem (in der Mitte des Vorderfußes und in Höhe der Zehen) zwei weitere Riemen V-förmig zur Sohle verlaufen, an der sie befestigt sind. Bei einem Exemplar (Bossert 1942, 80, Abb. 399) entspricht die Riemenanordnung im Fersenbereich der oben beschriebenen, jedoch ist der um die Ferse herumlaufende Riemen erhalten. Auf dem Spann scheint sich dieser Riemen zu verkreuzen und auf beiden Seiten an der Sohle befestigt zu sein. Ob ein Mittelsteg auf dem Spann zur (nicht erhaltenen) Schuhspitze führt, ist nicht genau zu erkennen. In der Mitte zwischen den vertikalen Riemen und der Riemenverkreuzung auf dem Spann ist eine breitere, schlaufen- oder ösenartige Erhöhung, vielleicht eine Art Verschluß, zu sehen. Da der vorderste Teil des Schuhes abgebrochen ist, ist eine Ergänzung von weiteren Riemen im Zehenbereich analog zu den anderen Exemplaren nicht gesichert, jedoch ist durch die Sohlenbiegung eine aufgebogene Schuhspitze sehr wahrscheinlich. Im Gegensatz zu den halbstiefelartig rekonstruierten Schuhen handelt es sich aber wohl eher um einen knapp knöchelhohen Schuh. Bei keinem Exemplar sind unter den Riemen Zehen oder eine Dekoration erkennbar, jedoch könnte das Exemplar aus Kültepe (Boehmer 1983, 16 Abb. 6) eine Musterung (Textilstruktur oder nur Beschädigung[?]) zeigen. Ob diese Schuhe Sandalen – so Fischer (1963, 79 Anm. 535) – oder aus mehreren Materialien zusammengesetzte Schuhe sind, ist nicht zu entscheiden.

4.2.2.3. Sowohl die Schnürsenkel, d.h. die Zickzacklinien der Schuhgefäße, als auch die wulstförmigen Riemen könnten mit dem Akkadogramm $^{KUŠ}$*MARŠUM* der Texte zu identifizieren sein.

## 5. VERGLEICH MIT NACHFOLGERMODELLEN

### 5.1. VERWENDETE SCHUHTYPEN

Auf späthethitischen Darstellungen wird zwischen Schnabelschuhen und (unter assyrischem[?] Einfluß) verwendeten Sandalen[103] unterschieden. Nach Akurgal (1946, 47–48; 1949, 36–37) und Orthmann (1971, 156) verdrängen die Sandalen die in der Großreichszeit typischen Schnabelschuhe, die zwar noch bei Göttern und Mischwesen (Späthethitisch I/II) dargestellt werden, aber nur noch selten bei Menschen,[104] die meist barfuß (Fehlen von Schuhen) abgebildet sind. In Karatepe[105] sind Figuren belegt, die eine Art hochgebundener Sandalen oder Stiefeln tragen.

### 5.2. SANDALEN

5.2.1. Rundplastische Herrscherfiguren tragen Sandalen.[106] In Späthethitisch III (Orthmann 1971, 156) ist die Sandale (mit leichter Abwandlung gegenüber der assyrischen Form [Akurgal 1949, 36–37 mit Abb. 19–24]) die übliche Fußbekleidung. Dabei gibt es anscheinend zwei Grundtypen, die besonders auf einem Relief

102 Boehmer 1983, 16 Abb. 6 (= Özgüç und Özgüç 1959, 64 Abb. 84), Nr. 9 Taf. III/IV 9 (= Schirmer 1969, 18 Taf. 44 Nr. 240); Bossert 1942, 42, Taf. 80 Nr. 399.

103 Bei vielen ist kaum ein Unterschied zu erkennen, z.B. Schnabelschuhe (Zincirli B/4) und Sandalen (Zincirli B/3), Orthmann 1971, Taf. 57 d, c.

104 Z.B. Ain Dara Cb/1, Cc/1, Zincirli B/4; Orthmann 1971, Taf. 2 c, Taf. 4 a, Taf. 57 d.

105 Karatepe A/4–6; Orthmann 1971, 106, Taf. 15 a, f, e.

106 Z.B. Zincirli E/1, B/5; Orthmann 1971, 156 Taf. 62 c, Taf. 57 e.

aus Karkemiş[107] gut zu sehen sind: der eine[108] ist durch die angegebenen Riemen und die Zehen eindeutig als Sandalen zu erkennen, der andere hat vorne aufgebogene Spitzen, teils mit Schnürung auf dem Mittelfuß[109] und ist in leicht unterschiedlichen Formen aus Karkemiş, Maraş, Sakçagözü und Zincirli bezeugt. Diese Fußbekleidung hat meist eine deutlich abgesetzte Sohle, deren durch mehrere vertiefte Rillen (Riemen?) strukturierte Fersenkappe[110] ungefähr auf halber Schuhlänge an der Sohle befestigt ist. Ein auf dem Spann liegender Riemen ist ungefähr in halber Höhe mit der Fersenkappe[111] verbunden. Bei einigen Figuren erkennt man zusätzlich noch zweifache rillenartige Vertiefungen in Knöchelhöhe (Verschnürung oder Fußringe?).

5.2.2. Die eindeutige Zuordnung zu Sandalen, wie Akurgal und Orthmann sie vornehmen, und nicht zu Halbschuhen, die am Hackenleder und an den Kanten verziert sind, ist nicht überall zweifelsfrei zu erkennen. Vielleicht wurden auf einigen Darstellungen auch unterschiedliche Schuhformen wiedergegeben, wie z.B. bei den schreitenden Soldaten in Karkemiş (Akurgal 1976, Taf. 119) oder beim Fürsten und seinen Kriegern in Zincirli (Bittel 1976, 265 Abb. 300).

### 5.3. SCHUHE MIT SCHAFTANSÄTZEN

5.3.1. Schuhe, mit aufgebogenen Spitzen und deutlich abgesetzter Sohle, die entweder am unteren Teil des Hackenleders verstärkt wiedergegeben werden oder eine Verzierung aufweisen, trägt der Vegetationsgott (Akurgal 1976, Taf. XXIV, Taf. 140) auf dem Felsrelief von Ivriz. Das obere Schaftende ist etwas unterhalb der Wadenmitte deutlich durch eine Einkerbung gekennzeichnet. Ungefähr in der Mitte der Schafthöhe sind vier ringförmige[112] Einkerbungen zu sehen, die wohl zur Verschnürung bzw. Befestigung des Schuhes und der (möglicherweise) darunterliegenden Beinbekleidung gehören. Die Seitenwände des Schaftes, begrenzt durch eine schmale, wulstartige Umrandung, die anscheinend bis zum Schaftende reicht, lassen den mittleren Teil des Schienbeines frei, der sich bis zum Spann fortsetzt und in einer ovalen Rundung endet. Vielleicht sollte damit die Lasche des Schuhes oder auch eine weitere Beinbekleidung (Strümpfe) bzw. der nackte Fuß besser hervorgehoben werden. Diese Schuhform erinnert an die *kārum*-zeitlichen Schuhgefäße.

5.3.2. Ebenfalls sehr detailliert sind die Schuhe des Königs auf der späthethitischen Stele von Bor (Bittel 1976, 288–89 Abb. 330–331) ausgearbeitet. Er trägt Schuhe mit aufgebogenen Spitzen und einer deutlich abgesetzten Sohle, die im Fersenbereich (Hinterkappe) reich verziert sind. Um die Ferse führen in Knöchelhöhe zwei waagrechte, deutlich voneinander abgegrenzte, anscheinend ebenfalls mit Mustern verzierte Bänder (Riemen?, Verzierung?) bis zu einer vertikalen wulstartigen Erhöhung, die von einer ovalen Abgrenzung auf dem Spann auf beiden Seiten des Schuhes nach oben führt und unter dem Rocksaum verschwindet. Zwischen diesen beiden Wulsten sind entweder Verschnürungen oder weitere Verzierungen zu erkennen. Der vordere Schuhbereich ist glatt gearbeitet, ohne Angaben von Zehen, scheint also geschlossen gewesen zu sein. Die Schuhspitze (linker Fuß) ist eigentümlich geformt und erinnert an die schlaufenförmige

107 G/4; Orthmann 1971 Taf. 31 d: Kriegerreihe, der vorderste der drei trägt andere Sandalen als die beiden ihm folgenden Figuren.

108 Akurgal 1949, 37 Abb. 23, z.B. Zincirli E/1, E/2, B/5 [Sandalen anscheinend erst nachträglich ausgearbeitet Orthmann 1971, 69], Maraş A/1, Tell Halaf Bc/4; Orthmann 1971, 69, Taf. 62 c, d, Taf. 63 a, Taf. 73 a, Taf. 57, 3, Taf. 72 c, Taf. 43 h (hier ist vielleicht sogar eine Sandalenverzierung zu sehen), Taf. 13 a.

109 Akurgal 1946, 96–97; 1949, 36–37; z.B. Zincirli J/2 (Orthmann 1971, 66, 139 Taf. 66 b, Taf. 73 b); hierzu vielleicht auch Karatepe sowie die Stelen von Söğütlü Köy und Djekke (Orthmann 1971, 90, 53, 147).

110 Nach Salonen (1969, Taf. IX) ähnlich auch bei assyrischen Sandalen. Zu Verschnürungsformen neuassyrischer Stiefel s. Salonen 1969, Taf. X.

111 Bittel 1976, 261 Abb. 294: sitzendes Kind in der Mitte.

112 Ringe oder Riemen sind auch bei einer Musikantengruppe aus Karatepe (Bittel 1976, 271 Abb. 309) in Knöchelhöhe zu sehen, deren Schuhe zwar nur sehr undeutlich erhalten sind, bei denen aber von einer Fußseite zur anderen quer über den Spann ein deutlich sichtbares Band (Riemen oder Verzierung) verläuft, das an der Sohle endet. Eine Fersenverstärkung ist nicht zu erkennen, die Schuhspitze könnte leicht aufgebogen sein. Ein weiterer Ring befindet sich in Knöchelhöhe an einem Bein auf einer späthethitischen Wettergottstele aus Babylon (Bittel 1976, 282 Abb. 322). Dieser dürfte, wie auch bei den Figuren aus Maraş (Bittel 1976, 274 Abb. 313, 315, 317), wohl als Fußschmuck zu interpretieren sein.

Gestaltung der Schuhspitze der sitzenden Göttin auf dem Hirschrhyton der Schimmel-Collection. Oberhalb der beiden horizontalen Bänder ist ein Teil des Beines bis zum Rocksaum als glatte Fläche dargestellt. Ob dieser Schuh ein knöchelhoher Halbschuh mit weit hochgezogener Lasche oder ein wadenhoher Stiefel ist (s. von der Osten 1930, 90 Abb. 91), kann nicht entschieden werden.

5.3.3. Ein besonderes Fundstück hinsichtlich der Fußbekleidung ist das abgebrochene Bein einer bemalten Tonfigur (Nr. 3360) (von der Osten and Schmidt 1932, 38 [Abb. gegenüber des Titelblattes]) aus Alişar (Periode IV). Die Figur trug hochgeschnürte Schuhe mit aufgebogenen Spitzen. Aus dem Schaft scheint eine schachbrettartig gemusterte Verzierung, die an die Strümpfe auf neuassyrischen Wandreliefs (Salonen 1969, Taf. X) erinnert, bis kurz unter das (nicht mehr erhaltene) Knie zu reichen. Der Stiefel und dieser Strumpf[7] werden anscheinend mit Riemen mehrfach an der Wade befestigt. Ähnliche Schuhe gehören zur Männertracht aus der Gegend von Maraş (von der Osten 1930, 90 Abb. 91).

## 6. ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

6.1. Festzuhalten ist, daß die meisten Schuhe wohl Halbstiefel mit und ohne Schnürsenkel waren und daß sie, sofern man den Schuhgefäßen glauben schenkt, wahrscheinlich eine Lasche besaßen. (Knie)hohe Stiefel scheinen jedoch kaum verwendet worden zu sein. Dies dürfte auch erklären, warum der Begriff *ištappant-* für Stiefel nicht öfters in den Texten auftaucht. *ištappant-* bezieht sich wohl nicht auf das Bedecken der Zehen, also um die Angabe eines geschlossenen Schuhes, sondern wohl eher auf das Bedecken der Beine, also auf die Höhe des Schaftes. $^{KUŠ}$E.SIR war, weil die Abbildungen andere Formen als den Halbstiefel nur in verschwindend geringem Maße zeigen, wohl überwiegend die Bezeichnung für einen Halbstiefel.

6.2. Die starke Riemenverschnürung bei einigen Schuhen weist zwar eher auf Sandalen hin, jedoch können Halbschuhe einer bestimmten Machart (z.B. aus unterschiedlichen Materialien, Stoff mit Lederriemen) nicht ausgeschlossen werden, solange kein Exemplar mit Angabe der Zehen gefunden wird. Vielleicht trug man aber auch Socken in den Sandalen, deren Abschlußkante nicht angegeben wird. Die Bänder der Verschnürungen könnten mit $^{KUŠ}$*MARSUM* (anscheinend in verschiedenen Stärken, vgl. die Schuhe mit den auffallend kräftigen Riemen) zu identifizieren sein.

6.3. Sofern die Muster auf den Schuhgefäßen nicht nur den Geschmack einer bestimmten Epoche bei der Keramik widerspiegeln, waren die sichtbaren Teile der Fußbekleidung wahrscheinlich mit Stickereien, Applikationen oder Bemalungen[113] reich verziert.

6.4. Ob die in den Abbildungen überwiegenden schlichten Formen des halbhohen Schnabelschuhes nur dem Erhaltungszustand zugeschrieben werden können oder ein anderer Grund (Bemalung) vorliegt, muß offen bleiben. Bei den Statuetten mit detaillierter Ausführung des Körpers und der Beine ist die schlichte, fast lieblose Darstellung der Schuhe besonders auffallend, da sie sich sicher nicht auf das mangelnde Können des Handwerkers zurückführen läßt. Wie anfangs gezeigt wurde, können Götterfiguren anscheinend mit Textilien, aber auch mit Kleidungsstücken aus Edelmetall (s. Anm. 9) bekleidet werden. Obwohl in diesem Zusammenhang keine Schuhe genannt werden, sollte man diese Möglichkeit im Hinblick auf diese Statuetten nicht außer Acht lassen. Andererseits könnten auch die reichverzierten GAD.DAM-Fußbekleidungen als schmückende Elemente über den ansonsten glatten Halbstiefeln getragen worden sein.

6.5. Da die meisten Abbildungen im Bereich des Kultes (im weitesten Sinn[114]) belegt sind und in der späthethitischen Kunst Schnabelschuhe fast ausschließlich bei Götterdarstellungen und Mischwesen verwendet werden, könnte man sich auch fragen, ob diese Schuhform vielleicht weitgehend zum kultischen Bereich gehört und außerhalb des Kultes möglicherweise andere Schuhtypen bevorzugt wurden.

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113 Bossert 1942, 81 Nr. 407, 408: bemalter halbhoher Tonschuh, mit zur Spitze hin nach oben gebogener Sohle, die deutlich abgesetzt ist. Die Spitze des Schuhes ist beschädigt. Auf der Seite ist ein Streitwagen mit großem Rad und rechteckigem Wagenkasten abgebildet, auf dem ein Lenker steht, der mit einer Hand die beiden Zügel des Zugtieres (Equide/Bovide) hält. Oben auf dem Spann scheint sich eine Verschnürung oder deren Ösen zu befinden.

114 Man beachte aber die Jagddarstellung in Akurgal 1976, Taf. 97.

6.6. Für die Fußbekleidung (bzw. deren Teile) haben wir neben dem Begriff „Schuh“, mit den ihn – außer durch Farb- und Herkunftsangaben – näher beschreibenden Worten *ḫilammili*, *ḫulpanzenai-* und *zazzapi-*, sowie $^{KUŠ}$*MARŠUM*, die Begriffe GAD.DAM und *KABALLU*, *puššali-* und *puwaliya-* sowie vielleicht $^{(TÚG)}$*patalla-*, $^{GIŠ}$*patalḫa-*, $^{TÚG}$BAR.“TE”$^{MEŠ}$ und $^{TÚG}$*ŠATURRATU*. Welche Rolle GAD.DAM und *KABALLU* in Bezug auf die Fußbekleidung spielten, kann auch weiterhin nicht präzisiert werden. Die Fußbekleidung des Mannes aus Maraş (von der Osten 1930, 90 Abb. 91) zeigt oberhalb des Stiefels eine Art Schienbeinschutz, der nur die Vorderseite des Beines bedeckt. Diese steckt im Stiefel bzw. ist an dessen Schaft befestigt und mit sich kreuzenden Riemen an der Wade angebunden. Die Beine des Mannes darunter sind unbekleidet. Vielleicht sind GAD.DAM und/oder *KABALLU* (bei beiden wird aber TÚG als Material angegeben) auch als Schienbein- und/oder Wadenschützer aufzufassen, jedoch wäre als Material KUŠ „Leder“ effektiver als eine Textilie. Auch Schutz- oder Schmucküberzieher für Schuhe wäre eine mögliche Variante.

Bis auf weiteres bleiben leider in Bezug auf die Fußbekleidung noch viele Fragen ungeklärt, die sich vielleicht in der Zukunft durch neue Textfunde bzw. neue Joins klären lassen.

## ABKÜRZUNGEN

Mit Ausnahme der Folgenden sind die Abkürzungen in diesem Aufsatz die im Chicago Hittite Dictionary verwendeten (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

MesZL$^{2}$ Rykle Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*. 2. revidierte und aktualisierte Aufl. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 305. Münster: Ugarit, 2010

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# 14 DATIVE OR NO DATIVE: THE FUNCTION OF THE MORPHEME *-*IS* IN SEMITIC

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

An issue that has long been debated in the reconstruction of Semitic languages is the original function of a nominal suffix that can be reconstructed as *-*is* for Proto-Semitic and that has reflexes in Akkadian, Hebrew, and Ugaritic. In Akkadian, the morpheme is referred to as "terminative" or "terminative-adverbialis" and has the forms *-is* (Old Akkadian) and *-iš* (Babylonian), while in Hebrew and Ugaritic it is commonly interpreted as a directional morpheme, also referred to as *he locale*, and has the forms *-āh* and *-h*, respectively.

It has been suggested by several scholars that the morpheme reflects an original dative case marker, while others analyze it as an adverbial marker with no inherent case function. This study discusses arguments in favor of and against these two interpretations based on Semitic and comparative Afro-Asiatic evidence.

The following investigation will first provide a description of the Semitic attestations and functions of *-*is*, followed by a discussion of the two previous interpretations of the morpheme as either a case or an adverbial marker. After this overview, cross-linguistically observed properties of case markers and adverbials such as adpositions will be reviewed and compared with the evidence of *-*is* in Semitic to determine the morpheme's status as either case or adverbial marker. The essay will then briefly discuss alleged parallels from Berber, Cushitic, and Omotic—that is, non-Semitic branches of Afro-Asiatic—to determine how they might influence our analysis of the Semitic morpheme and its derivation.

## 2. SEMITIC EVIDENCE

### 2.1. THE USE OF *-*IS* ON NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

As mentioned in the introduction, reflexes of the morpheme *-*is* are known from Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Hebrew in Semitic. The earliest attestations of this morpheme go back to Old Akkadian, where it is realized as *-is* and functions primarily as a directional morpheme indicating the connotation "to, toward." Semantically, it thus corresponds to the preposition *ana* "to, for." Its earliest attestations come from personal names such as the following (Gelb 1961, 197).

*eš*$_4$*-dar-ís-da-gal* "Trust in Ešdar!"
*a-ba*$_4$*-ís-da-gal* "Trust in Aba!"
*nin-líl-ís-gi-in* "He is righteous unto Ninlil."

In Old Akkadian syllabic texts from the Sargonic period, the morpheme is equally used as a directional morpheme equivalent to the preposition *ana* "to, for" (Hasselbach 2005, 181).

*ki-rí-ís* /kirīs/ "to the orchard"
*u-me-ís-sa* /yūmissa/ "for her day"
*i-ti-ís-su* /yidissu/ "to his side"
*bi-ti-ís* /bētis/ "to the house"

It is further frequently used with infinitives, a function that can be directly derived from its directional use.

*gu-du-si-ís* /quddusis/ "to consecrate"
*e-ra-si-ís* /(ḫ)erāsis/ "to cultivate"
*ma-ra-ís* /marāʾis/ "to fatten"
*bu-zu-zi-ís* /puˢssuˢsis/ "to destroy"

The third major use of the morpheme *-is* in Old Akkadian is to mark adverbs.

*gi-ni-ís-ma* /kēnisma/ "truly"
*ís-ti-ni-ís* /ʿistēnis/ "together, jointly"
*da-rí-ís* /dāris/ "forever"
*da-ni-ís* /dannis/ "greatly"

The first two functions are preserved only in vestiges in later Akkadian dialects such as Old Babylonian, where the morpheme has the reflex *-iš*, and is used primarily in poetry (von Soden 1995, 110; Huehnergard 1998, 311). In other words, the use of the morpheme **-is* with nouns loses its productivity after the Old Akkadian period, while its use with adjectives to form adverbs remains productive and is found in all major periods of Akkadian.[1]

For Akkadian, we can thus state that **-is* had two original functions: marking directionality (to, toward) and marking adverbs. The morpheme is not used to mark indirect objects—that is, it is not used for the core function of what is commonly called the dative case (Næss 2009, 575).

In Ugaritic, the morpheme has the reflex *-h* and is used as a directional morpheme on nouns (Tropper 2000, 324).

*arṣh* "to the ground"
*šmmh* "to the heavens"
*mṭth* "(down) to the bed"
*qrth* "to the city"

Only rarely does it function to mark adverbs (Tropper 2000, 325).[2]

*aḥdh* "together, jointly"

In Ugaritic, the directional function of the morpheme is clearly predominant, while its use to form adverbs is extremely rare and seems to be restricted to a single example.

In Hebrew, the morpheme has the form *-ā(h)* < **-ah* and functions to mark the direction at which an action is aimed (Gesenius and Kautzsch 1910, 249; Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 185).

*hab-bāytāh* "to the house"
*haš-šāmaymāh* "to the heavens"

1 From about 1300 BCE onward, *-iš* is also used as a comparative, as in *iliš* "like a god." This use is clearly secondary, however, since the morpheme is never used in this function in Old Akkadian or Old Babylonian poetry (von Soden 1995, 110).

2 This example seems to be the only attestation for an adverbializing function of the morpheme in Ugaritic. Josef Tropper states that this attestation can be directly derived from its directional use—that is, "in eins (zusammen)" = "zusammen, miteinander" (Tropper 2000, 325).

*ʾarṣāh* "to the ground"
*yāmmāh* "to the sea, westward"[3]

The Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Hebrew reflexes of the morpheme thus correspond in their basic functions of marking direction toward an entity or event and, although to a lesser degree, of marking adverbs.

## 2.2. THE USE OF *-*IS* IN PRONOUNS

In addition to its use as a suffix on nouns and adjectives, the morpheme *-*is*, or at least its consonantal segment /s/, is further commonly assumed to underlie the dative pronouns—both independent pronouns and pronominal suffixes—that are attested in Akkadian and, to some extent, Eblaite (for Eblaite, see Catagnoti 2012, 71).[4] The Akkadian (in this case Old Babylonian) independent dative pronouns and pronominal suffixes have the following forms.

Old Babylonian independent dative pronouns

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1cs | *yâšim* | 1cp | *niāšim* |
| 2ms/2fs | *kâšim* | 2mp | *kunūšim* |
| | | 2fp | *kināšim* (rare) |
| 3ms | *šuāšim/šâšim* | 3mp | *šunūšim* |
| 3fs | *šuāšim/šâšim/šiāšim* | | |

Old Babylonian dative pronominal suffixes

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1cs | *-am/-m/-nim* | 1cp | *-niāšim* |
| 2ms | *-kum* | 2mp | *-kunūšim* |
| 2fs | *-kim* | 2fp | *-kināšim* |
| 3ms | *-šum* | 3mp | *-šunūšim* |
| 3fs | *-šim* | 3fp | *-šināšim* |

The dative-marking /š/, which is the Old Babylonian reflex of Proto-Semitic and Old Akkadian /s/, is found in all forms of the independent dative pronouns, but in only the plural of pronominal suffixes, while the singular dative suffixes are formed by the addition of the ventive morpheme *-m* to the basic suffixal forms.[5]

The dative pronouns are used to indicate the person at whom an action is aimed or for whom an action is done—that is, they mark the indirect object or benefactive, as in the following examples (Huehnergard 1998, 170).

*allakakkum* "I will come to you."
*nītepessunūšim* "We have done this for them."
*ṣuḫārī aṭṭardakkum* "I have sent you my servant."

It is commonly assumed that the dative forms with /š/ are related to the morpheme *-iš* in Akkadian because of both their formal and their functional similarities (von Soden 1995, 109). As is well known, directional, especially allative, morphemes can easily develop into dative markers, as is also evidenced by the use of the ventive *-m* as both a directional morpheme and a marker of the dative on the just-cited pronouns.[6] A pronoun such as *yâšim* is thus doubly marked as dative, once by /š/, and once by the final /m/, which reflects the ventive.

3 As an extended function of the directional spatial use, the morpheme can also be used to mark progression through time: *miy-yāmîm yāmîmā* "from year to year" (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 186).

4 Independent dative pronouns and pronominal suffixes are known only from Akkadian and Eblaite and thus most likely constitute an East Semitic innovation.

5 Some changes occurred in the vowels as well, as in the second masculine singular *-ka* > *-kum*, which is probably the result of an analogy with the third-person form *-šum*.

6 For a detailed study of the ventive in Akkadian and its development from allative to dative, see Kouwenberg 2002. For literature on the development from allative or directional to dative, see Næss 2009, 580; Heine 2009, 467–68.

### 2.3. THE MORPHOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MORPHEME *-*IS*

Although this investigation focuses primarily on the function of the morpheme *-*is* in Semitic, a brief note on its various forms should be added. In Akkadian, the morpheme has the forms *-is* (Old Akkadian) and *-iš* (Babylonian), which both go back to original *-*is*, while the Northwest Semitic languages Ugaritic and Hebrew have the consonantal reflex *-h*. In Hebrew, the vowel preceding this /h/ is /ā/, which has to be derived from **a*, while Akkadian has /i/. East and West Semitic thus differ in both the consonantal and vocalic reflexes of the morpheme. The differences in the forms of the morphemes have led some scholars to believe that they are not related (e.g., Pardee 2003/4, 189). It has been shown convincingly, however, that they are derived from the same original form. The /h/ in Ugaritic and Hebrew can be explained as being the result of the sound change *s* > *h* /#_ and V_V—that is, at the beginning of a word and between vowels—which occurred in most West Semitic languages. This sound change was blocked in verbal and nominal roots as a result of paradigmatic pressure and thus operates in only a small number of particles and pronouns (see Voigt 1994, 1995). The /h/ of Ugaritic and Hebrew is thus a regular correspondence to the /s/ found in Akkadian.

Because Ugaritic does not write vowels, except in the environment of /ʾ/, we do not know what quality the vowel preceding /h/ had. Tropper, based on Hebrew, suggests that it might have been /a/ and consequently reconstructs the Ugaritic morpheme as *-*ah*, but there is no conclusive evidence to prove this reconstruction (Tropper 2000, 329).[7] The vowel /ā/ in the Hebrew reflex of the morpheme can be derived from **a* only (Pardee 2003/4, 80), which leads to a reconstruction of the Hebrew morpheme as *-*ah*. There is no compelling way to reconcile the Akkadian and Hebrew vowel qualities on a phonological level. A possibility would be to assume a change of *i* > *a* /_G, that is, before a guttural, but this explanation is rather weak. In my opinion, Pardee has suggested a better explanation for the difference in vowel quality, despite the fact that he does not think the Akkadian and Northwest Semitic morphemes are related. Pardee states that in West Semitic, the most commonly used case for expressing the adverbial use of nouns is the accusative, and the directional morpheme in Hebrew and Ugaritic was thus suffixed to nouns in the accusative—that is, STEM + *a* (ACC) + *h* (Pardee 2003/4, 80). If this analysis is correct, the morpheme would consist of only a consonant, and the preceding vowel would reflect a case vowel.

Semitic languages that preserve a productive case system indeed frequently mark adverbs and prepositions with the accusative, as for example the Classical Arabic prepositions *taḥta* "below," *ʾamāma* "before, in front of," *ḥawla* "around," and many more (Fischer 1987, 134),[8] and the Classical Arabic adverbs *jiddan* "very," *jamīʿan* "all together," *ʾawwalan* "first," and others (Fischer 1987, 150). In Classical Ethiopic, almost all prepositions end in *-a*, which likewise reflects the accusative, as in *wəsta* "in, by," *məsla* "with," *diba* "on, upon," and so forth (Tropper 2002, 140–42). Adverbs are equally often marked by the accusative in Classical Ethiopic, as in *lelita* "at night," *qədma* "before," *marira* "bitterly," and the like (Tropper 2002, 137). Given the general function of the accusative to mark prepositions and adverbs in Semitic, it is indeed likely that, as suggested by Pardee, the **a* in Hebrew, and maybe in Ugaritic, is not part of the actual directional morpheme but reflects the original accusative case marker *-*a* of the singular.[9] The assumption that the Hebrew vowel is a frozen accusative marker makes sense from both a functional and a syntactic point of view and also provides a convincing explanation for the difference in vowel quality between the East and West Semitic morphemes.

Given that the Hebrew vowel is not originally part of the morpheme, we must ask whether the /i/ in the Akkadian morpheme might likewise reflect an original case vowel rather than being part of the morpheme

7 Dennis Pardee assumes there was a vowel after the /h/ (i.e., *-hV*), which most likely was /a/, leading to a reconstruction of the morpheme as *-h(V)* or *-ha* for Ugaritic (Pardee 2003/4, 81). There is no evidence, however, that the morpheme ended in a vowel.

8 Wolfdietrich Fischer states that secondary prepositions—that is, those that are derived from nouns—commonly have the form of a noun in the accusative (Fischer 1987, 134).

9 Pardee further assumes that the vowel before directive *-h* on nouns in the plural and dual is likewise not part of the actual directive morpheme but part of the preceding mimation, as in **šamīma-h* "to the heavens" (Pardee 2003/4, 81).

itself. This suggestion has indeed been made by Ignace Gelb, who argued that because the morpheme on nouns in Akkadian is *-iš* but its form in pronouns is *-aš*, the "dative" morpheme, as he calls it, might have simply consisted of the consonant /š/, and the /i/ would be a reflex of the original genitive case (Gelb 1969, 92). Gelb himself dismissed this assumption, however, because he thought that *iš* is attested as an independent preposition in texts from Mari, and he concluded that *iš* was originally an adposition meaning "to" that, when used postpositionally after the markers of gender and number, became the marker of the dative case (Gelb 1969, 92–93). Gelb's analysis has very convincingly been disproven by Orin Gensler (1997), who cites syntactic reasons and constraints against Gelb's reconstruction.[10] It would thus theoretically be possible to assume an original form of the morpheme **-s* instead of **-is*. However, since traditionally the morpheme is represented with a vowel, this study follows the usual conventions and includes the vowel in the reconstruction—that is, the morpheme is represented as Proto-Semitic **-is*.

## 3. PREVIOUS FUNCTIONAL RECONSTRUCTIONS OF **-IS*

The fact that the directional or, as it is commonly called, "terminative" morpheme *-iš* of Akkadian and the marker of the dative in pronouns /š/ clearly seem to be related has led scholars to the conclusion that the morpheme *-iš* should be considered an original case—more specifically, an original dative case. This assumption was in particular proposed by Wolfram von Soden as early as 1933 (von Soden 1933, 92; 1995, 109) and also repeatedly by Gelb (Gelb 1961, 197; 1969, 87).[11] Other scholars, such as Igor Diakonoff, have subsequently transferred the presumed existence of a "dative" **-is* to Proto-Semitic (Diakonoff 1965, 58; 1988, 61). The idea that Akkadian *-iš* reflects a case ending as proposed by von Soden and Gelb has been quite influential and has been followed by numerous scholars (e.g., Tropper 2000, 320; Pardee 2003/4, 81).

However, the idea that Akkadian *-iš* represents a case marker has also been challenged. Ephraim Speiser, for example, argued that Akkadian *-iš* should not be considered a case (Speiser 1953, 1954). He based his argument on the following: first, *-iš* (and *-um*) behave differently from other cases in that they do not undergo changes between the bound and unbound states, nor do they have specific plural forms, as other cases do (Speiser 1953, 133). More importantly, the morpheme *-iš* can appear in combination with other case endings, such as the accusative ending *-am*, as in *ūm-iš-am* "daily," meaning that if *-iš* is a case, we would have evidence for multilayer case marking in Akkadian. Speiser argued that the accumulation of cases is unprecedented in Semitic and thus dismisses the interpretation of *-iš* as a case marker. Instead, Speiser concludes, *-iš* should be analyzed as an adverbial marker; such forms, in Semitic, are often "equivalent to constructions having a 'prepositional' force" (Speiser 1953, 133). Speiser's analysis has been followed by various scholars, such as Edward Lipiński, who actually considers *-iš* to be a postposition, which presents a different problem (Lipiński 2001, 267), and John Huehnergard, who simply states that both *-iš* and *-um* are adverbial in nature (Huehnergard 1998, 311).

Given the influential status of von Soden's and Gelb's interpretation of *-iš* as a case marker and the criticism that has been brought forth against this interpretation, the question of whether **-is* represents a case is still unresolved. The answer to this question depends on various factors, such as the nature of case affixes and their properties compared to adverbial markers, and the question of whether cases can accumulate in Semitic.

10 A major reason Gensler cites against Gelb's reconstruction is that Gelb assumes that *iš* started out as a preposition and then became a postposition. Such "preposition hopping," however, is unprecedented in Semitic and, as Gensler argues, is simply impossible, since prepositions are formally identical with nouns in the construct. The construct syntactically locks them into place so that they cannot become postpositions (Gensler 1997, 137–38).

11 Both von Soden and Gelb assume that Akkadian had five original cases: the three traditionally recognized cases—nominative, accusative, and genitive—and, in addition, a locative *-um* and a "dative" *-iš* (Gelb 1969, 87).

## 4. THE PROPERTIES OF CASE AFFIXES VERSUS ADPOSITIONAL CLITICS FROM A GENERAL LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

Previous discussions of **-is* have shown that its analysis as either a case or an adverbial marker is strongly dependent on how we define "case" versus "adverbial marker," including adpositions. The following provides a brief outline of how "case" is understood in this study and how it can be distinguished from adverbials that might appear as clitics.

In its essence, "case is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationships they bear to their heads" (Blake 2001, 1). As such, case marks the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clause level and that of a noun to a preposition, postposition, or other noun at the phrase level (Blake 2001, 1). The term "case" is further traditionally used for inflectional marking—that is, a case marker is an inseparable affix, not a complete word or free form.

From a functional perspective, adpositions can express exactly the same functions as cases and are used like cases in many of the world's languages (Haspelmath 2009, 506).[12] From a morphological point of view, however, adpositions usually consist of separate words or free forms (Blake 2001, 9; Haspelmath 2009, 507; Heine 2009, 458). Because of their morphological difference from traditional case markers, linguists tend to view adpostions as "analytical case markers" as opposed to "synthetic case markers" that consist of inseparable affixes. In reality, however, it can be difficult to determine whether a single layer in a language is affixial or adpositional, especially since affixes may look like short and cliticized words (Haspelmath 2009, 507).

There are a few characteristics that help determine the status of a morpheme. Concord, for example, is an important indicator. When markers are present in concord—for example, when they are repeated on attributive adjectives—they are most likely affixes, although exceptions do occur (Blake 2001, 11). Barry Blake states that two types of evidence can be sought to determine whether a morpheme is an affix: phonological and distributional evidence. If a case marker displays variants determined by the nature of the word or stem to which it is attached, it is an affix. Coordination constitutes the second factor: if a morpheme is an affix or inflectional case marker, we would expect it to appear on every coordinated noun, whereas adpositions appear only before or after a sequence of coordinated nouns—although again, exceptions occur. Blake proposes that the best indicator for the status of a morpheme as an affix seems to be the phonological integration into the host (Blake 2001, 11–12).

There are other factors that can be considered. From a grammaticalization point of view, case markers tend to lose their original lexical meaning and assume schematic case functions. They also tend to lose phonetic substance (= "phonetic erosion"; Heine 2009, 459). Adpositions are less desemanticized than case affixes and tend to show less erosion (Heine 2009, 460). Furthermore, adpositions tend to occur with a limited set of nouns, while case affixes occur with a much larger and potentially unlimited set of nouns (Heine 2009, 462). It must be noted, however, that the criteria put forth for distinguishing between affixes and clitics such as adpositions do not necessarily yield clear-cut results (Haspelmath 2009, 507).

In the following, four factors—concord, coordination, phonological integration, and desemanticization—are investigated to compare the behavior of undisputed case markers and the morpheme **-is* in Semitic. It is hoped that the accumulation of features might help determine the nature of **-is* as either an affix or a clitic—that is, as either a case or an adverbial marker. In addition, since it has been cited as a criterion in previous literature, the question of whether **-is* might reflect a case marker that can accumulate with other cases is also briefly discussed.

12 Martin Haspelmath cites Zwicky's poignant statement: "Everything you can do with cases you can also do with adpositions" (Haspelmath 2009, 506).

### 4.1. THE BEHAVIOR OF *-*IS* AND TRADITIONAL CASES IN SEMITIC

In terms of concord, case usually triggers agreement in those Semitic languages that have a productive case system such as Akkadian, Classical Arabic, and Geʿez. In other words, attributive adjectives agree in gender, number, and case with the noun they modify.

Case agreement in Akkadian
*Ḫammurapi šarrum dannum* "Ḫammurapi is a strong king [nom.]."
*ina qātim dannatim* "with a strong arm [gen.]"
*šarram damqam īmur* "He saw the good king [acc.]."

Case agreement in Classical Arabic
*rajulun ṣādiqun* "a just man [nom.]"
*fī baytin kabīrin* "in a big house [gen.]"
*raʾaytu rajulan ṣādiqan* "I saw a just man [acc.]."

The morpheme *-iš*, on the other hand, does not show agreement. When it is used on adjectives, it always has an adverbial function and never exhibits agreement with a head noun. In fact, there do not seem to be any examples in which a noun with *-iš* is modified by an attributive adjective. This fact alone makes it unlikely that we are dealing with a case marker in Akkadian, since the lack of attributive adjectives with nouns in *-iš* is easily explainable when the morpheme is interpreted as an adverbial marker but very difficult to reconcile with an interpretation of *-iš* as a case marker. If *-iš* marked a case, it should be able to take attributive adjectives that agree with it in case.

Coordination is the least indicative feature in our context because it is extremely difficult to find instances in which *-*is* occurs in coordinated structures. In general, coordinated nouns agree in case in Semitic, as in Akkadian *abum u ummum illikū* "the father and mother went" (cf. Huehnergard 1998, 49). Although it is not exactly an example of coordinated nouns, in a passage from Hebrew a noun marked with directional *he* is used parallel to a noun that had an original accusative of direction (which was lost due to regular sound changes).

*way-yēleḵ gattāh . . . way-yuggad li-šəlōmō kî-hālaḵ šimʿî . . . gat*
"And he went *to Gath* . . . and it was told to Solomon that Shimei had gone . . . *to Gath*" (1 Kgs 2:40–41).

This parallel use indicates that the directive *he* in Hebrew was understood as being functionally equivalent to the adverbial accusative of direction. The fact that it is so difficult to find coordinated noun phrases containing *-*is* could be seen as an indication that the morpheme most likely did not constitute a productive case marker.

Equally in Hebrew, the directive *he* can be attached to a noun with a preceding preposition.[13]

*kəlê bêt-h' mûšāḇîm mib-bāḇelāh*
"The vessels of the house of the Lord are about to be brought back *from Babylon"* (Jer 27:16).

The use of *-*is* after prepositions is also attested in Akkadian, as in the following examples (von Soden 1995, 110).

*ina labiriš* "in ancient times"
*ištu labiriš* "from ancient times on"

In general, the use of case after prepositions is limited to the genitive in Semitic. The appearance of *-*is* after prepositions consequently does not support an interpretation of the morpheme as a case marker equivalent

13 For other examples, see 1 Sam 23:15; 1 Kgs 4:12.

to the nominative, genitive, and accusative since it does not follow the same syntactic restrictions as the latter.[14]

As for phonological integration, case markers in the singular and plural do not usually differ in the reflex they have depending on the stem of the noun, although in Akkadian case markers contract with the vowel of a nominal stem ending in a vowel, as in *šadûm* "mountain" (nom.) < **šada-um*, *šadîm* (gen.) < **šada-im*, *rubûm* "prince" (nom.) < **rubā-um*, and *rubêm* (gen.) < *rubā-im* (von Soden 1995, 110). The same tendency can be observed for the morpheme **-is*, which equally exhibits vowel contraction with a preceding vowel already in Old Akkadian, as in *ki-rí-ís* /kirīs/ "to the orchard" < **kiri-is* (Hasselbach 2005, 181). More importantly, case endings in Semitic, at least in the masculine plural and dual, exhibit what is sometimes called "cumulative exponence" (Blake 2001, 3). Cumulative exponence means that two or more categories such as gender, number, and case have fused and are expressed by the same morpheme instead of separate ones. In Akkadian, gender, number, and case are commonly marked by separate morphemes in the singular, as in the feminine noun *bēltum* "lady," where *bēl-* represents the nominal base, *-t-* marks the feminine singular, and *-u* marks the nominative. In the plural of the same noun, *bēlētum*, the second *-ē-* marks the plural, the *-t-* again marks the feminine, and the *-u* the nominative, although it is more common to consider *-ēt-* as a single morpheme marking the feminine plural. In the masculine plural, it is not possible to distinguish number and case markers. In the masculine plural nouns *šarrū* "kings" (nom.) and *šarrī* (obl.), the morphemes *-ū* and *-ī* express both case and number.[15] If **-is* were a case, we would expect a similar behavior, but this is not the case. First of all, the morpheme does not have a separate plural form, as we would expect based on the evidence of other cases in Akkadian and in Semitic in general. In fact, the morpheme **-is* is only rarely attached to plural nouns in Akkadian and then only to feminine plurals—that is, to the ending *-āt*. There do not seem to be any instances in which **-is* is attached to masculine plural nouns (von Soden 1995, 109).[16] The restriction in the distribution of the morpheme to singulars and feminine plurals would be unexpected if we were dealing with a true case. Furthermore, nouns in the singular, when they occur in the construct state, always differ from their unbound form in the absence of mimation and, after the Old Akkadian period, the loss of case, as in *šarrat ālim* "the queen of the city" (cf. the unbound form of the noun *šarratum* "queen"). The morpheme **-is*, however, has the same form in both bound and unbound position, as in *dāriš ūmī* "forever," literally "for the eternity of days" (von Soden 1995, 109). Although the phonological form of **-is* does not invite phonological erosion in Akkadian, the different behavior of confirmed case markers and the morpheme **-is* in the construct is still noteworthy. The features discussed in this paragraph thus show that **-is* behaves differently from established case markers on both the phonological and distributional levels in Akkadian.

Another factor to look at is desemanticization—that is, the loss of the original lexical meaning of a morpheme that grammaticalized into a case marker and its assumption of a more schematic case function. In Old Akkadian, **-is* clearly preserves its original directive, or allative, function and the function to form adverbs. Indeed, the latter is preserved throughout the history of Akkadian. More importantly, there is no indication that **-is* ever acquired a schematic case function. In fact, the morpheme is, as far as it is possible to tell, never used to mark indirect objects on nouns. Although it is notoriously difficult to define the "dative" in a consistent and cross-linguistically valid way, the marking of the second object of a ditransitive verb is usually perceived as being one of the key functions of the dative case, while cases that primarily mark local functions—that is, spatial goal and direction—are better labeled "allative" or "locative" (Næss 2009, 575). If anything, we could therefore be dealing with an allative but not a dative case. Given, however, the tendency of *-iš* to be reduced to an adverbial function in later Akkadian dialects, it seems unlikely that we are dealing with an allative case originally. Adverbs can grammaticalize into cases, but cases do

14 For Hebrew, Bruce Waltke and Michael O'Connor consequently analyze the morpheme as an "adverbial suffix" that is roughly equivalent to the English adverbial suffix *-ward* (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 185).

15 The same is true for the masculine dual markers *-ān* (nom.) and *-īn* (obl.). All other Semitic languages that preserve case distinction exhibit the same phenomenon.

16 The morpheme is not attached to duals either (von Soden 1995, 109).

not usually grammaticalize into adverbial markers. Of course, cases can grammaticalize further, but this process usually results in clause subordinators, modal markers, nominal phrase conjunctions, or markers of tense (Heine 2009, 468). Adverbials, on the other hand, are often precursors of case markers, the most common grammaticalization chain for case markers being

Noun, verb > (adverb) > adposition > case affix > loss.

The Akkadian evidence clearly does not conform to either one of these tendencies.

So far we can state that none of the investigated features—concord, coordination, phonological integration, or desemanticization—has offered any evidence that *-*is* has the status of a case marker in Semitic. On the contrary, these features—in addition to a few others, such as the appearance of *-*is* after prepositions and its lack of a plural form—rather suggest that the morpheme never functioned as a case marker in Semitic.[17]

Lastly, it is necessary to look at the forms in which Akkadian *-iš* appears in combination with another case or adverbial morpheme. The most common combinations consist of *-iš + -um* (*-iš* plus locative marker) and *-iš + -am* (*-iš* plus accusative). Both formations are already attested in Old Akkadian, as in the following examples (Hasselbach 2005, 181).

*ki-rí-sum*$_6$ /kirīsum/ "to the orchard" (in the same text also *ki-rí-ís* /kirīs/ "to the orchard")
*ù-mi-sá-am* /yūmisam/ "daily"

In the first attestation, the combination *-iš + -um* functions just like the morpheme *-iš* by itself—that is, as a directional marker—while the combination *-iš + -am* is used adverbially with a distributive connotation.[18]

In Old Babylonian, *-išam* likewise often has a distributive meaning, as in the aforementioned *ūmišam* "daily" and *warḫišam* "monthly," but also simply a terminative or directional function, as in *tīlišam* "to the hill of ruins," *annîšam* "hither," and *êšam* "whither?" (von Soden 1995, 111–12). The combination *-(i)šum* is used primarily to indicate direction, as in *šadūšum* "to the mountain" and *ugāršu* "to the field," but can also be used like *-išam* in a temporally distributive sense, as in *ūmšum* "daily" and *šanassu* "yearly" (von Soden 1995, 112). It must be noted, though, that both *-išam* and particularly *-(i)šum* are not truly productive at any period of Akkadian. They occur primarily on a fixed set of nouns and/or in poetic texts.

As mentioned before, Speiser proposed that the instances in which *-iš* occurs in combination with *-am* and *-um* should be considered as evidence against an interpretation of Akkadian *-iš* as case marker because case markers do not usually accumulate in Akkadian or in Semitic in general. Brigitte Groneberg, however, argued against Speiser that the combination of two real cases is possible since there are examples of this type of accumulation in several Indo-European languages, in which one of the cases is functionally bleached and reinforced by a second morpheme. Furthermore, multilayer case marking can occur in the formation of new cases, as evidenced in Finno-Ugric languages (Groneberg 1978/79, 17–18). Groneberg is certainly correct in stating that multilayer case marking occurs in other languages. In these instances, existing case markers are added to another existing case form or adverbial marker and often result in the formation of new local cases.[19]

Multilayer case marking is thus nothing unusual from a cross-linguistic point of view. However, as Groneberg herself states, multilayer case marking usually occurs in very specific circumstances—namely,

17 The use of the morpheme in pronouns, on the other hand, does reflect a dative function. This dative function, however, can be explained as a secondary development of its original directive, that is, allative, use, rather than the other way round. The grammaticalization of *allative > dative (> accusative)* is a well-known development cross linguistically (Heine 2009, 468). The opposite development, from dative to allative, however, does not seem to be common. For a similar development of *allative > dative* in the Akkadian ventive, see Kouwenberg 2002.

18 Of course, the directional use can also be interpreted as adverbial, as has, for example, been done by Brigitte Groneberg, who considers all these combined forms as adverbial markers that indicate different adverbial connotations (Groneberg 1978/79, 17).

19 This process is amply evidenced in Finnish, where the inessive, elative, and illative have been created by adding the markers of the essive and partitive to forms in *-s*, which is an adverbial suffix (Kulikov 2006, 27; 2009, 445).

in the formation of new, mostly local cases or for the reinforcement of existing case markers that would otherwise be subject to phonetic erosion (Kulikov 2006, 27, 39; 2009, 445).

In Akkadian, the combinations *-iš + -um* and *-iš + -am* have clearly not led to the formation of new cases, leaving the possibility that the addition of *-am* and *-um* to *-iš* served to reinforce the presumed original case function or form of the morpheme. From a phonological point of view, the morpheme *-iš* was not subject to erosion in Akkadian—word final /s/ (for Old Akkadian and Assyrian) or /š/ are not lost at any stage of the language. The morpheme remained stable until the end of cuneiform writing. From a semantic point of view, the affixes *-išam* and *-(i)šum* are indeed used with functions very similar to those of *-iš* by itself—namely, as directional morphemes and as adverbial markers. Since the directional function of *-iš* was lost throughout the history of Akkadian, the use of the compound forms might well have been partially motivated by an attempt to preserve this particular function of *-iš*. The compound forms also differ from original *-iš*, however, in that *-iš* is not used with a distributive function. More importantly, the fact that neither *-išam* nor *-(i)šum* is ever a fully productive morpheme in Akkadian, at least as far as we can tell, precludes the interpretation that they were created to preserve the original (case) function of *-iš*.

Given that the compound forms did not lead to the creation of new cases or ever become fully productive morphemes that would replace *-iš* on a functional and morphological level, it is unlikely that the combination of *-iš* with either *-am* or *-um* represents multilayer case marking in Akkadian.

Consequently, the arguments brought forth in this section all point toward the same interpretation—namely, that it seems unlikely that **-is* is a case in either Akkadian or, based on the Akkadian analysis, in Proto-Semitic. The morpheme **-is* should thus be analyzed as an adverbial, not as a case marker, in both Akkadian and Proto-Semitic.

## 5. NON-SEMITIC AFRO-ASIATIC EVIDENCE

It has long been observed that the Semitic morpheme **-is* has parallels in other Afro-Asiatic branches. More specifically, it is thought to be related to a dative/allative morpheme that occurs in Berber, Cushitic, and Omotic. The occurrence of a morpheme containing /s/ functioning as a "dative" in these languages has often been used as evidence in favor of an interpretation of Semitic **-is* as a case marker (von Soden 1933, 119; Diakonoff 1988, 61). To understand fully the function of **-is* in Semitic and its historical derivation, a brief consideration of the non-Semitic evidence is necessary. What follows considers some of the Cushitic, Omotic, and Berber markers.[20]

Several Cushitic languages have morphemes containing /s/ that have some type of dative function. Bilin, for example, has seven cases, including a dative, which has the following form (Appleyard 2007b, 488).

*-əd* (masc.) *-si* (fem.) *-əd* (pl.)

It also has an object-marking or accusative form containing /s/ (Appleyard 2007b, 488).

*-s* (masc.) *-t* (fem.) *-s* (pl.)

The occurrence of a dative and accusative in /s/ is not problematic for our analysis, since datives can grammaticalize into accusatives (Heine 2009, 468).

Agaw, a Central Cushitic language, has a dative marker *-s(i)* that indicates the recipient/beneficiary and is also used as an allative and instrumental, as in *yimantís genzéb-o əyɣʷà* "beggar-to money-acc. I-gave" = "I gave money to the beggar" and *ánn-əs murí-s kasaštúyà* "that-to village-to I+was+going" = "I was going to that village" (Hetzron 1978, 125; the glosses follow Hetzron).

20 It is, of course, notoriously difficult to determine with certainty whether morphemes that are attested in Semitic and non-Semitic branches of Afro-Asiatic and that seem to have formal correspondences are truly related, since sound changes and other internal language developments could have led to correspondences that superficially look alike but in fact are not related. In the case of the "dative" morphemes containing /s/, it seems at least to be a possibility that we are dealing with genuinely related forms since other morphemes containing /s/, such as the marker of the causative, exhibit the same correlation.

In Omotic, we have evidence for suffixed *-s* in Gamo, a North Ometo language, where it is used like a dative, as in *azina-s* "husband-for" in the sentence "life has become dark for her husband" (Hayward 2002, 61). Richard Hayward states that *-s* in Gamo is a postposition that expresses a benefactive relationship, while in other Omotic languages *-s* tends to have an accusative function (Hayward 2002, 69).

These are just a few examples. Not every occurrence of *-s* in Cushitic necessarily relates to Semitic **-is*, but there are still a few candidates that could be related to the Semitic morpheme, such as the morphemes *-s* in Gamo and Agaw and perhaps the dative marker *-si* in Bilin. Whether the accusative *-s* in Bilin is related to the same morpheme requires further study.

One of the biggest questions with regard to the Cushitic and Omotic morphemes is whether they represent case markers or postpositions. Some scholars interpret them as case markers, while others consider them postpositions. David Appleyard, for example, describes the Bilin morphemes as cases (Appleyard 2007a, 456; 2007b, 487), while Hayward tries to argue that Cushitic and Omotic languages have two main case markers, a nominative and an accusative, while all other morphemes that are suffixed to the noun and express functions such as the benefactive, instrumental, agentive, and so forth—that is, "noncore" cases—would be better analyzed as postpositions (Hayward 2002, 55). There is no consensus among scholars regarding the status of these morphemes, although at least the morpheme *-s* in Agaw rather seems to be an affixial case marker to judge from the fact that it exhibits concord, as seen in the example provided above. Unfortunately, there is no decisive answer to the question of whether we are dealing with case markers or postpositions in Cushitic and Omotic in general, and, of course, the situation can differ from language to language. What the ongoing debate clearly shows, however, is that the noncore relational markers do not have the same grammatical status in Cushitic and Omotic as the core cases—that is, the nominative and accusative, whose status as cases is undisputed.

The ambiguous status of nominal affixes or clitics containing /s/ in Cushitic and Omotic can be explained from the viewpoint of grammaticalization. It is well known that postpositions are a frequent source for case markers cross linguistically; in fact, they are their most frequent traceable source (Heine 2009, 460; Kulikov 2006, 23; 2009, 439). Commonly, case markers are the result of a well-established grammaticalization chain—namely, noun/verb > (adverb) > adposition > case affix > loss (Heine 2009, 460). It is assumed that this grammaticalization path is, with very few exceptions, unidirectional (Heine 2009, 459). In other words, adpositions grammaticalize into case markers, but case markers do not usually grammaticalize into adpositions. In my opinion, the difficulties involved in deciding whether the suffixes in Cushitic and Omotic represent postpositions or case markers indicate that the morphemes expressing noncore relations might not yet be fully grammaticalized into case markers in some of the languages, while in others the grammaticalization process seems to be more advanced, as for example in Agaw.[21] The ambiguous evidence from Cushitic and Omotic might thus indicate that the nominal affix containing /s/ used to mark the dative and other functions was not originally a case in these language families but an adposition. To prove this claim, however, we need further, corroborating evidence. This type of evidence can be found in Berber.

Various Berber languages have an allative preposition "to, toward" of the form *s*, including Ayer Tuareg and certain dialects of Tamazight. In Ayer Tuareg, the preposition *s* appears as an independent word and can therefore not be interpreted as a case affix. Here is an example of its use (Kossmann 2011, 87).

| | |
|---|---|
| *a-kăm-awəy-ă* | *s əɣiwăn* |
| unrealPART-2fsAcc-bring-1s | to encampment |
| "I will bring you to the encampment." | |

In Tamazight, more specifically in the dialect from Ayt Ayache, the preposition *s* is prefixed to the noun, as in the following example (Abdel-Massih 2011, 146).

21 It is not impossible for a case suffix in one language to correspond to an adposition in another, related language (Heine 2009, 459).

*id:a* *s-asif*
3ms.go.PERF to-river
"He went to the river."

In Tamazight, the morpheme /s/ has only a directional function and thus clearly represents a preposition, not a case. The same preposition is also attested in Kabyle with the same directional function. As already mentioned, unlike in Cushitic and Omotic, it is not debated that these morphemes in Berber represent prepositions—despite the fact that cases are prefixed in Berber as well.

Given that *s* in Berber clearly seems to represent a preposition, not a case, and given that the status of "dative" *-s* in Cushitic and Omotic is debated and might indicate an original adpositional status of *-s*, it seems reasonable to conclude, based on what we know about the grammaticalization behavior of adpositions and cases, that Afroasiatic did not have an inherited "dative" case marked by *-s* but rather the morpheme was an adverbial form that was inherited in these branches and grammaticalized into a dative case in some languages—for example, in Agaw—while remaining an adposition in other languages.

This conclusion also means that there is no comparative evidence necessitating the assumption that Proto-Semitic inherited a dative case marker **-is*. The morpheme is inherited, but it most likely had an adverbial and directional function and did not reflect a case.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The arguments that are usually brought forth in favor of an interpretation of Semitic **-is* as a case marker are not compelling, since the morpheme's behavior differs significantly from that of confirmed case affixes both syntactically and morphologically.

Furthermore, when we look at cross-linguistic paths of change, we can determine that related morphemes attested in the various non-Semitic Afroasiatic branches are better explained as original adverbial forms or adpositions that underwent different degrees of grammaticalization in individual languages than as original case markers. This conclusion, in turn, indicates that the morpheme **-(i)s* was not a case marker in Afro-Asiatic originally and thus is unlikely to have been inherited in Semitic as such.

We can thus say with relative certainty that **-is* never functioned as a case marker in Semitic.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

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# 15 EMİRGAZİ 1: CURRENT STATE OF READING AND INTERPRETATION

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## DEDICATION

It is with great pleasure that I dedicate this short note to my longtime friend Theo van den Hout, who has always shown interest in and contributed significantly to the difficult text it discusses. I am sure he will forgive the ongoing and interim nature of this report, but at least it will present him with some still-outstanding problems on which he may exercise his ingenuity to find further solutions.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The four EMİRGAZİ altars, A, B, C, and D, each preserve a part of a duplicate text of Tudhaliya IV relating to the cult of the Stag-god and his consort as celebrated in the locality of Emirgazi, particularly on the sacred mountain, Sarpa (modern Arisama Dağ). Of the two major pieces, A preserves the first part of the text (beginning lost) and overlaps with the more fully preserved B, which contains more or less completely the second part of the text. Altar C, a substantial fragment, also bridges the middle part of the text as it appears on A and B and provides useful clarifications of some readings. Piece D is only a small fragment with parts of the last two lines, but they bridge a gap at the end of B.

Though the parts of the text preserved on each altar are relatively complete, the signs are generally worn and difficult to read. This condition accounts for previous editors' general lack of success in producing an intelligible composite text.

## 2. STUDY OF THE TEXT

My own engagement with the EMİRGAZİ text goes back to the early 1970s with a number of periods of work in the Ancient Oriental Museum, Istanbul, on the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions housed there. In particular, I was able to make latex squeezes of EMİRGAZİ A, B, C, and D in 1974 and to trace them on acetate and have good photographs made in 1987. On the basis of this work, I have been able to produce copies of each text. Periods of collation at various dates have increased the accuracy of these copies.

Thus it may be seen that the establishment of reliable texts of each inscription and a reliable composite of all of them has been an ongoing project of many years, one leading to repeated revisions of the text as new readings and new perceptions have continued to appear right up to the present. I do consider, however, that I can now offer complete copies of each text that are reliable as far as readings go, though severe problems of interpretation and understanding remain. The third volume of *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* (Hawkins 2024) treats all Empire-period inscriptions, including EMİRGAZİ. But here I offer separately my view of this important text. Doing so is particularly desirable because a number of scholars have made use of earlier versions of my text that have now been subject to new readings and understandings,

and I feel that I owe it to them to make available an emended version that is as complete and up-to-date as possible (see the appendix below).

My earliest attempt on the EMİRGAZİ text occurred in 1975, when I tackled the passages with the factual negative NEG-*wa*/*i* (*nawa*) and prohibitive NEG-*sa* (*nis*) (Hawkins 1975, 128–31). I had already done some preliminary collation of the texts, but much more work was required before I was in a position to produce a complete text. A typical new perception that modified my work on the negatives was the recognition of the Empire form of *ARHA* (L.216), which I had taken as *ní* and interpreted as producing double negatives.

My first full edition of the text as a composite (Hawkins 1995, 86–102) was given without the copies of the texts on which it was based, since they were not yet ready for publication. These copies I was able to present for altars A and B in 2006 in an article on the cult of the Stag-god, of which the EMİRGAZİ altars and their sacred mountain were an important component (Hawkins 2006, 54–58, 72 fig. 6). This article included a partial reedition of the text, principally to clarify, following Forlanini (1997), the deities and divine mountains along with their cult objects, as named in the text. It also showed the important graphic phenomenon "initial-*a*-final," then only recently observed but contributing significantly to our understanding of Hieroglyphic texts from about 1300 to 800 BC.

Since then, another recognition has further changed our understanding of the text significantly: examination on the YALBURT inscription of the rather similar signs *na* (L.35) and POST (L.34) (single attestation) reveals a similar but previously unnoticed distinction on EMİRGAZİ: in three occurrences there, the signs formerly read as *na* are in fact POST. As was observed on YALBURT, *na* and POST are very similar, except that the upper part of *na* shows a handlike shape whereas POST has an elaborate knob. A very modified version of this distinction may now be seen also on EMİRGAZİ (fig. 15.1): the *na* forms all show a split top representing the hand with fingers, but three occurrences formerly taken as *na* show a curled-over, teatlike projection indicating an identification as POST, which turns out to fit the contexts well (§§13, 25, 27). But—no gain without pain—this rereading abolishes the readings TANA and TANASA (NA in each case is POST).

One further change on which I have not yet commented is where the application of the rule initial-*a*-final makes a substantial difference to the clause division between §11 and §12. I had previously taken §12 as beginning *wa*/*i-tá*, but in the absence of initial-*a*-final this view must clearly be discarded: *-wa*/*i-tá* must be the enclitic copula attached to the previous word, formerly taken as the verb of §11. Thus §12 now begins *zi*/*a-tá-sa*(*-wa*/*i-tá*); *zi*/*a-tá-sa* may be taken as genitival adjective *zasi-*, dative plural *zatasa*(*n*), "to (that) of these (ones)" (cf. Lycian *epttehe* "to that of those"). Now Patrick Michel proposes to recognize the word *hwi/a-sa-ti-sa* occurring in §§11–12 as *hwasattis*, the Luwian form of Hittite *huwasi* (Michel 2015). I welcome this important recognition, but differing from Michel I would now read and translate as follows (Hawkins 2019):

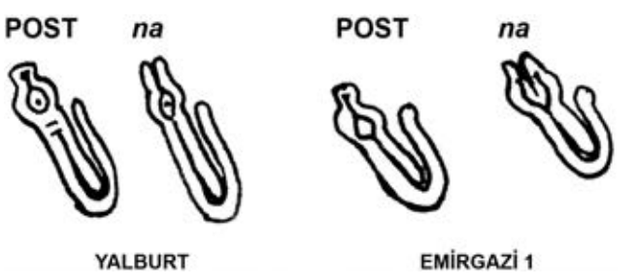


Figure 15.1. The signs *na* and POST on the YALBURT and EMİRGAZİ inscriptions.

§11 DEUS-*ní-zi/a* STELE *kwi/a-i*(*a*)*-sa hwi/a-sa-ti-i*(*a*)*-sa*
§12 *zi/a-tá-sa-wa/i-tá* STELE *pa-sa-*a hwi/a-sa-ti-sa i*(*a*)*-zi/a-i*(*a*)*-ru*

§11 Which *hwasati* (is) for the gods (of) the stele,
§12 let that one become the *hwasati* for their stele.

The importance of Michel's recognition lies in its identification of Emirgazi as the site of a *huwasi* monument on Mount Sarpa (Arisama dağ) comparable with the *huwasi* now identified on the Kulmaç dağ above Kuşaklı-Sarissa (Müller-Karpe 2017, 121–26).

Ongoing problems (for Theo) include the following:

1. *tá-tu tá-tu-tu* // *tá-tu-sa *a-sa-tu* (§§14, 17, 21)
2. AVIS$_x$*-na-wa/i-*a* (§18)
3. REX.L.398-*zi/a* L.303-*zi/a* (§26)
4. PUGNUS-*MI*(-) (§§27, 29)
5. *á-na+ra/i-zú-ha-* (§37)

## APPENDIX: HAND COPIES, TRANSLITERATION, AND TRANSLATION OF THE EMİRGAZİ ALTARS

### TRANSLITERATION

§1 . . . *la-pa-wa/i*
§2 *a-wa/i* (DEUS)MONS.THRONUS *á*.CERVUS$_3$ L.463-*zi/a* PONERE
§3 *zi/a-ha-wa/i-mi* STELE **a-pa+ra/i* PONERE
§4 **a-wa/i-tá* REL-*i(a)-sa *a-mi-sa* NEPOS-*sa* FILI[US . . .
§5 [. . .
§6 **a-wa/i-ti-tá zi/a-ti-i(a)* STELE **a-pa-sa* SOLIUM-*ru*
§7 *zi/a-la-tu-wa/i-ha-wa/i zi/a* STELE *sà-ka-la-da-i(a)* NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha*
§8 *ARHA* NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha* CAPUT+SCALPRUM
§9 *tara/i-zi/a-nú-wa/i-ti-wa/i-tá* NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha*
§10 *zi/a-i(a)-ha-wa/i-tá* L.461-*tá ARHA* NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha tu-pi*
§11 DEUS-*ní-zi/a* STELE REL-*i(a)-sa hwi/a-sa-ti-i(a)-sa*
§12 *zi/a-tá-sa-wa/i-tá* STELE **a-pa-sa hwi/a-sa-ti-sa i(a)-zi/a-i(a)-ru*
§13 *ma-pa-wa/i-ta* POST-*sa* CAPUT *a-la-ri+i*
§14 **a-wa/i-na* MAGNUS-*zi/a tá-tu tá-tu-tu*
§15 **a-wa/i-ti-i(a)* L.430-*ti-sa* PRAE-*i(a)* x
§16 *ma-pa-wa/i-tà* (MONS) ASCIA *sà-ka-la-tà-i(a)*
§17 *a-wa/i* (MONS) ASCIA SCALPRUM-*sa tá-tu-sa *a-sa-tu*
§18 AVIS$_x$*-na-wa/i-*a* PORTA-*MI* REGIO-*ní-i(a)* SOLIUM
§19 *ma-pa-wa/i* L.414.OVIS-*zi/a* REL-*tá-zi/a* STELE *ma-lu-wa/i* CRUS
§20 **a-wa/i-tá ma-na ARHA* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha* CAPUT+SCALPRUM
§21 *a-wa/i* L.414.OVIS DOMINUS-*na* SCALPRUM-*sa tá-tu-sa *a-sa-tu*
§22 L.414.OVIS **a-pa-na ARHA* CAPERE-*tu*
§23 *a-wa/i* PORTA-*MI* DARE
§24 REL-*i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i* REX *zi/a-i(a)* STELE *sà-ka-la-da-i(a)*
§25 REL+*ra/i-pa-wa/i-da* POST NEG-*wa/i á*
§26 **a-wa/i-tu-tá* (DEUS)SOL SOL+*RA/I* (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM CERVUS$_3$.DEUS.L.463-*ti* (DEUS) MONS.THRONUS *á*(FEMINA.DEUS).L.461 REX.L.398-*zi/a* L.303-*zi/a* INFRA *tara/i-zi/a-nú-wa/i-tu*
§27 REL-*i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i* REX *zi/a-i(a)* STELE PUGNUS-*MI* POST *á*
§28 **a-wa/i-da ARHA* NEG-*wa/i* DELERE-*i(a)*
§29 **a-wa/i-na* (DEUS)SOL SOL+*RA/I* (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM CERVUS$_3$.DEUS.L.463-*ti* (DEUS) MONS.THRONUS *á*(FEMINA.DEUS).L.461 *su-na-sa-ti* PUGNUS-*MI-tu*
§30 REL-*i(a)-sa-ha* (DEUS)MONS.THRONUS *á*.CERVUS$_3$.L.463-*zi/a* PONERE
§31 *ma-wa/i-sa* [ . . .
§32 *ma-wa/i-sa* [CERVUS$_4$.]IACULUM
§33 EGO-*pa-wa/i* SOL$_2$ MAGNUS.REX IUDEX+*la* MONS+*tu* IUDEX+*la* MAGNUS.REX x[ . . .]L.502-*mi-li* LOCUS-*ti* DARE-*tu*
§34 REL-*i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i-mu* L.137-*ha-sa*$_5$ NEG-*wa/i* DARE

Figure 15.2. Hand copies of the EMİRGAZİ altars.

§35 **a-wa/i-ti-i(a)-na* CERVUS$_3$.DEUS.[L.463-*ti*] (DEUS)MONS.THRONUS [ . . .
§36 REL-*i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i-mu* LIBATIO-*ha-sa*$_5$ DARE
§37 **a-wa/i-tu* CERVUS$_3$.DEUS.L.463-*ti* (DEUS)MONS.THRONUS *á*(FEMINA.DEUS).L.461 *su-na-sa-ti á-na+ra/i-zú-ha-ti* PRAE *hwi/a*$^{!}$*-i(a)-tu*

## TRANSLATION

§1 . . .
§2 and (on) Mount Sarpa put *á*.CERVUS$_3$.L.463
§3 and afterward I for myself set this stele.
§4 (He) who (is) my grandson's son [ . . .
§5 [ . . .
§6 let that one sit/dwell to/for this stele!
§7 And in future let no one erase this stele,
§8 let no one efface (it),
§9 let no one turn (it),
§10 and let no one strike away these words.
§11 Which *hwasati*-precinct (is) for the gods (of) the stele,
§12 let that one become the *hwasati*-precinct for their stele.
§13 But if an inferior man *makes himself high*(?),
§14 him may the great (ones) TATU- (for) the TATU,
§15 and may everyone . . . himself forth.
§16 But if one *damages* it/them(?) (on?) Mount "Axe,"
§17 may Mount "Axe" be the . . . TATU-
§18 and AVIS$_2$ (shall) dwell in the gate (and) in the land(?).
§19 But if for which stelae the L.414 sheep stand MALUWA,
§20 if anyone shall efface them,
§21 may the owner of the L.414 sheep be the . . . TATU-,
§22 may he take the L.414 sheep away again,
§23 and give (them) (in) the gate.
§24 But the king who will erase these stelae,
§25 or not remake them,
§26 for him may the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of Heaven, the Stag-god of the Country, Mount Sarpa, (and) the goddess Ala turn down the royal(?) L.303's(?)!
§27 But the king who shall remake these stelae . . .
§28 and not destroy them,
§29 him may the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of Heaven, the Stag-god of the Country, Mount Sarpa, (and) the goddess Ala make *firm* with full measure.
§30 And (he) who will put *á*.CERVUS$_3$.L.463 (on) Mount Sarpa,
§31 whether he [ . . . ],
§32 whether he (is) a hunter,
§33 (to) me, My Sun, Great King, Labarna Tudhaliya a *r*[*itual* . . .] in an *undefiled* spot let him give!
§34 (He) who does not give a *ritual* to me,
§35 him (may) the Stag-god of the Country, Mount Sarpa, [(and) the goddess Ala . . . ].
§36 (He) who does give a *ritual* to me,
§37 may the Stag-god of the Country, Mount Sarpa, (and) the goddess Ala run before him with fullness and ANARAZUHA-!

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# 16 THE IVORY PANEL WITH A "DANCING GOD" FROM TEMPLE 7 IN BOĞAZKÖY/HATTUSA RECONSIDERED

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## DEDICATION

I take pleasure in dedicating this contribution to Theo van den Hout in celebration of his sixty-fifth birthday.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

During the excavation of Temple 7 in the Upper City of Hattusa in 1982, an ivory panel with a deity (Boğazköy inv. no. 82/170) was found in the burned mudbrick debris in basement room 13.[1] Evidently, it had originally been deposited in the room located directly above basement room 13 in the upper story—namely, the antechamber of the cella that was destroyed by fire. The ivory panel, executed in Hittite style, depicts a deity shown frontally with a high, horned headdress and entwined legs (figs. 16.1–16.3). It was described as a "dancing god" by the excavator, Peter Neve (1983, 447; 1992, 33 fig. 82; 1999, 44),[2] but more recently has been variously interpreted. Frans Wiggermann (in Hazenbos 2012, 814–15) has suggested that the figure may be a wind goddess of Mesopotamian/Syrian origin, whereas Andreas Müller-Karpe (2013, 350; 2017, 110) views it as a representation of Ištar/Šauška. In this essay, I take the opportunity to reconsider this remarkable piece and its figural representation.

## 2. DESCRIPTION

The panel is only fragmentarily preserved, with parts of the arms and the legs below the knees broken off. It measures 5.78 cm in height, 3.38 cm in width, and 0.4 cm in thickness. The obverse of the panel is executed in relief with incised details. Marking the irises of the eyes are two circular drill holes, which perforate the piece and were originally filled with inlay (fig. 16.1). The reverse of the panel is flat and undecorated; it bears what appear to be random grooves (fig. 16.2).

The high, rounded headdress with four pairs of horns identifies the figure as a deity. From beneath the headdress emerges an elaborate hairstyle, consisting of bangs resting on the forehead and two thick, twisted hair coils framing the face on both sides. These coils end below the shoulders in two large, spiral curls. A braided pigtail falls from above the left spiral curl and rests on the upper left arm. It is unclear whether the end of the pigtail is broken off. The deity appears to be wearing a short-sleeved tunic belted at the waist. A lack of incised detail and modeling depicting breasts indicates that the upper body is clothed. A dagger is inserted diagonally in the belt with the knob-shaped handle shown on the right. The tunic is fitted tightly, accentuating the contours of the body, which are clearly feminine. A fringed seam runs vertically down

1 Neve 1983, 447, 448 fig. 22; 1999, 44, pl. 25:c; Herbordt and von Wickede 2021, 383–84, 387, 434, pls. 120:11, XXII:3a–b.

2 Neve's interpretation is followed by Frank Starke (2002, 345 cat. no. 114).

Figure 16.1. Ivory panel from Boğazköy (inv. no. 82/170), obverse.

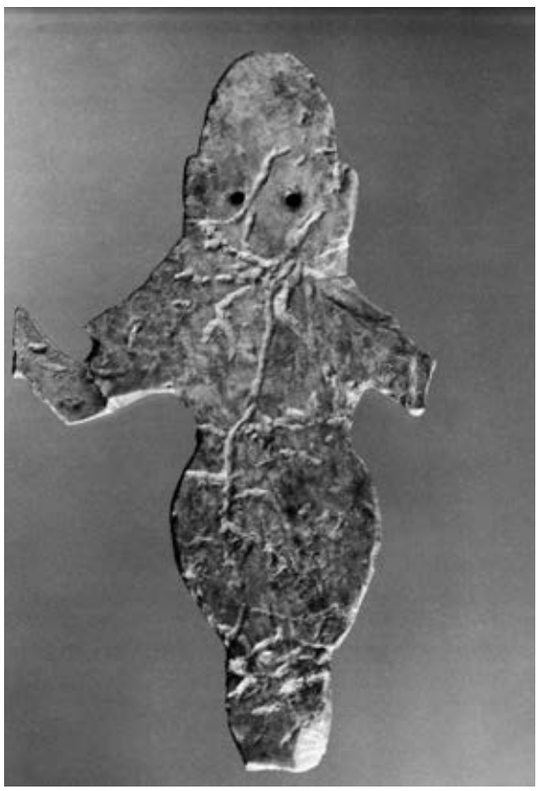

Figure 16.2. Ivory panel from Boğazköy (inv. no. 82/170), reverse.

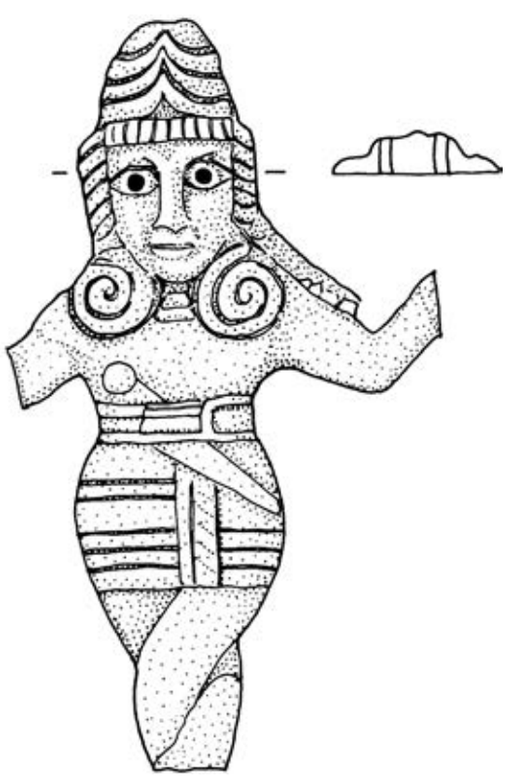

Figure 16.3. Ivory panel from Boğazköy (inv. no. 82/170), obverse with section drawing.

the center of the garment below the belt. The short sleeves end just below the shoulders. The skirt of the tunic is decorated with incised horizontal lines, five on the right and three on the left (apparently because the dagger occupies most of the available space on the left). The wide, tripartite belt is fastened by a large rectangular buckle. As jewelry, the deity wears a tightly fitting, three-tiered necklace. The facial features are characterized by a prominent nose and chin, heavy eyebrows that join at the root of the nose, rounded cheeks, and a pronounced mouth. Both arms are held horizontally to the side and are slightly bent at the elbow. The legs are entwined.

## 3. DISCUSSION

A major question concerning the identity of the deity is whether it is male or female. Both interpretations have been offered (see above and Müller-Karpe 2013, 350; 2017, 110). The closest parallels for the deity's attire, specifically the tunic skirt with its linear decoration and fringed seam and the belt type, are to be found on Hittite sculpture of the fourteenth to thirteenth centuries BC depicting male deities—for example, three bronze statuettes from Boğazköy, Doğantepe, and Latakia (Bittel 1976, pls. 148, 262–63) and the relief sculpture of the Warrior-god at the King's Gate in Boğazköy (Bittel 1976, pls. 261, 267–68). In addition, the Warrior-god at the King's Gate is shown with a dagger tucked into his belt, although the dagger type differs (crescent-shaped handle vs. knob-shaped handle and sheath with curved end vs. sheath running straight to point). These examples, however, differ from the ivory in that the male torsos are shown nude, with detailed rendering of the breasts. Other major differences include the necklace and hairstyle of the ivory, which point to a female identity. The coiled hair locks framing the face are unusual, since in their place large ears usually figure prominently in Hittite sculpture. The long spiral curls, however, are attested on both female and male deities. The ivory statuettes both of a male (perhaps a bull-man) and of female sphinxes from Acemhöyük dating to the Old Hittite period provide good comparisons for the hairstyle ending in long, spiral curls, as well as the stylistic rendering of the facial features.[3] In the sculpture of the Hittite Empire period, the long, spiral curls are characteristic of the coiffure of female sphinx figures, as exemplified by the figures at the Sphinx Gates in Alaca Höyük and Boğazköy (Yerkapı and Nişantepe) (Bittel 1976, pls. 210, 265–66; Neve 1992, 65 fig. 182, 66 figs. 184–85). The pigtail is characteristic of all the female deities represented on the rock reliefs at the sanctuary of Yazılıkaya (Bittel 1975, relief nos. 43, 45–65) but also occurs on some male deities there, specifically the Storm-gods, the Moon-god, and Šarruma (Bittel 1975, relief nos. 35, 41–42, 44, 81). Solely the three-tiered necklace on the ivory is gender specific and occurs exclusively on female figures (cf., e.g., Bittel 1976, pls. 83, 85, 87–91).

Perhaps it is the gender ambiguity of the deity on the ivory that prompted Müller-Karpe (2013, 350; 2017, 110) to interpret it as a representation of Ištar/Šauška. He does not, however, provide any discussion of the iconography or arguments in support of this attribution. Rather, his interpretation is tied to his appraisal of Temple 7, where the ivory was found, and to its solar orientation within the general plan of the Upper City of Hattusa. Müller-Karpe views Temple 7 as a temple of Ištar/Šauška primarily because of the ivory: "Der Fund einer kleinen Ištar-Darstellung aus Elfenbein deutet darauf hin, dass diese Gottheit in dem Tempel verehrt wurde" (Müller-Karpe 2013, 350). The characteristic iconography of Ištar/Šauška, goddess of love and war, in Hittite art refutes this attribution.[4] On the rock reliefs of the sanctuary of Yazılıkaya, Šauška appears twice with identifying inscriptions—once in the procession of male deities and once in the procession of the female deities, thus demonstrating both her male and her female aspects.[5] In Hittite art, Šauška is generally represented with wings and her mantle pulled back to reveal one of her legs (Bittel 1976, pls. 181, 235–37, 278; Herbordt 2005, pls. 21:267a–d, 49:625a–c, 626a–b; 2009).

3 Bittel 1976, pls. 44–45; Decamps de Mertzenfeld 1954, pl. 125:1087 and pl. 126:1081, 1087–88, 1090. On the provenience of the ivories in the Pratt Collection of the Metropolitan Museum as being Acemhöyük, see Özgüç 1966, 42–46; Mellink 1969, 285.

4 On the iconography of Šauška, cf. Herbordt 2009.

5 The rock with the Šauška inscription from the female side of the procession was found in the nearby village of Yekbas. See Laroche 1952; Güterbock 1947; 1953; 1975, 168; Bittel 1975, pls. 23:2 (relief no. 38), 36:2–3.

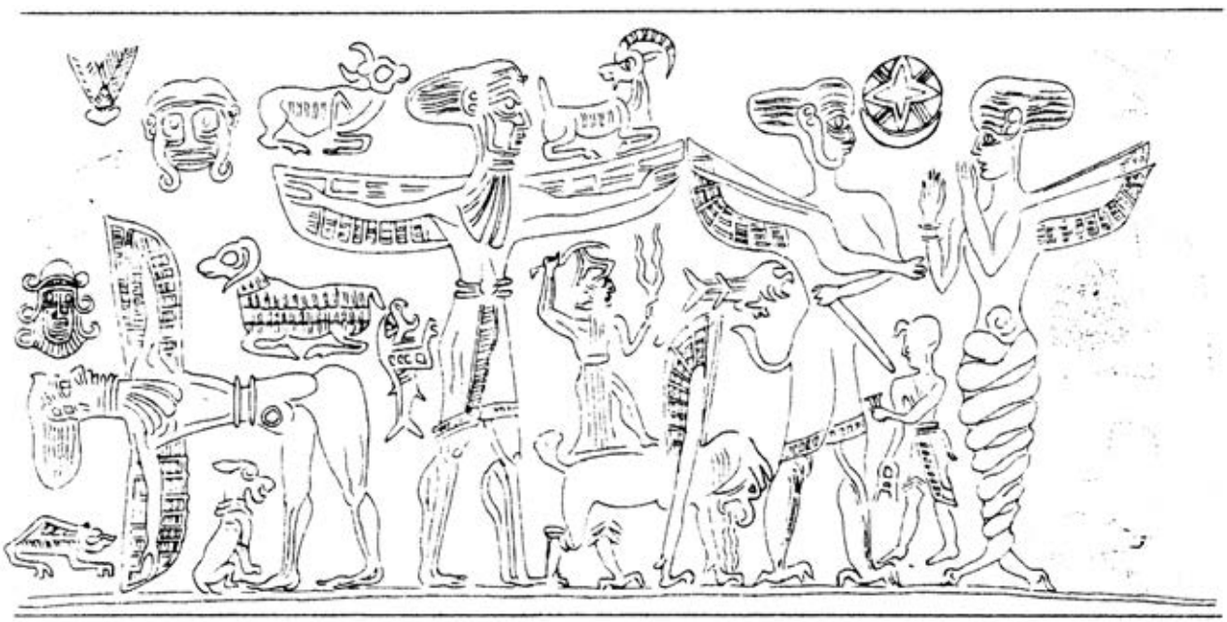

Figure 16.4. Cylinder seal in the British Museum (BM 134773) (after Porada 1979, fig. 3).

The key distinguishing feature of the deity on the ivory is the entwined legs. It is here that we turn to Wiggermann's comprehensive study on the iconography of the four wind demons in Mesopotamia (Wiggermann 2007). Using both written and visual sources, Wiggermann has established that, of the four winds, only the south wind (*šūtu*) is feminine and represented in Mesopotamian art of the second millennium BC as a winged female figure with entwined legs.[6] The most elaborate example, and the starting point of his study, is an Old Babylonian cylinder seal in the British Museum showing all four wind demons (fig. 16.4).[7] Wiggermann convincingly links the meaning of *šūtu* (south wind) to the iconography of the winged female figure with entwined legs: "*šūtu* is derived from *šâ'u*, 'to fly about, to flutter, to circle (said of birds and winds),' which explains the entwined legs of the female being, who thus without any doubt is the South wind" (Wiggermann 2007, 127). And indeed, the entwined legs effectively suggest the image of a whirlwind or dust devil. In the Mesopotamian depictions of the south wind, the female figure is shown nude with wings, often with windblown hair. The examples are assembled by Wiggermann and originate in both southern and northern Mesopotamia, as well as Syria. To these examples we can now add a Hittite representation of the south wind that clearly follows this tradition. A stamp-seal impression found in the Lower City of Boğazköy dating to the fifteenth or early fourteenth century BC (fig. 16.5)[8] shows a figure exhibiting the abovenamed characteristics: winged, nude, and with entwined legs. The head is not preserved. The south wind occurs here

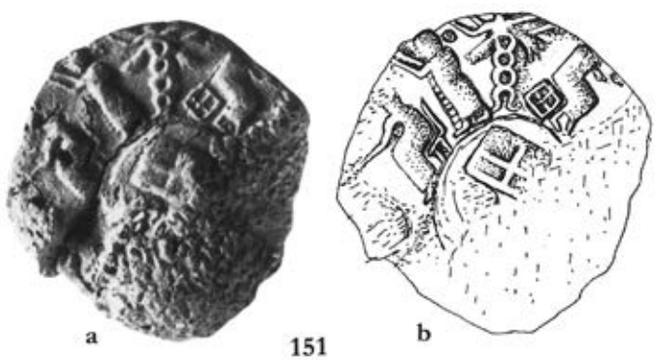


Figure 16.5. Stamp seal impression on a conical bulla from Boğazköy (inv. no. 71/410) (after Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, pl. 16:151).

6 Wiggermann (2007) refutes an earlier interpretation of the figure that equated it with a snake goddess (Buchanan 1971; Stein 1988, 177–78).

7 For photographs, see Buchanan 1971, pl. 1:e; Collon 1986, pl. 33:451 (= BM 134773).

8 The bulla was found in an unstratified context ("im Schutt der Grabung 1971"). The hieroglyphic inscription SCRIBA on the seal impression indicates that it belonged to a scribe. See Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 58 no. 151, pl. 16:151.

in the context of two other deities, who are seated, and a worshipper, who faces in another direction. What further connects it to the Boğazköy ivory under discussion, in addition to the entwined legs, are the extended arms bent slightly at the elbow. Because the sealing breaks off, however, it is unclear what the deity holds in its hands.

A recent discovery found outside archaeological context in Elaziğ provides a further representation of the south wind from Anatolia.[9] On a relief sculpture dating to the early second millennium BC (to judge from stylistic and iconographic elements), the south wind is depicted in a battle scene as standing on the crenellations of a fortress and abducting (or rescuing?) a participant. The characteristic nudity, wings, entwined legs, and windblown hair best compare with the representations of the south wind from Old Babylonian Mesopotamia—for example, the abovementioned cylinder seal in the British Museum and parallel pieces presented by Wiggermann (2007, 142–46).

Figure 16.6. Cylinder seal impression on a tablet from Nuzi (JEN 409) (after Porada 1947, pl. 53:720).

The closest parallel for our ivory, however, is offered by a cylinder seal impression of the Mittani period from Nuzi (fig. 16.6).[10] Here the south wind is shown as winged and with entwined legs, and as on the ivory she is clothed, wearing a kilt and horned headdress. Her arms are extended, bent at the elbow. In her hands she holds two circular objects with handles, possibly mirrors.[11] Two griffins are seated antithetically at her feet, which end in bird talons. Since the hands and feet are missing from the ivory, a reconstruction analogous to the Nuzi seal impression—with the hands holding two mirrors and bird talons instead of feet—could well be possible.

One feature of the deity on the Boğazköy ivory that does not occur on other representations of the south wind is the dagger tucked diagonally into the belt. The dagger clearly expresses a warlike aspect of the goddess. An examination of the scenes in which the south wind occurs in glyptic and relief art does indicate, however, that this deity plays an active role in the context of battle and contest scenes.[12] For example, on an Old Babylonian cylinder-seal impression on a tablet from Sippar, the south wind accompanies a battle scene showing a warrior on a chariot followed by foot soldiers (fig. 16.7).[13] The Elaziğ relief mentioned above is another example in which a warlike aspect is illustrated (cf. Abay, Demir, and Sevin 2021, 12–13 figs. 16–17). Furthermore, four cylinder seals of the Mittani and Isin II periods show her in combat with winged bulls, lions, or nude male figures in antithetical contest compositions (figs. 16.8–16.9).[14] In a related

9 Cf. Abay, Demir, and Sevin 2021. The relief was first published on the internet page "Internethaber 01 Nisan 2017" (http://tinyurl.com/k7obmfc) and on the internet page "Hurriyet/Daily News, Anadolu Agency, March 21, 2017" (http://tinyurl.com/mqcghf3) with the title "Harput relief changes region's history." I thank Frans Wiggermann for bringing the piece to my attention.

10 Porada 1947, no. 720; drawing also reproduced in Stein 1988, 204 no. 13.

11 This interpretation was suggested by Wiggermann (2007, 150), whereas Stein suggested the objects could be musical instruments (Stein 1988, 177).

12 On the supporting role of the south wind in battle and on the hunt as attested in both iconography and texts, see Wiggermann 2007, 132.

13 The sealed tablet is dated to the fourteenth year of Hammurapi (BM 16815A). For photographs, see Collon 1987, no. 730; Buchanan 1971, pl. 2:c (left).

14 For the two seals showing contest scenes with two nude male figures, see Wiggermann 2007, 151 figs. 23–24 (no. 24 from Alalah); Collon 1982, no. 116.

Figure 16.7. Cylinder seal impression on a tablet from Sippar (BM 16815A) (after Wiggermann 2007, 145 fig. 14; drawing by Diana Gurney).

Figure 16.8. Cylinder seal (ex–Erlenmeyer collection) (after Wiggermann 2007, 151 fig. 26).

Figure 16.9. Cylinder seal (J. Mariaud de Serres collection, Paris) (after Grégoire 1981, pl. 21:76).

context, the south wind is shown indirectly accompanying the royal hunt represented on a sculptured caprid horn from Emar dating to the Late Bronze Age.[15] Analogous to the contest scenes (figs. 16.8–16.9), a further plausible suggestion for reconstructing the Boğazköy ivory is an antithetical composition with animals or *Mischwesen* held by the deity to the left and right.

## 4. CONCLUSION

This study has shown that Neve's "dancing god" on the Boğazköy ivory is in fact a representation of the south wind, thus undoubtedly confirming Wiggermann's interpretation (cited in Hazenbos 2012, 814–15). Although the ivory is stylistically Hittite, the iconography taps into the Mesopotamian visual tradition—a tradition also attested in Anatolia in the Bronze Age, as evidenced by the stamp-seal impression from Boğazköy (fig. 16.5) and the Elaziğ relief (Abay, Demir, and Sevin 2021, 12–13 with figs. 16–17). Identical stylistic and iconographic elements are also found on representations of Hittite warrior-gods—for example, on a number of bronze statuettes and the god from the King's Gate in Boğazköy—thus emphasizing the deity's warlike aspect. It is the feature of the entwined legs, however, that ultimately characterizes and distinguishes the figure, which thus joins Wiggermann's assemblage of representations of the south wind in Mesopotamia and Syria. The closest parallel is perhaps the goddess on the seal impression from Nuzi (fig. 16.6), who is shown wearing a kilt and horned headdress. Here we are reminded of the historical and political interaction of the Hittite and Mittani kingdoms. A remaining open question pertains to the missing wings on our piece, an otherwise characteristic feature of the south wind, making the Boğazköy ivory a unique Hittite derivative. Through the course of second-millennium art, the south wind occurs in contexts with different deities, on seals most often with the Storm-god (e.g., Buchanan 1971, pl. 1:e; Collon 1986, pl. 33:451; Stein 1988, 193 fig. 10; Wiggermann 2007, 142 figs. 7–8, 146 fig. 16a). In both written sources and visual attestations, the south wind is associated with the god Ea.[16] The association with both Ea and the Storm-god indicates, perhaps, that one of these deities was venerated in Temple 7 in the Upper City of Hattusa.

## 5. ADDENDUM

After this essay was completed and submitted, a further study on Mesopotamian representations of the winds was published in 2017 by Dominique Collon: "Old Babylonian Whirlwinds and Sippar," in *From the Four Corners of the Earth: Studies in Iconography and Cultures of the Ancient Near East in Honor of F. A. M. Wiggermann*, edited by David Kertai and Olivier Nieuwenhuyse, 29–43 (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 441; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag).

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15 On this piece, see Margueron 1986, 159 fig. 1; Wiggermann 2007, 152 fig. 28 with accompanying text.

16 See Wiggermann 2007, 133, 154 (commentary on fig. 31c); e.g., see the *kudurru* dating to the reign of Melišipak (King 1912, pl. 30, Face D) (BM 90829).

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# 17 ONLY AN IMAGE? *NBŠ*, *ATRI-*, AND THE KATUMUWA INSCRIPTION

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## DEDICATION

In honor of his influential contributions on the soul, funerary ritual, and mortuary cult places in the Hittite and Luwian spheres, I am pleased to dedicate this essay on Katumuwa's soul to my teacher Theo van den Hout.[1]

## 1. THE KATUMUWA STELE IN WEST SEMITIC AND ANATOLIAN RELIGIOUS PERSPECTIVES

Much of the interest, and hence controversy, generated by the discovery of the KTMW or Katumuwa mortuary stele at Zincirli stems from the use of the word *nbš*, commonly translated as "soul,"[2] in its Samʾalian Aramaic inscription. The round-topped stele with a banquet scene relief was found in the north lower town of Zincirli, Iron Age Samʾal, by the University of Chicago's Neubauer Expedition in 2008 (Schloen and Fink 2009; Struble and Herrmann 2009, figs. 3–4). In the first line of the inscription carved above the image of the deceased holding up a cup and seated before a food-laden table, the sponsor is identified as *ktmw* (probably to be read as Katumuwa or Katamuwa [Younger 2009]), servant of Panamuwa (II), the penultimate king of Samʾal (r. 743/40–733/32 BC). The rest of the inscription describes sacrifices of a bull and five rams to five gods and the "soul" (*nbš*) of Katumuwa himself and requests the annual repetition of a sacrifice for the deceased (Pardee 2009, 2017). The text is written in the local Northwest Semitic language known as Samʾalian, which is related to Aramaic,[3] but Katumuwa's name and those of some of the gods mentioned are Luwian, reflecting the ethnolinguistically fluid setting of Iron Age Samʾal on the border between the Levant and Anatolia (Niehr 2016). This ambiguity has prompted different opinions and assumptions about whether the ideas and practices indicated by the inscription, especially those regarding the soul, reflect a primarily West Semitic or Anatolian (Indo-European) cultural background (e.g., Masson 2010; Melchert 2010; Lemaire 2012; Sanders 2012, 2013; Suriano 2014; Hawkins 2015).

1 I thank Ilya Yakubovich and Craig Melchert for reading the first draft of this essay and providing very helpful feedback and corrections that led me toward a more satisfactory interpretation of *waliya(nuwa)*-. I also appreciate the comments, corrections, and suggestions of Herbert Niehr and Tim Hogue, as well as the volume editors. Any remaining errors are my own. Thanks, too, to the entire Zincirli excavation and epigraphic team, especially David Schloen, Amir Fink, Eudora Struble, Dennis Pardee, and, of course, Theo van den Hout. I apologize to the authors of relevant publications that appeared after the submission of my manuscript that I was not able to update the bibliography fully.

2 "Soul" is an imperfect translation of *nbš* in its use to mean the self that remains after death, but it is conventionally used here and elsewhere for lack of a better English alternative. See Matthew Suriano's (2014, 389) suggestion to use "defunct-soul."

3 See Noorlander 2012 and Pat-El and Wilson-Wright 2019 for recent entries in the debate regarding the linguistic classification of Samʾalian as a dialect of Aramaic or a distinct language that shares a common ancestor with Old Aramaic.

From a West Semitic perspective, the way the Katumuwa inscription uses *nbš* (*npš* or *nfs* in other West Semitic languages), whose range of meanings includes "soul," "life," "self," "person," "disposition," "funerary monument," and "tomb,"[4] is remarkable in two ways. In Northwest Semitic inscriptions of the late first millennium BC, *npš* often clearly means the tombstone or mortuary monument itself (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 748–49; Triebel 2004; Kühn 2005). The implication of this extension of the word's meaning is that the monument in some way represents or concretizes the "person" or "soul" of the deceased (Dussaud 1935, 269; Niehr 1994, 64, 71; Triebel 2004, 9–10, 241–43). The use of stone monuments, whether inscribed or uninscribed, figurative or aniconic, to memorialize the dead can be traced back in the Levant to at least the early second millennium BC (Bonatz 2000b; Durand 2005), and these early monuments are also sometimes thought to have been physical representations for communication with and feeding of the dead by the living (Niehr 1994, 64, 71; Bonatz 2000b, 196–201). The eighth-century BC Katumuwa stele for the first time makes this link explicit (Pardee 2009, 62–63; Schloen and Fink 2009, 11): line 5 mentions the sacrifice of a "ram for my 'soul' (*nbš*) that is (or will be) in this stele" (Pardee 2017). The *nbš* is thus distinguished from the stele (*nṣb*) but located in or on it. With this close connection already established, later in the inscription *nbš* stands in for the monument itself: "He is also to perform the slaughter on my 'soul' (*bnbšy*) [i.e., on the stele] and is to apportion for me a leg-cut" (lines 10–13, after Pardee 2017). The Katumuwa stele thus confirms the interpretation of Iron Age Syro-Hittite banquet stelae as embodiments of the deceased that served as the site and means for ongoing mortuary cult (Bonatz 2000a, 115–17, 156–57; Struble and Herrmann 2009, 30). Furthermore, it strengthens the case for the long-term continuity of this belief and practice in the Levant, as well as the participation of the dead in offerings for the gods and vice versa (van der Toorn 1996, 153–77; Bonatz 2000a, 152; 2000b, 196–201; Herrmann 2014a, 82–84) and the basic symbolic and functional unity of a diverse array of mortuary monuments over this long period.[5]

The second noteworthy implication of the Katumuwa stele's inscription for the understanding of the *nbš/npš* from a West Semitic perspective is its location in the stele rather than the bodily remains. Despite thorough excavation of the building in which the stele was found, no trace was found of any burial or human remains (Herrmann 2014c, 52). Since the prevailing view has been that in West Semitic religious belief the *npš* was inseparable from the body itself (Porteous 1962), and for this reason the destruction of the bodily remains was considered very dire, excavation director David Schloen pointed out in early media reports the novelty of its location in the stone monument according to the new inscription (Wilford 2008; Bonn-Muller 2008), and he and others have reiterated this point in subsequent publications.[6]

It should be noted, however, that the Chicago team never claimed that the stele's attestation of the idea that the soul was separable from the body is novel for the ancient Near East, only that it is new in a West Semitic inscription.[7] Already in the first media reports, but also in the stele's publication, they attribute this idea to influence from Anatolia in the multicultural setting of Sam'al, suggesting that Katumuwa's explicit localization of his *nbš* in the stele could have been an attempt to explain a non-Semitic practice of cremation

4 Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 744–9; Triebel 2004, 7–11. In origin, "throat, breath," with "appetite" as another derived meaning alongside "life," and so forth (Sanders 2013, 50).

5 Pardee 2009, 62–63; Niehr 2012; Sanders 2012, 29–30; Herrmann 2014a, 82–84. See Sanders 2012 on the novelty of the genre of first-person memorial inscriptions in the Iron Age. I do not agree with Sanders, however, that the Iron Age dead make demands while offering nothing but threats in return—the curse of Panamuwa I in case of failure to remember him (KAI 214, lines 20–24) is preceded by a kind of blessing if the instructions are followed (KAI 214, lines 15–18), and the inscribed statue of Atrisuha was dedicated by his descendant Katuwa, according to KARKAMIŠ A11a, §20, not by Suhi himself.

6 Pardee 2009, 62; Schloen and Fink 2009, 11; Lemaire 2012, 135; Sanders 2013, 44; Herrmann 2014b, 100; Suriano 2014, 388n13. See Steiner 2015, however, for the argument that the idea of a disembodied *npš* is indeed found in the Hebrew Bible.

7 Pace Hawkins 2015, 49. The author of the *New York Times* article paraphrased the Chicago team as saying that "the stele provided the first written evidence that the people in this region held to the religious concept of the soul apart from the body" (Wilford 2008), but in the context of the sentence it is clear that "this region" refers to the area "near the Syrian border" where Sam'al is located, not the Near East in general. It was rather Joseph Wegner who was paraphrased (perhaps incorrectly) as having said that "cult offerings to the dead were common in the Middle East, but not the idea of a soul separate from the body—except in Egypt" (Wilford 2008). This erroneous idea was then repeated in the Wikipedia article on Sam'al (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sam'al, accessed March 29, 2017).

in a predominantly West Semitic milieu where the destruction of the body might have been feared to extinguish the soul (Wilford 2008; Bonn-Muller 2008; Schloen and Fink 2009, 11; Pardee 2009, 62; Herrmann 2014b, 100).

Inhumation burial prevailed throughout the Levant and Syro-Mesopotamia in the Bronze Age, and cremation was introduced on a large scale only in the Iron Age and only in certain regions, such as Karkemish, Hama, and Phoenicia.[8] There is no evidence yet for the practice of cremation at Samʾal. The other (uninscribed) banquet stele found at Zincirli was associated with a stone cist grave (empty, but presumably intended for an inhumation) (von Luschan, Humann, and Koldewey 1898, 140; Bonatz 2000a, no. C 46), while the two royal Samʾalian mortuary inscriptions indicate that statues of the deceased were set up at the tomb itself (KAI 214, line 15; KAI 215, line 21). The interpretation of Katumuwa's statement about the *nbš* in the stele as an explanation of cremation is thus still hypothetical, but not implausible.[9]

After the publication and first interpretation of the stele, commentators in Anatolian studies were quick to point out that Katumuwa's conception of a soul separate from the body is perfectly consistent with Hittite and Luwian belief as expressed in a variety of texts (Masson 2010, 53–54; Melchert 2010; Hawkins 2015, 50–51). Émilia Masson (2010, 55–56) compared Katumuwa's cult with the Hittite royal funerary ritual involving simultaneous animal sacrifices to the gods and to an effigy of the deceased. She further argued that among Katumuwa's gods, not only Kubaba and Hadad (Tarhunzas) of the Vineyards (Pardee 2009, 62) but also *ngd/r* (Nikarawas?) *ṣwd/rn* (of the hunters?) might be identified as a Luwian deity (Masson 2010, 53), while Ilya Yakubovich (2010b, 396) proposed to read the epithet of the first god, Hadad *qrpd/l*, as Luwian *harpatalli-* "companion(?)." Even the uniquely Samʾalian habit of carving Northwest Semitic inscriptions in raised relief instead of incising them can be traced to the Hieroglyphic Luwian epigraphic tradition (Brown 2008, 344; Struble and Herrmann 2009, 20; Hawkins 2015, 50; Niehr 2016, 318). And of course, banquet stelae are most numerous in the neighboring Neo-Hittite kingdom of Gurgum (Maraş). From this perspective, then, the language of the inscription is the only West Semitic element of an otherwise Anatolian monument.

## 2. HAWKINS'S PROPOSAL: NOT "SOUL" BUT "IMAGE"

In his contribution to the 57th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, David Hawkins (2015) attempted to throw more cold water on the idea that there is anything remarkable about Katumuwa's statement that his *nbš* is in the stele by disputing the common translation of *nbš* as "soul, person, self" in this context. Rather, given the aforementioned similarities of Katumuwa's stele and cult to the evidence from Hieroglyphic Luwian monuments (see Hawkins 1980, 1989), Hawkins (2015, 55) proposed that *nbš* is a calque for the Luwian word *atri-*, which means "self, person, soul" but also "image, likeness."

Both van den Hout (2002, 176–77n28) and Yakubovich (2002, 194–97) have argued that the original meaning of *atri-* is "self, person, soul," against the proposal of Hawkins (1989, 190n7; 2000, 460) that its primary meaning is "image, figure." Van den Hout's (2002, 181–85) recognition that the accompanying logogram *341 (also used for other words denoting mental states and body parts) represents not a vessel (VAS) but a human heart (COR) further points toward the association of *atri-* with persons rather than forms or representations. Yakubovich (2002, 195–96) particularly disputes Hawkins's idea that Luwian *atri-* is related to Hittite *eš(ša)ri* "form, image, figure" and argues that three of the six cases where Hawkins translates *atri-* as "image, figure" in his *Corpus* (Hawkins 2000) can be translated just as plausibly, or better, as "self, person." In his response, Hawkins (2015, 51–52) conceded that Luwian *atri-* and Hittite *eš(ša)ri* are not directly related, but he maintained that they are used similarly. He also cited (2015, 53–54) a new attestation of *atri-* for which the context suggests the translation "likeness, image" (JISR EL HADID 4, D 1, §2; Dinçol et al. 2014).

8 See Bienkowski 1982; Mazzoni 2000, 34–35. There is no agreement about the origin or ethnic attribution of cremation in the Iron Age Near East, whether Hittite, Hurrian, "Sea Peoples," or Aramaean, or that attribution to a particular population group is even appropriate (Bienkowski 1982; Mazzoni 2000, 34–35; Tenu 2009; Düring, Visser, and Akkermans 2015).

9 On the other hand, mentions of offerings made to statues or stelae of deceased ancestors that were not at a tomb, but more likely at a temple (Bonatz 2000b, 196), suggest that the idea that the soul could be present in other locations or objects was not unknown in Semitic cultures of Syro-Mesopotamia already in the second millennium BC.

He concluded that "*atri-* on monuments may refer to the representation of the deceased" (Hawkins 2015, 55).

Assuming that *nbš* in the Katumuwa inscription serves the same function as *atri-* on Luwian monuments, Hawkins (2015, 55) would therefore translate line 5 as "a ram to my 'soul' (likeness), which (is) *on* this stele" (emphasis original), rather than Dennis Pardee's "a ram for my 'soul' that (will be) in this stele." He avers that lines 10–13 would be better rendered as "'He is also to perform the slaughter on my "soul" (likeness)', i.e., pour the blood over the image on the stele," instead of Pardee's "He is also to perform the slaughter in (proximity to) [*or* on] my 'soul'" (Hawkins 2015, 55). With this "prosaic understanding" that Katumuwa is merely referring to his image *on* the stele, Hawkins (2015, 49, 55) claimed to eliminate the significance for Syro-Hittite religion of the more "colorful interpretation" that his soul resides *in* the stele.

## 3. *NBŠ* AS "IMAGE"?

There are several reasons a prosaic understanding of *nbš* as "image" in the Katumuwa inscription does not work, however. The first is that, despite his Luwian name and Luwian gods, we can make no assumptions about Katumuwa's mother tongue such that we should expect *nbš* to be a calque for *atri-*. Seth Sanders (2013, 38–40) has pointed out parallels with the terminology and structure of South Arabian mortuary inscriptions that cast doubt on the idea that the Katumuwa inscription should be read from an exclusively Anatolian perspective.

Even if Katumuwa was attempting to translate a Luwian word into Sam'alian, however, the choice of *nbš* undermines the idea that the secondary sense of *atri-* as "image, likeness" was the meaning intended in this case. In other inscriptions, *nbš/npš/nfs* can be translated appropriately as "image, likeness" only exceedingly rarely.[10] The secondary meaning it eventually takes on, "mortuary monument, tombstone" (beginning already with line 11 of the Katumuwa inscription), is usually not interchangeable with "image, likeness," for most of the monuments referred to in this way are aniconic (see Triebel 2004). Rather, there are other words available in Old Aramaic and Sam'alian itself that are more suited to a prosaic expression of "image, likeness."

Some of these terms are in fact used to refer to memorial statues and stelae. The most common term for both anthropomorphic statues and figurative and aniconic stelae was *nṣb* (√*nṣb* "to plant, erect," cognate to Hebrew *maṣṣebah*), the same word used for Katumuwa's stele. It is used to refer to the colossal statue of Panamuwa II (Katumuwa's king) on which his Sam'alian mortuary inscription was written (KAI 215, lines 1 and 20), the statue of the god Hadad on which the mortuary inscription for Panamuwa I is inscribed (KAI 214, lines 1 and 14), and another mentioned statue or stele that probably represented the latter king himself (KAI 214, line 15).[11] Other terms are also used, however. In the inscription for Panamuwa II, it is said that upon the king's death during the Assyrian campaign to Damascus, Tiglath-Pileser III "erected an image (*mšky*, √*šky* "to look"; see Tropper 1993, 126) for him in the way" (KAI 215, line 18). The Old Aramaic inscription on the statue of Hadad-Yis'i from Tell Fakhariyah (Sikani) describes the statue interchangeably as his *dmwt* "image, likeness" (√*dmy* "to be like, resemble") (KAI 309, lines 1, 15) and his *ṣlm* "image" (KAI 309, lines 12 and 16).[12] Both terms are paralleled in the Akkadian version of the bilingual inscription by *ṣalmu*.

10 Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 748; Triebel 2004, 145–47. In two fifth-century BC Aramaic inscriptions from Anatolia, *npš* is used alongside, but clearly distinguished from, words that mean "image" (*ṣlm*; Daskyleion, KAI 318) and "figure, relief" (*ptkr*; Kesecek Köyü, KAI 258), though it is not clear from context whether *npš* means "monument," "self," or "soul" in these cases (Triebel 2004, 56–61). A Sabaean stele of the second century AD with a banquet relief is identified as the *ṣwr wnfs* "image and *npš*-monument" of the deceased (Triebel 2004, 148).

11 See Niehr 2006, 117. See also the Bar-Hadad (KAI 201, line 1), Zakkur (KAI 202, lines 1 and 14), and Bukan stelae (KAI 302, line 1).

12 Randy Garr (2000), however, argues for a subtle rhetorical distinction between the use of *dmwt* in the first part of the inscription, written in the votive genre and with a supplicating attitude, and *ṣlm* in the second half, which has a commemorative character and commanding attitude. For Garr, the single object of the statue fulfills two functions—a votive and cultic function as a "likeness" (*dmwt*), and a projection of power as an "image" (*ṣlm*)—and thereby represents two aspects of kingship.

Finally, the two mortuary stelae from Neirab with relief-carved images of the deceased are referred to in their inscriptions as *ṣlm* "image" (KAI 225, lines 3, 6, and 12; KAI 226, line 2).

Katumuwa not only deliberately distinguished between his *nbš* and *nṣb*, which as we have seen was regularly used on its own for anthropomorphic statues and figurative stelae, but also rejected available alternatives, such as *mšky*, *dmw*, and *ṣlm*, whose primary meaning was "image, likeness." Instead, he used a term, *nbš*, that retains the ambiguity also expressed by *atri-* between the "self, person, soul" and its physical expression in a monument or image.

A translation of *nbš* in the Katumuwa stele as "image, likeness" furthermore makes little sense in the context of the text and the actions it describes. There is no doubt that the *nbš* is the recipient of sacrificial offerings, just like the five gods named immediately before it in lines 3–5.[13] This clearly implies that the *nbš* represents Katumuwa's person after death, a being that can consume food, just as the gods can.[14] Even if we conceded that the *nbš* is represented by the relief-carved image *on* the stone, rather than being *in* it, the image would nevertheless be a potent one with some kind of life-force, not a mere picture. This slight shift in the interpretation of the text would therefore have no effect on the importance for the study of Syro-Hittite religion of Katumuwa's statement that his postmortem being, his *nbš*, is able to receive sustenance in the afterlife through its localization in or on the stele before which sacrifices are made.

## 4. *ATRI-* IMAGES AS RECIPIENTS OF OFFERINGS

Though I argue above that *nbš* in the Katumuwa stele is not necessarily a translation of Luwian *atri-*, Hawkins's analogy between the two terms seems to be appropriate in light of what we know about *atri-* from other monuments. But these similarities between *atri-* and *nbš* actually lead away from Hawkins's proposal that either term ever meant "image" in a purely prosaic sense, because when *atri-* takes the form of a monument, it, too, is usually identified as a recipient of offerings. A closer look at the texts where *atri-* can be translated as "image, likeness" will demonstrate this observation.

The most famous *atri-* monument is the statue of a seated figure from Karkemish found next to the King's Gate (Woolley 1921, pl. B:25). The horned figure enthroned above a pair of lions appears to be a god, and the inscription (KARKAMIŠ A4d) uses the determinative DEUS to identify him: "(He) who does not [offer] annual bread, an ox, and two sheep to this (god) Atrisuhas with the gods, may (god) Atrisuhas come against him fatally!" Hawkins (2000, 101) proposed to analyze this name as *atri Suhas*, "soul/image of Suhi" (referring to the father [Suhi II] or great-grandfather [Suhi I] of Katuwa),[15] despite the irregularity of this construction, with the genitive *suhas* following instead of preceding *atri-*.[16] Nowhere else in the Luwian corpus is *atri-* explicitly deified, nor are the deceased typically represented with the attributes of gods. These anomalies have perhaps hindered appreciation of the significance of this statue and its inscription for Syro-Hittite mortuary cult and the meaning of *atri-*. Otherwise, however, this monument perfectly parallels the Katumuwa inscription:

- The monument ("this," i.e., the statue) is identified as the *atri-* of a person.
- Annual sacrificial offerings are mandated for it.
- These offerings should be simultaneous with sacrifices for the gods (DEUS-*ni-za* CU[M]-*ni* "with the gods").

13 See Triebel 2004, 253, on the significance of libation installations at *npš*-monuments of Petra as evidence for the survival of the idea that the soul was present in the monument even in this late period, when the meaning of *npš* as "monument" had long been established.

14 According to Suriano (2014, 388), "the abstract essence of the *nbš* is assigned a physical presence through ritual."

15 Katuwa states that he is the one who erected this statue in KARKAMIŠ A11a, §20.

16 Hawkins (2015, 54) most recently suggested explaining this reversed word order as an influence from Akkadian. As noted by Craig Melchert (personal communication), however, the appearance of the normally *i*-stem Suhi as an *a*-stem is still unexplained.

As for the Katumuwa inscription, even if we translated *atri-Suhas* as "image/likeness of Suhi," we could not understand this phrase in a prosaic way, for the text attributes personhood to it by making it the recipient of offerings.

The new JISR EL HADID 4 inscription from the Amuq Valley (Dinçol et al. 2014), discovered not long after the Katumuwa stele, provides another important testimony for our understanding of *atri-*. This unfortunately incomplete memorial inscription for a man named Sami(ya) dedicated by his son Runtapi is inscribed on a rectangular base with a socket for a statue or stele. The best-preserved part of the text reads:

D 1 §2 |*á-mu-pa-wa/i-na* CERVUS+*RA/I-ta-pi-sá á-pi-si-na* COR-*tara/i-i-na i-zi-i-ha*
§3 *wa/i-na á-pi-sa-za tá-ti-za* DEUS-*na-za* COR-*ni-i-na* <*wa/i*?>-*li*[1]-*nu-u-ha*
§4 ("VIA")*ha+ra/i-w*[*a/i*]-*ta-z*[*a*] || -*pa-wa/i-tu-ta za-a sari*[?]-<*li*[?]>-*ha*[17]
§5 (DEUS)TONITRUS-*ti-i* 1 ARIES/OVIS-*ni-sa* |("MANUS[?].FLAMMAE[?]")*ku-wa/i-za-i*[18]
§6 POST+*RA/I-ta-pa-wa/i* "1" BOS(ANIMAL) |1 GAZELLA(ANIMAL) CRUS+X-*i*
§7 *a-mi-pa-wa/i tá-ti* PRAE+i *sà-mi-ia-sa-na* STATUA-*r*[*u*]-*t*[*i* . . .

D 1 §2 But I (myself), Runtapi, made him (as) his image (*atri-*) (or as his person),
§3 and I exalted him (as) an image (*tani-*)[19] (or raised him in person[20]) to his paternal gods.
§4 And I offered(?) this to him for "travelers":
§5 for Tarhunzas one ram will always *KUWAZA*.[21]
§6 And hereafter one ox (and) one gazelle will stand(?).
§7 And before my father Sami(ya)'s statu[e . . .

JISR EL HADID 4, D 1, §2 is one of the few cases apart from the statue of Atrisuha where the context (with the reference in §7 to the statue of his father) and the verb (*izi-* "to make") with double accusative make it clear that *atri-* refers to a statue or relief depiction of a person (see Hawkins 2015, 52–53). In the other example where *izi-* is used with a double accusative, the statue base KARKAMIŠ A15b, §11, "and I myself made my *atri-* (as) a stone carving ("SCALPRUM"(-)*i-ara/i-za*)," the *atri-* is clearly distinct from the stone carving, leading van den Hout (2002, 185) and Yakubovich (2002, 196) to propose "my person" but Hawkins (2015, 52) "my likeness" as appropriate translations.[22] Finally, in ALEPPO 2 the verb (CRUS+*RA/I-nuwa-* "to set up") and the preverb (*anta*) make it apparent that *atri-* refers to a statue or stele: "I established his name with Tarhunzas, but I did not at all install him (as) *atri-*."[23] In some cases, then, *atri-* is distinct from the stone likeness, just as *nbš* is distinguished from the stele in line 5 of Katumuwa, while in other cases it

17 Ali Dinçol and his coauthors (2014, 65) think this sign resembles *303, *sari* (a ligature of *327 $sa_5$ and *82, which represents *ari*), giving an unknown verb *sari-* with the sense of establishing offerings. *Sarl(a)i-* (usually written $sa_5$+*ra/i-la-i-* or $sa_5$+*ra/i-li-*) "to offer" fits this sense, if we suppose that *li* has dropped out by mistake.

18 The precise meaning and etymology of the verb *kuwa(za)-* is unclear, but the other attestation (ANCOZ 1, §3) also has to do with animal sacrifice (Dinçol et al. 2014, 65).

19 It is debated whether the word behind COR-*ni-* is *atri-* with a heteroclite *r*/*n* stem or a separate word *tan*(*i*)- with a similar meaning, "person, soul." Giusfredi (2016, 303–4, 307) has now countered Melchert's (2010, 8; cf. Hawkins 2015, 53) objection to van den Hout's (2002, 180; cf. Yakubovich 2002, 196n18) proposal that Luwian *tan*(*i*)- and Hittite *ištanza*(*n*)- have a common root **stan* with the argument that these two words were derived from Indo-European **steh*$_2$ "to stand" by different morphogenetic paths.

20 See the discussion of this expression in the next section.

21 See n18.

22 The "stone carving" (later called a statue in §24) was commissioned by Yariri for himself while still living. In the next clause (KARKAMIŠ A15b, §12), this image or statue is referred to as "me" ("and Kubaba will take me placed at (her) foot"), highlighting again the identification between the image and its referent. The rest of the inscription gives the *res gestae* of this regent of Karkemish, so the statue was likely intended as a memorial.

23 §11, |"COR"-*tara/i-pa-wa/i-na* $NEG_2$ |REL-*i-ha a-tá* |CRUS+*RA/I-nu-wa/i-ha*. Thanks to Craig Melchert and Ilya Yakubovich for their advice on the translation of this passage. The inscription is a dedication by the author to his (deceased?) lord and brother Hamiyata of Masuwari. Gifts to his brother ("that which I shall present to my brother in goodness") are mentioned in §17, but it is not clear from the context whether they are mortuary offerings or something else.

is conflated with the object itself, just as *nbš* is in line 11 of Katumuwa and later instances where it means "mortuary monument."

As for the Katumuwa stele and the statue of Atrisuha, however, the statue mentioned in JISR EL HADID 4 is clearly not only an image, for the sacrificial context of D 1, §§4–7 (see n18) implies that offerings for the statue of Sami(ya) were listed immediately following the break (Dinçol et al. 2014, 66). In fact, as Hawkins himself points out (2015, 54), several Iron Age Luwian inscriptions mention offerings made even to memorial statues or reliefs that are not identified as *atri-*:

- KARKAMIŠ A1a, §§28–33 (Suhi II): "And for myself my statue I [. . .] he shall [ho]nor. (He) who (is a man) of sheep, let him offer a sheep to this statue. But (he) who (is a man) of bread, let him send bread as an offering to it."
- MALPINAR: the River-lord Alayaza refers to the relief image of himself as "this statue" (§§1, 5, 18, 26) and asks of a future visitor, "to this statue of Alayaza let him offer a sheep" (§26; also §5).
- The small statue of a chief eunuch, MARAŞ 14, §§7–9: "to this statue of Astiwasu let there be this offering (and let no one erase it!): three breads. . . ."

These examples show that statues and relief images were perceived to embody the persons represented in a sufficiently literal manner that their spirits (*atri-*) could receive offerings through or at them. Thus *atri-* "person, self, soul" acquired its secondary meaning of "image, likeness, statue" by the same process of extension that allowed *nbš* "soul, life, self, person" to be used for "mortuary monument."

## 5. "EXALTING" AN *ATRI-*

The new inscription JISR EL HADID 4 also provides important contextual evidence for understanding another frequent but enigmatic term related to *atri-* and *tani-*. Connecting the statements about the creation of the *atri-* (D 1, §2) and the sacrificial offerings for the gods and the statue of Sami(ya) (D 1, §§4–7) is the expression *wa/i-na á-pi-sa-za tá-ti-za* DEUS-*na-za* COR-*ni-i-na* <*wa/i?->li'-nu-u-ha* (D 1, §3), translated by Dinçol and his coauthors (2014) as "and for his fathers' gods I exalted him (as) an image."

The verb (BONUS)*wali(ya)nu(wa)-* appears almost exclusively with *atri-* (in TELL AHMAR 5, §§12b, 15; TELL AHMAR 6, §14; and MARAŞ 4, §15, in addition to its appearance with *tani-* [see n19 above] in JISR EL HADID 4). It must be the causative form of the verb (BONUS)*waliya-*, which also often appears with *atri-* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §§3, 5; KARKAMIŠ A14a, §5) or *tani-* (MALPINAR, §11). Both *waliya-* and *wali(ya)nu(wa)-* have usually been translated as "to exalt, favor," and Melchert (2011, 81) identifies a matching stem in the Cuneiform Luwian verb *walli(ya)-*, meaning concretely "raise, lift." The attested examples show that only the gods can *atrin/tanin waliya-* for a person, but people can *atrin/tanin wali(ya)nu(wa)-* other people or themselves.

Melchert (2011, 80–84) has explored the difficulties, both grammatical and semantic, in the interpretation of these verbs. He points out that *waliya-* must be an intransitive verb, because it is sometimes accompanied by an enclitic subject pronoun (KARKAMIS A2+3, §§4–5; KARKAMIŠ A14a, §7), and that it almost always appears with the preverbs POST-*ni a-tá*. He reads this construction as meaning literally, "(the god[s]) rose behind (someone)," that is, "(the god[s]) supported (someone)." As *atrin*/*tanin* cannot be an accusative direct object in the case of an intransitive verb, he suggests that it is an accusative of respect referring to the beneficiary of the support—that is, the god(s) supported him/them (and no others) personally or specially (Melchert 2011, 84).

Yakubovich (2010a, 164), on the other hand, understands *atrin/tanin* in these contexts with intransitive *waliya-* as a periphrastic phrase with reflexive function, referring to the subject (the supportive god) rather than the beneficiary of the action: "(the god) raised himself/herself behind (someone)."[24] However, *waliya-* appears just as frequently without *atrin* or any other reflexive pronoun, as Yakubovich acknowledges (Melchert 2011, 84), thus making it difficult to consider *waliya-* a reflexive verb.

24 I am grateful to both Craig Melchert and Ilya Yakubovich for our helpful and clarifying correspondence about this topic.

Transitive *wali(ya)nu(wa)-* takes an accusative direct object in addition to *atrin/tanin*.[25] If *atrin*/*tanin* in these cases is also accusative singular, we then seem to have a double accusative construction, "to exalt/raise someone (as) *atri-/tani-* (see Dinçol et al. 2014, 63; Hawkins 2015, 53). This interpretation is possible, but it seems problematic to analyze *atrin/tanin* with *waliya-* versus *wali(ya)nu(wa)-* in two completely different ways—that is, as an adverbial accusative of respect or grammaticalized reflexive pronoun with the first verb, and as a double accusative with its causative form. Its interpretation as an accusative of respect with *both* verbs would be consistent and would explain the occasional absence of *atrin/tanin* from these phrases.

Another problem is that "to exalt," the still-standard translation of *wali(ya)nu(wa)-,* does not make sense as the causative of "to support, favor," Melchert's convincing interpretation of *waliya-*.[26] Significant here is that *wali(ya)nu(wa)-* is lacking the postpositions that are almost always found with *waliya-* to indicate the beneficiary of the divine support. Therefore, Yakubovich's suggestion (cited by Melchert 2011, 84) that the adverbial accusative of respect *atrin/tanin* should refer to the subject rather than the beneficiary of the *waliya-* verb is more convincing, as such a beneficiary is lacking with *wali(ya)nu(wa)-*: with *waliya-*, the god rises up "in person, personally," and with *wali(ya)nu(wa)-* one causes another person to rise up "in person, personally."

Melchert's (2011, 84) objection to connecting *atrin/tanin* to the subject of *waliya-* was, "How else could a deity rise except with respect to his or her person?" But this question points to the more general problem with translating *atri-/tani-* in a grammaticalized form as "personally"—namely, that it does not account for the exclusive association of this form with these two verbs *waliya-*/*wali(ya)nu(wa)-*. There are many other ways to say that a deity supported a person, but none of them appears with *atrin/tanin*. Would we not expect a more general distribution if *atrin/tanin* were grammaticalized as either an accusative of respect, "personally," or a reflexive pronoun, "himself/herself?[27]

I propose instead that *atri-* and *tani-* are not grammaticalized in this construction but that their original meaning "person, soul" is semantically bound to the specific meaning of *waliya-*/*wali(ya)nu(wa)-*. Further support for a semantic connection between *atri-/tani-* and *waliya-* is found in the mortuary stele KULULU 4, where the deceased explains not only that the gods put into him a beloved *atri-* (§4) but also then took the beloved *tani-* as *waliyawanti-* (§9),[28] an adjectival (Hawkins 1989, 190n6) or participial form of *waliya-*, presumably at death. We should thus translate *atrin/tanin* POST-*ni a-tá waliya-* as "to rise (with respect to one's) person/soul behind (i.e., support) (someone)," and *atrin/tanin wali(ya)nu(wa)-* as "to make (someone) rise (with respect to his/her) person/soul." But what do these actions mean in a concrete sense?

Clearly, in the case of *waliya-*, we are not dealing with deceased "souls," as the immortal gods are the ones acting and the beneficiaries are usually alive. In two examples of *wali(ya)nu(wa)-*, the relevant person is certainly dead (JISR EL HADID 4 §3 and MARAŞ 4 §11); in two other cases, the context is obscure but takes place following the death of the speaker's father (TELL AHMAR 5 §§12b, 15 and TELL AHMAR 6 §14); and in one example, the person is certainly alive (MARAŞ 4 §15) (although, since the last is a *res gestae* inscribed on a statue of a ruler, it could be considered prospectively memorial, like the Katumuwa inscription). The *waliya*-action of the gods benefits some person, but when one person makes another person (or himself) *waliya-* (*wali(ya)nu(wa)-*), it seems to be an honor or benefit for the latter.

JISR EL HADID 4 finally provides a relatively clear context for *atrin wali(ya)nu(wa)-*, in this case for a deceased person. By making a statue that posthumously represented his father (D 1, §2), the son "made him rise (with respect to) his person to the family gods" (D 1, §3). Given this connection to the posthumous statue, the most likely meaning I can deduce for the *atrin/tanin waliya-* action that could be carried out

25 The exception is MARAŞ 4, §15, where *amin atrin* "my *atri-*" is the only accusative object of *waliyanuwa-*. However, a second object is still given here in the form of the enclitic reflexive pronoun *-mi-*.

26 That these two verbs should have directly related meanings is shown by their successive use in TELL AHMAR 5 §10 and §§12b, 15.

27 Actually, the ablative/instrumental of *atri-*/*tani-* seems to have been used to emphasize that the speaker did various actions "personally" or "in person" (KULULU 4 §5; KÖRKÜN §3; ÇİNEKÖY §9).

28 *wa/i-mu-ta* DEUS-*ni-zi-i* (LITUUS)*á-za-mi-na* COR-*ni-na a-ta tu-wa/i-mi-na-*‘ *la-ta wa/i-li*$^{?}$*-ia-wa/i-ti-na.*

by both gods and living or deceased mortals is embodiment or physical manifestation. In fact, *atri-/tani-* frequently connotes the physical body or presence of a living person, sometimes juxtaposed or contrasted with the person's "name" (IZGIN 2 §8, ALEPPO 2 §§10–11), "land" (TOPADA §36), or "house" (TOPADA §38). The gods can thus be imagined to physically manifest themselves ("rise in person") behind (or even in?) a favored king, while mortals make the dead or even themselves (prospectively, like Katumuwa) manifest or embodied ("in person"), probably through the creation of mortuary statues and stelae. In the case of JISR EL HADID 4, this action by Runtapi put the deceased father Samiya among the paternal gods, and the marker of this new status[29] was that henceforth there should be offerings to the father, in the form of his statue, together with the gods (D 1, §§4–7).[30] Even in the Iron Age, there may have been some echo of the elaborate rituals surrounding the effigy of the deceased king that are described in the Hittite royal funerary ritual (van den Hout 1995). This status was clearly an exalted one, possibly saving the deceased from the dreary afterlife that was the usual fate of the dead by putting him/her in the company of the gods, formerly a privilege of Hittite royalty (see van den Hout 1994, 2015; Haas 1995), although a translation of *wali(ya)nu(wa)-* as "to make (someone) manifest," rather than "to exalt,"[31] is probably more precise.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The ambiguities and disagreements regarding the interpretation of the Katumuwa monument are easier to resolve if we dispose of two flawed premises about the world in which Katumuwa lived. The first is that the ancient Near Eastern understanding of images was the same as our own.

Just as the Katumuwa inscription demonstrates how the word *nbš* developed its secondary meaning of "mortuary monument," Iron Age Luwian inscriptions such as KARKAMIŠ A4d and JISR EL HADID 4 show why *atri-* "person, soul" was sometimes used to mean "image, statue." In the clearest cases where *atri-* takes this secondary meaning, offerings for the monument are described, indicating that the image was credited with personhood. Thus image/monument and person (or soul) could be synonymous in this context. The new inscription JISR EL HADID 4 suggests that creating a mortuary monument where simultaneous offerings to the gods and the deceased took place made the person manifest (*atrin/tanin wali(ya)nu(wa)-*), thereby giving him or her a privileged death that included eating and drinking with gods.

The evidence for offerings to images of the dead in the Iron Age Syro-Hittite kingdoms is consistent with the broader picture of ancient Near Eastern image ontology. An image (Akkadian *ṣalmu*) differed from a mimetic likeness (Akkadian *tamšilu*) in being a representative of and substitute for the referent (Bonatz 2002a, 2002b).[32] It was not a copy of the real thing but a manifestation that extended or multiplied the effective presence of an entity.[33] The idea that the person ("soul"), not only of gods but also of mortals, could

29 Cf. Suriano's (2014, 402) discussion of how "a ritual environment manifests and materializes identity." See also now Hogue 2019a.

30 Perhaps relevant here is that Halparuntiyas III of Gurgum is identified as *uliyamis* (MARAŞ 1 §1i), apparently a participle of *waliya-* (Hawkins 2000, 263), in a memorial inscription on a lion that may have supported a larger image of the king himself and was introduced by a relief image of the king standing on a lion as the EGO (*amu*) sign (Hawkins 2000, pl. 113).

31 This interpretation also helps make sense of an inscription that is discussed by van den Hout (2002, 171–73) as combining references to a stone image with a form of *atri-* with aphaeresis (*tra/i-*) but does not use the verb *wali(ya)nu(wa)-*. İVRİZ 1, §3 (*za-wa/i tara/i-sà wa/i+ra/i-pa-la-wa/i-sa* HEROS *i+ra/i-ia-za*) was translated by Hawkins (2000, 517) as "This (is) the image of Warpalawas the Hero . . . ," taking *tara/i-sà* as a variant of *taru-* "statue, image" and declining to translate *i+ra/i-ia-za*, but van den Hout (2002, 172) reanalyzed this inscription as "This is the stone carving (*iriyanza*) of the person (*tra/is*) of Warpalawas the Hero" or "of Warpalawas the Hero himself." In the context of the texts discussed above, the use of (*a*)*tra/i-* here in İVRİZ 1, instead of appearing to be redundant or merely emphatic, can be explained as adding more information—that is, that the stone image is a physical representation, an embodiment, or effigy of the person, to which personhood should be attributed.

32 The interpretation of Syro-Hittite monuments as substitutes for the represented person is reinforced by the introduction of their inscriptions with "I (am)" (Aro 2013, 235–38) and the "deictic projection" it creates (Hogue 2019b).

33 Bahrani 2003, 121–48. See Goedegebuure (2012) for the slightly different view that Hittite divine and human images were understood as "portals" that provided access to the deity or person and had "derived agency" from (but not identity with) the one represented.

be extendable into multiple simultaneous manifestations (Bahrani 2003, 133–38; Bonatz 2002a, 63) helps explain how Katumuwa could have initiated the offerings to the gods and to his own *nbš* in the form of the relief-carved stele with an inaugural feast while still living, then continued to be the beneficiary of repeated offerings after the death of his organic body.[34] Even where the word *nbš* was not used, image terminology such as *nṣb, mšky, dmwt*, *ṣlm,* and *tarud-* (Luwian "statue"), used in Aramaic and Luwian inscriptions to describe mortuary monuments, very likely carries this representative and embodying, rather than purely mimetic or symbolic, meaning (Bonatz 2002a, 56–57). The use of *nbš* in the Katumuwa inscription and the use of *atri-* in some Luwian inscriptions only make the conflation of the person with the material monument more explicit.

The second premise that is counterproductive for understanding the Katumuwa stele is that two discrete cultural identities or traditions coexisted in the Syro-Hittite kingdoms. In addition to the Luwian names in the Katumuwa inscription, its use of *nbš*, as Hawkins (2015) rightly notes, is quite similar to the way *atri-* is used in Luwian mortuary inscriptions. But we should not necessarily interpret this phenomenon as reflecting Luwian influence on the Semitic population of the northern Levant. Nor does the use of West Semitic mortuary terminology (Sanders 2013) mean that comparison with Hittite and Luwian evidence is irrelevant. As a number of studies have shown, not only mortuary belief and practice (Bonatz 2000a) but also many other aspects of culture (e.g., Mazzoni 1994, 2000; Hutter 1996; Niehr 2004; Novák 2005; Gilibert 2011; Osborne 2014, 2021; Tamur 2017) have no consistent correspondence to language use in the Iron Age northern Levant and southern Anatolia, and evidence is lacking for contemporary consciousness of a cultural opposition in ethnolinguistic terms. Rather, Anatolian Indo-European, Semitic, and (let us not forget!) Hurrian people engaged in an intensive cultural interchange for many centuries in this region, resulting in a web of common practices that overlapped with other regional traditions and lacked any clear boundaries.[35]

## ABBREVIATION

KAI Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 5th ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002

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34 See Pardee 2014, 48: "In stating that his 'soul' was included among the honorees at the inaugural feast, the author appears to be setting up an identification of his living form in attendance at that feast with the representation of that living form on the stele, also in attendance at that feast, and with the continuation of that being in the stele after his death." Is the image ontology described above and implied here by Pardee, in which multiple images can simultaneously manifest the presence of a person in different places and forms, compatible with the notion of a unitary (indivisible) disembodied soul that travels from one location (the body or the netherworld) to another (a statue, stele, or other representative) when invoked? (see Scurlock 1995, 2002; Steiner 2015, 16–20). The Katumuwa inscription raises difficult questions in this regard.

35 See Marian Feldman (2014, 36–37, 58–64) for a discussion of the emergence of supralocal identities from a networked web of practices in the Iron Age Syro-Hittite kingdoms; see also Osborne 2021.

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# 18 THE GALA IN PRESARGONIC LAGAŠ REVISITED*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Sumerian term "gala" has been translated as "lamentation priest," "lamenter," "dirge singer," and the like, with an emphasis on the lamenting role in ritual, or as "liturgical cantor," "cult musician," and the like, with a more general nuance of cultic musician, and often it has been used as is without translation.[1] Galas are attested from the Fara period (ca. 2600 BC) to the Hellenistic period and had a variety of duties and characteristics.[2] This study focuses on individuals who are designated as a gala in the Presargonic documents from the city-state of Lagaš that detail the administrative and economic activities of the $E_2$-$MI_2$, the "household of the queen." The documents of this $E_2$-$MI_2$ corpus are dated to the reigns of the last three rulers of the First Dynasty of Lagaš (Enentarzi, Lugalanda, and Urukagina), spanning more than twenty years in the second and third quarters of the twenty-fourth century BC.[3]

The galas in the $E_2$-$MI_2$ corpus appear in large numbers in the records of food and drink distribution connected with rituals for the dead. These documents tell us about galas' participation in the mourning ceremony without revealing exactly what they did. Nonetheless, as pointed out by Jerrold Cooper (2006, 42–43),[4] it is possible that ritual laments with litany were already common in the cult in Presargonic Lagaš, and if so, that they may have been an important activity of the Lagashite galas.

While the $E_2$-$MI_2$ corpus provides no concrete information about the profession of the galas, it offers valuable bits and pieces about their existence in the framework of the $E_2$-$MI_2$ organization. These features of the primary sources deciding the direction of our research rather automatically, the aim of this study is simple: to collect attestations of galas, examine their socioeconomic status in selected examples, and try to gain a general view of these cultic performers.

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1 For an explanation of the reason Uri Gabbay avoided translating the word gala/*kalû* and left it in its Sumerian and Akkadian forms, see Gabbay 2014, 64.

2 See, e.g., Gelb 1975; Schretter 1990; Cooper 2006; Michalowski 2006, 2019; Gabbay 2011, 2014.

3 Sallaberger and Schrakamp 2015, 82 table 20, 136 table 39.

4 Cooper agrees with Piotr Michalowski that the Urukagina Lament (Frayne 2008: URU-KA-gina E1.9.9.5) was a likely precursor of the Curse of Agade and of city laments.

## 2. THE GALA IN TEXTS RELATED TO RITUALS FOR THE DEAD

Two documents, both dated to UL2,[5] record the distribution of food and drink to the participants of two successive mourning ceremonies at the funeral of Queen Baranamtara (Jagersma 2007, 293). Details of the first ceremony are given on tablet TSA 9, which refers to 72 galas, 70 wives of elders,[6] 10 brothers of Baranamtara (šeš-tu Bara$_2$-nam-tar-ra; Vogel 2013, 423), 112 geme-women (geme$_2$, indicating low-status working women) of the god Ningirsu, and 36 geme-women of the goddess Baba. The second ceremony is recorded on tablet VS 14 137 = AWL 66, which refers to 92 galas, 48 wives of elders, and 177 geme-women. The latter text includes a mention of the "chief gala of Girsu" (VS 14 137 obv. ii 5: gala-mah gir$_2$-su$^{ki}$), who was presumably in charge of the ceremony.

DP 159, dated to UL5, is a similar document concerning the distribution of food and drink.[7] Unlike the two aforementioned texts, it has no specific information as to what ceremony was involved, but because of the very large number of participating galas and geme-women, it may have been a memorial ceremony for Baranamtara. The first half of the text refers to 40 galas of the city of Girsu, 42 galas of Nina, 20 galas of Lagaš, and 51 galas of various places, temples, and deities (DP 159 obv. i 1–iv 4). Among the participants from Girsu there were also 18 u$_{18}$-di musicians[8] and 5 wailing women (um-ma-er$_2$)[9] (obv. i 2–3). These 23 performers were placed in the gala group when counting, giving a total of 176 galas (rev. ii 8). The second half of DP 159 is concerned with geme-women and their children who belonged to or served the goddess Nanše and other gods. Among the 174 total geme-women (rev. ii 9) were 29 women whose occupation is specified: 5 geme-women of the courtyard (geme$_2$ ki-sal$_4$-la), 21 witnesses of the goddess Nanše (ABxAŠ$_2$.IGI $^d$Nanše) (Selz 1995, 206n957), 2 street sweepers (sila-luh) (Selz 1995, 207n972), and 1 musician (nar).

## 3. THE GENDER OF THE GALA

The colophon of DP 159, the text discussed above, specifies its participants as "women and children belonging to the gods" (geme$_2$-dumu-dingir-ne). Ignace Gelb (1975, 71) understood that geme$_2$ "women" in the colophon corresponded to all the adult participants—that is, the geme$_2$ "women" plus the gala of the main text—and he referred to Anton Deimel's conclusion that "danach wären alle gala hier weiblich." Gebhard Selz (1995, 205–6) also understood that all those mentioned in this text were women. However, it seems that Gelb himself did not necessarily consider all the adult participants to have been women, for he drew attention to the fact that records whose colophon similarly reads "barley rations for geme-women and children" (še-ba geme$_2$-dumu; Type III)[10] include a small number of men. With Gelb, I do not think that all the participants counted among the geme-women were women. To anticipate the results of my research, it can be inferred that the group of galas in DP 159 included men.[11] Below I discuss some examples selected from

5 Abbreviations appear at the end of the chapter.

6 This is Bram Jagersma's translation of dam ab-ba, whose meaning is regarded as unknown by Gelb (1975, 65); cf. "'wives of elders' but probably to be equated with the um-ma-er$_2$ 'crying old women'" (Cohen 2005, 56); "old women" (Cooper 2006, 42); "'old women' who were presumably (semi-)professional mourners" (Löhnert 2011, 407).

7 On this occasion, anointing oil was also distributed. On the expression i$_3$ e-šeš$_4$ (DP 159 rev. iii 6) and its attestations, see Rosengarten 1960, 179n3.

8 Cf. "Harfenistinnen?" (Selz 1995, 205 with n955). In DP 159, no u$_{18}$-di is named, while in the E$_2$-MI$_2$ corpus a couple of u$_{18}$-di musicians can be identified: one is a man named Ur-$^d$Ba-ba$_6$, who is mentioned as a leaseholder (DP 591 obv. iv 3–5); the other, also a man, is named Lugal-lu$_2$-zi and appears in connection with barley rations (CT 50 29 rev. ii 1–2).

9 Corresponding to ama-er$_2$ in Edzard 1997: Gudea St. B v 4 (Gelb 1975, 65).

10 The E$_2$-MI$_2$ bureaucracy implemented a new format for recording barley rations distributed to E$_2$-MI$_2$ workers sometime in the reign of Lugalanda. Relevant to our discussion here are the Type I listing for male subsistence landholders, the Type II listing for non–subsistence landholders (with the exception of several women holding subsistence land), and the Type III listing for geme-women and children (Prentice 2010, 18–19, with references to studies by Deimel, Lambert, Maekawa, and Selz).

11 Two Old Akkadian letters published by Farouk N. H. Al-Rawi (1992) show that the office of gala could be occupied by either a man or a woman. A summary of past discussions on the sex of the gala can be found in Al-Rawi 1992, 182–84; see further Cooper 2006; Michalowski 2006; Gabbay 2008; 2011; 2014, 67–68. BIN 8 114, of unknown provenience and dated

25 or so named individuals with the title "gala" or "gala-mah" that are collected from the $E_2$-$MI_2$ corpus. The sources show an unbalanced gender ratio: all but a few of the named galas are men.

### 3.1. THE FEMALE GALA

I found only two named female galas in the $E_2$-$MI_2$ corpus. The better-known one is Nin-tigi$_x$-ni-dug$_3$, who is attested as a gala in the lists of "barley rations of women and children,"[12] where she consistently receives 18 sila of barley and is mentioned first among a dozen or more geme-women whose task was the feeding of pigs (Gelb 1975, 71–72; Prentice 2010, 62–63). She is different from her coworkers in two regards: she bears the title "gala," and she has a name befitting a female gala.[13] This means that the gala Nin-tigi$_x$-ni-dug$_3$ did double duty, feeding the pigs when her performance was not called for.

Gelb (1975, 64–74) discussed the gender of galas and noted the possibility that the term "gala" denoted "not an occupation but a certain inherent or acquired physical characteristic" (p. 70). Although Nin-tigi$_x$-ni-dug$_3$ is a female name, Gelb argued that its bearer was not a woman but a man with "certain feminine characteristics" (p. 73). However, as Manfred Schretter (1990, 132–33) stated contrary to Gelb, this gala was a woman.

The other named female gala is Gu$_3$-bi-dug$_3$.[14] Her gender can be deduced from the context in which she appears on tablet DP 231: she is attested along with Nin-tigi$_x$-ni-dug$_3$, each receiving 18 sila of barley, and both are listed as galas[15] in the section dealing with women and children.[16] Her name reminds us of the gala Gu$_3$-bi-dug$_3$ whom Enentarzi's queen Dimtur purchased (RTC 17 = SRU 44; no regnal year). If these two references are to one and the same person, the purchased gala was integrated into the queen's household and received monthly rations in return for her labor. We also find a gala named Gu$_3$-bi, who is listed among men[17] receiving emmer rations (BIN 8 347 = AWAS 75 rev. v 6–7; dated to E2). The name Gu$_3$-bi could be a short form of Gu$_3$-bi-dug$_3$,[18] but this gala was male and cannot be identified with the female gala Gu$_3$-bi-dug$_3$.

### 3.2. THE MALE GALA

As mentioned above, I have so far collected 25 or so named individuals with the title "gala" or "gala-mah" in the $E_2$-$MI_2$ corpus. A majority of them are men, to judge not only from their personal names but also from their socioeconomic status, which contrasted starkly with that of women. Most importantly, it was men who were allotted fields from the $E_2$-$MI_2$ and did corvée work in return, receiving barley rations for several

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to the ED IIIb period (around the same time as the $E_2$-$MI_2$ corpus), mentions a gala named Munus-tur in connection with 2.25 iku of land, who, judging from the name, seems to have been a woman. Cf. the discussion on the sex and gender of the "chief musician" (NAR.MAH) Ur-Nanše of Mari (McCaffrey 2002; Ziegler 2011, 298; Stol 2016, 358–59).

12 TSA 10 (L6); CT 50 33 (UE1b); HSS 3 21 (UL2.9b); DP 112 (UL2.11b); Nik 1 1 (UL2.12b); TSA 11 (UL3); BIN 8 345 (UL3.6b); DP 229 (UL3.10b); CTNMC 4 (UL3); CT 50 34 (UL4.4b); Nik 1 6 (UL4.9b); TSA 12 (UL5); HSS 3 22 (UL5.4b); VS 25 69 (UL[ ].9b); HSS 3 23 (UL6.12b).

13 Her name means "Lady whose praise hymns are sweet" (Foxvog 2011, 79), or "Herrin! Ihre Tigi(-Hymne) ist süß" (Balke 2017, 351).

14 Cf. Balke 2017, 191.

15 0.0.3 Nin-tigi$_x$-ni-dug$_3$ / 0.0.3 Gu$_3$-bi-dug$_3$ / gala-me in rev. iv 4'–6'.

16 Tablet DP 231 is rather broken. No date is preserved, but its recording format points to the earlier reign of Lugalanda: CDLI dates it tentatively to the ninth month of L1. The first half of the tablet deals with "the first barley ration to the subsistence landholders" (1 ba-am$_6$ lu$_2$-šuku-dab$_5$-ba-me in obv. ix 1'), and the second half deals with the ninth ration (10 la$_2$ 1 ba-am$_6$ in rev. vi 8') distributed. It does not say to whom, but without a doubt it was to nonlandholders, including persons who typically appear in Type II and Type III lists. Nin-tigi$_x$-ni-dug$_3$ and Gu$_3$-bi-dug$_3$ are found among the latter, immediately following female textile workers.

17 Called lu$_2$-IGI.NIGIN$_2$ RU-lugal (rev. vi 3): for these designations, see Schrakamp 2014.

18 On short names derived from longer full names in the $E_2$-$MI_2$ corpus, see Foxvog 2011, 63–68, esp. 64.

months of the year.[19] A small number of women were also allotted subsistence fields, but they seem to have done no corvée work (Maekawa 1987, 61).

Bearing these observations in mind, we find that galas are often attested in only one of the three common kinds of records—land, corvée, and barley rations—and few are attested in all three, but the information is typically enough to decide a given gala's gender. Accordingly, we can say that some of the galas who participated in the lamenting ceremonies discussed above are male. Let us take the "one gala of the Igigal Temple" (DP 159 obv. iv 3; UL5) as an example. Regarding the gala of the Igigal Temple, there is a record of canal cleaning assigned to "En-ne$_2$ the gala of the Igigal Temple" (DP 637 rev. ii 6–7). DP 637 is dated by Maeda (1984, esp. 51) to UE1 and by CDLI to UL1, with only a one-year difference. Considering the timelines of DP 159 and DP 637, it is permissible to identify the unnamed gala of the Igigal Temple in DP 159 as En-ne$_2$.

Another example is the "two galas from the Ebabbar Temple" (DP 159 obv. iii 1), at least one of whom may be identified with "Ur-du$_6$ the gala of the Ebabbar Temple" attested in a work assignment record (VS 25 103 obv. ii 8–9; no date): the latter can be further identified with "the gala Ur-du$_6$" (no temple name) attested in a work assignment dated to UL1 (VS 25 105 obv. i 2–3). Note that an "Ur-du$_6$ the gala-mah of Lagaš" (BIN 8 349 = AWAS 77) is mentioned as a recipient of a pair of oxen from the ensi, probably Lugalanda (CDLI; Selz 1993, 550). Since the Ebabbar Temple was one of the four temples situated in the city of Lagaš (Suter 2000, 87), it is tempting to speculate that these individuals named Ur-du$_6$ were the same person, but that speculation cannot be proved.[20]

A third example is the "gala-mah of Girsu" referred to in a text dated to UL2 (VS 14 137 obv. ii 6), who most likely is to be identified with "Ur-e$_2$ the gala-mah of Girsu" in a text dated to UL1 (TSA 2 rev. i 8–9). This Ur-e$_2$ can be further identified with the unnamed "gala-mah of Girsu" attested as a subsistence landholder in a text dated to UL1 (VS 25 70 rev. iv 1), given that the two records are from the same year. In another land allotment text, "the gala-mah Ur-e$_2$-zi" is mentioned with a certain amount of leased land (TSA 7 rev. i 17–18);[21] although the specification of "Girsu" is lacking, this Ur-e$_2$-zi (a longer form of Ur-e$_2$) can be identified with "Ur-e$_2$ the gala-mah of Girsu." In passing, it is of interest to note that gala-mahs were typically married, as we can infer from the so-called "pure milk and pure malt" (ga-ku$_3$ munu$_4$-ku$_3$) texts, in which the wives of gala-mahs are listed among prominent recipients of those items (Selz 1995, 73–78; Beld 2002, 204–10; Prentice 2010, 181–85). The gala-mahs in these texts are those of Girsu, Lagaš, the goddess Nanše, and the goddess Nin-marki.[22]

The galas discussed in the following paragraphs may or may not have participated in the lamenting ceremonies so far described, but details about them show the socioeconomic diversity of galas.

We possess information pointing to the existence of at least one male gala of the upper class, "the gala Šubur-$^{d}$Ba-ba$_6$." He is attested in DP 134,[23] one of the so-called ereš-dingir texts that record the "barley-emmer-fruit rations" distributed at the festival of the goddess Baba,[24] with his receipt of 72 sila of barley and 72 sila of emmer as well as fruits and dairy products (DP 134 obv. v 3–10).[25] "The gala Šubur-$^{d}$Ba-ba$_6$" is also mentioned in two documents, dated to L3 and L4, about wool rations given to the inner circle of the ruling family (siki-ba lu$_2$-su-a-ne; VS 25 19 obv. ii 1–2; VS 25 54 obv. ii 1–2).[26] In a land allotment text dated to L4

19 On the corvée work of the subsistence landholders and their barley rations, see Maekawa 1987, 53–62; Prentice 2010, 74–76.

20 Cf. another gala named Ur-du$_6$ in DP 32 = SRU 32, which, according to Dietz Otto Edzard (1968, 71), probably dates from the end of the reign of Enmetena or Enanatum II. From a chronological perspective, this Ur-du$_6$ and the Ur-du$_6$ discussed above may or may not be the same person. See Sallaberger and Schrakamp 2015, 84 table 20, for the duration of each Lagaš ruler's reign.

21 The text is dated to year 4; the ruler is not mentioned but, following CDLI, may be Urukagina with the title "lugal."

22 VS 14 173 = AWL 68; DP 132; DP 133; TSA 5.

23 Dated to the reign of Lugalanda, but the regnal year is broken off.

24 For the texts, see Beld 2002, 184–87, 214–18 table 3-7.

25 Ereš-dingir texts characteristically mention a large number of royal family members. On gala, ereš-dingir, and other cultic personnel, see Sallaberger and Huber Vulliet 2003–5, 634–37; Westenholz 2009.

26 On the term lu$_2$-su-a and what it refers to, see Selz 1989, 67; Prentice 2010, 177–79.

(VS 14 72 = AWL 5), "the gala Šubur-$^{d}$Ba-ba$_6$" is listed following three members of Baranamtara's family (obv. ii 5, 7 and iii 1) and is allotted 18 iku of subsistence land (obv. iii 2–3). In a text dated to L4 (Nik 199), we find Šubur-$^{d}$Ba-ba$_6$ bearing no title but described as "queen's brother" (šeš-munus-ke$_4$ in obv. ii 1), making him Baratamtara's brother and a gala by profession.

In another ereš-dingir text, "the gala Lu$_2$-zi" is mentioned as receiving 36 sila of barley and 36 sila of emmer (DP 127 obv. vi 3–5), putting him in the middle on the food distribution scale in the ereš-dingir texts, with 72 sila of barley and 72 of emmer on the upper end and 18 sila of barley and 18 of emmer on the lower end. It is conceivable that this individual is the same person as "the gala Lu$_2$-zi" who is attested with 5.5 iku of "newly cultivated, taxable land" (gan$_2$ su$_3$-la-maš)[27] in a text dated to E3 (VS 25 61 rev. i 1–2). In comparison with the areas of only 2 iku leased to an unnamed gala-mah and an unnamed "chief musician" (nar-gal) in the same text (obv. i 4–5), his area was more than twice as large. In any case, we find both galas and musicians with an interest in (profitable) agricultural business.

Of the four known purchased galas in the E$_2$-MI$_2$ corpus,[28] three are undoubtedly male. One is Lugal-edin-ne$_2$, who is described as "gala, young man" (gala / guruš-am$_6$ in SRU 45 obv. i 2–3) and was purchased by Queen Baranamtara. He appears in monthly ration lists (Type II) dated from L6.9b to UE2b.[29] The second one is "the gala Lugal-nig$_2$-ga$_2$-ni," again purchased by Baranamtara (VS 25 13 obv. ii 3; dated to L6). Interestingly, "the gala Lugal-nig$_2$-ga$_2$-ni" is attested in VS 25 85 (rev. i 3–4; dated to L4)—two years before his sale, in a record of a work assignment for the construction of "a new mud orchard wall" (im-du$_8$-a kiri$_6$ gibil), testifying to his former status as a subsistence landholder. The third one is "the gala Amar-$^{d}$Saman$_x$" (BIN 8 363 = AWAS 90 obv. i 5–ii 1; dated to UL4). He was bought from his father, Lugal-he$_2$-gal$_2$-su$_3$, by a merchant on behalf of Queen Sasa. The E$_2$-MI$_2$ corpus attests a gala named Lugal-he$_2$ (Nik 111 obv. i 1–4), who may or may not be the same person as Lugal-he$_2$-gal$_2$-su$_3$. If the father was himself a gala, we have here an instance of a father-and-son gala pair.[30] "The gala Amar-$^{d}$Saman$_x$" is attested in Type II ration lists dating from UL6.4b to UL6.12b.[31] Both Lugal-edin-ne and Amar-$^{d}$Saman$_x$ received 36 sila of monthly barley rations, twice as much as that of the female galas Nin-tigi$_x$-ni-dug$_3$ and Gu$_3$-bi-dug$_3$.

## 4. GIŠGAL-SI, A GALA AND AN OVERSEER OF TEXTILE WORKERS

As seen in section 2 above, we know of Presargonic lamenting ceremonies in which 72, 92, and 153 galas participated (TSA 9; VS 14 137; DP 159). Gelb (1975, 68) took such large numbers as an indication of "a vely [*sic*] low status of the gala."[32] The galas in these texts, however, may be placed somewhere between the higher-status participants (wives of the elders, Baranamtara's brothers, a gala-mah) and the lower-status women (geme-women), to judge from a simple comparison of the food and drink distributed to them.[33] The male gala examples examined above do not seem to fit with Gelb's view either. A possible interpretation of the large number of galas may be sought, to a certain extent, in double-duty work arrangements for galas. We have already discussed the case of Nin-tigi$_x$-ni-dug$_3$, the female gala who also fed pigs (see section 3 above).

Gišgal-si was a male counterpart of Nin-tigi$_x$-ni-dug$_3$, although their socioeconomic statuses differed. A variety of E$_2$-MI$_2$ texts show that he held the posts of gala and "overseer of textile workers" (ugula ki-siki-ka) concurrently (Maekawa 1973–74, 106n39; Schretter 1990, 132) and belonged to the socioeconomic status of

27 "Abgabepflichtiges Neubruchfeld" (Selz 1989, 192, 194).

28 For the texts, see Prentice 2010, 144.

29 VS 25 71 (L6.9b); VS 25 11 (L6.10b); RA 71 102 (L6.12b); MVN 3 2 (UE2b).

30 Cf. Ur-e$_2$(-gid$_2$-da) / dumu gala (VS 14 80 = AWL 88 obv. i 2–3, ii 2–iii 1). The Sumerian "dumu gala" has been translated in two ways: the "son of Gala" (Gala as a personal name; Bauer 1972, 279) or the "son of a gala-priest" (Balke 2014, 94). A similar case is the "gala" in RTC 80 = SRU 46 obv. i 1, which according to Edzard (1968, 94) is a personal name or according to Wilcke (2003, 56–57) the name of a profession. Another example of gala (VS 14 156 = AWL 6 obv. ii 7) is understood by Bauer (1972, 98) also as a personal name. Cf. the personal name Galae in the Garšana archive in Gabbay 2011, 67–68.

31 FAOS 15/2 122; TSA 16; HSS 3 18 = AWAS 17.

32 See also Shehata 2013, 81.

33 For the texts, see Beld 2002, 212 table 3-5; see also the discussion in Karahashi, forthcoming.

"subsistence landholder," fulfilling work assignments and receiving barley rations for several months per year (Karahashi and Garcia-Ventura 2016, 1–11). The textile workers led by Gišgal-si[34] may also have participated in ceremonies when necessary. In fact, Garšana textile workers were mobilized for the funeral of Šu-Kabta, the owner of the Garšana household and husband of an Ur III princess.[35] Some scholars (e.g., Selz 1989, 295–96) wonder whether Gišgal-si was a woman, but that possibility should be discarded (Karahashi and Garcia-Ventura 2016, 5).

## 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The collected data, which include titles, subsistence land allotments, work assignments, various kinds of rations, and family relationships, show galas to be male and female, each having a different path in life and a different background. They can be roughly divided into three socioeconomic groups. In the first and highest-ranking group were male gala-mahs, including Šubur-$^{d}$Ba-ba$_{6}$, who bore the simple title "gala" but was related to the royal family. In the second group were individuals designated as gala who held subsistence land: the gala Gišgal-si is a good example of this category. The gala Lugal-nig$_{2}$-ga$_{2}$-ni presumably belonged to this group before he was sold. In the third group were galas who were landless and received monthly rations, including not only the female gala Nin-tigi$_{x}$-ni-dug$_{3}$ (and perhaps the sold female gala Gu$_{3}$-bi-dug$_{3}$) but also the male galas Lugal-edin-ne$_{2}$ and Amar-$^{d}$Saman$_{x}$, who were sold. The latter two received larger barley rations than the females. We also noted that the employment of double-duty galas, such as Gišgal-si and Nin-tigi$_{x}$-ni-dug$_{3}$, could be an effective workforce management strategy for the E$_{2}$-MI$_{2}$ organization.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations other than the following ones are those used by the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (https://cdli.earth/abbreviations).

| | |
|---|---|
| E | Reign of Enentarzi (e.g., E3 = Enentarzi year 3) |
| L | Reign of Lugalanda (e.g., L6.11b = Lugalanda year 6, the eleventh ration) |
| UE | Reign of Urukagina Ensi (e.g., UE1b = Urukagina Ensi year, the first ration) |
| UL | Reign of Urukagina Lugal (e.g., UL6.4b = Urukagina Lugal year 6, the fourth ration) |

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34 On the number of the textile workers under his supervision, see Maekawa 1980, 83 table 1.

35 See "Craftswomen to Mourn for Šu-Kabta" in Kleinerman and Owen 2009, 575–76.

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# 19 LINGUISTIC INTERPRETATIONS OF THE SPELLING OF HITTITE DATIVE-LOCATIVE AND ALLATIVE SINGULAR FORMS

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## DEDICATION

It is with great pleasure that I dedicate to Theo van den Hout this brief study of the linguistic interpretation of some Hittite spelling phenomena. I consider myself lucky that I had the opportunity to study with him during the last two years that he worked as a professor of Hittitology at the University of Amsterdam, and I greatly appreciate the genuine kindness, generosity, and helpfulness he has shown to me ever since.[1]

## 1. PHONETIC SPELLINGS OF DATIVE-LOCATIVE SINGULAR FORMS

Hittite dative-locative singular forms contain crucial information about the place of their accent. When the vowel of the ending is spelled plene, *℃i-i*, this vowel is long and accented—for example, *ták-ni-i* "earth" = /təknḯ/, *ki-iš(-ša)-ri-i* "hand" = /kːɨsːrḯ/, *ḫa-aš-ši-i* "fireplace" = /χasːḯ/, and *iš-ši-i* "mouth" = /ɨsːḯ/.[2] But when the vowel of the ending is spelled nonplene, *℃i*, this vowel is short and unaccented, /-i/, which means that the stem of the word must have been accented, for example, *pa-aḫ-ḫu-e-ni* "fire" = /paχʷːéni/, *me-e-ḫu-ni* "time" = /mḗχoni/, and *pé(-e)-ru-ni* "stone" = /péruni/.[3] Such a distinction can be found in other cases as well (e.g., gen.sg. accented *℃a-a-aš* = /-Cấs/ vs. unaccented *℃a-aš* = /-Cas/), but in these cases the difference in spelling is lost after the OH period.[4] This situation contrasts with the dative-locative singular case, in which the distinction between the two allomorphs of the ending is found in texts of all periods (cf. Kloekhorst 2014, 444–60).

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2 Melchert (1994, 102, 131, 185) interprets the plene-spelled dat.-loc.sg. ending *℃i-i* as an accented but phonologically short vowel, /-í/, which, because it stands in an open syllable, was allophonically lengthened (hence the plene spelling). To my mind, however, the length is phonological since it contrasts with word-final short accented /-í/, which can be found in words such as *ak-ku-uš-ki(-i)* "keep drinking!" = /əkʷːskːí/ < **h*$_1$*g*$^{wh}$*-ské* and *az-zi-ik-ki(-i)* "keep eating!" = /ətːsɨkːí/ < **h*$_1$*d-ské* (Kloekhorst 2014, 464–65). This short accented /-í/ is sometimes spelled plene (especially in older texts), but usually not, and is the outcome of PIE word-final **-é* (Kloekhorst 2014, 464–65). The long accented /-ḯ/ is always spelled plene, however, in texts from all periods and is the outcome of PIE word-final **-éi*—for example, *ták-ni-i* < **d*$^h$*ǵ-m-éi*, *ki-iš(-ša)-ri-i* < **ǵ*$^h$*s-r-éi*, etc. (Kloekhorst 2014, 445, following a suggestion by Melchert [2011], but cf. already Eichner 1973, 77; Oettinger 1976, 31).

3 The fact that the plene-spelled dat.-loc.sg. ending bears the accent, whereas the nonplene-spelled one does not, was recognized early on (e.g., Eichner 1973, 77; Oettinger 1976, 31). Note that in *paḫḫueni*, *mēḫuni*, and *pĕruni* the exact place of the accent in the stem (whether it falls on the first or the second syllable) can be decided on the basis of the spelling of the vowels of the stem, but not on the basis of the ending: this spelling shows only that it was unaccented, not more.

4 Cf. Kloekhorst 2014, 316–20, for an extensive description and analysis of this phenomenon.

There is one environment in which the difference between accented /-í/ and unaccented /-i/ in the dat.-loc.sg. case cannot be established, however, and that environment is when the form is followed by enclitics: in this position, the vowel of the ending virtually always shows a nonplene spelling,[5] so also if it is spelled plene in isolation. For instance, the dat.-loc.sg. form of "hand" always shows plene spelling of its ending when it stands in isolation, *ki-iš(-ša)-ri-i*, but not when enclitics are attached to it: *ki-iš-ša-ri=ma* (not ***ki-iš(-ša)-ri-i=ma*) and *ki-iš-ri-i=t-ti* (not ***ki-iš(-ša)-ri-i-i=t-ti*) (cf. Kloekhorst 2014, 448n1755 for more examples). Likewise, for instance, *ḫa-aš-ši-i* versus *ḫa-aš-ši=i̯a* (not ***ḫa-aš-ši-i=i̯a*) "fireplace" (for attestations, cf. Kloekhorst 2014, 446n1749). This feature does not mean that in these forms the ending was unaccented: I would still analyze *ḫašši=i̯a* "and into the fireplace," for example, as being accented on the ending of the noun.[6] However, it is well possible that before an enclitic the long vowel of the accented ending was shortened: for example, /χas:í=ia/ versus isolated /χas:í́/. Nevertheless, if a certain noun is attested in its dat.-loc.sg. form only with clitics attached to it, we cannot determine whether it was accented on its ending or on its stem: both the accented and the unaccented ending would be spelled nonplene before the clitic.

## 2. SUMEROGRAPHIC SPELLINGS OF DATIVE-LOCATIVE SINGULAR FORMS

In my 2014 book on accent in Hittite, I briefly discussed the idea that also when Hittite dat.-loc.sg. forms are spelled as a Sumerogram + phonetic complement, they reveal information about their accentuation.[7] This idea follows from the observation that when a word in its full phonetic spelling shows plene spelling of the vowel of the dat.-loc.sg. ending, *°Ci-i*, this word is Sumerographically in principle always spelled SUMEROGRAM-*i* and not **SUMEROGRAM-*Ci*. Compare, for instance, the following cases.[8]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ták-ni-i* "earth" | = | KI-*i* (not **KI-*ni*) |
| *ki-iš(-ša)-ri-i* "hand" | = | ŠU-*i* (not **ŠU-*ri*) |
| *iš-ši-i* "mouth" | = | KAxU-*i* (not **KAxU-*ši*) |
| *iš-ḫi-i* "lord" | = | EN-*i* (not **EN-*ḫi*) |

The absence of spellings of the type SUMEROGRAM-*Ci* for these words is relevant, since such spellings would certainly not have been impossible. They are in fact well attested for other words—for example, $^{d}$IM-*ni* "Storm-god," LÍL-*ri* "field," and UN-*ši* "human being."[9] This observation means that the choice for writing, for example, KI-*i* instead of **KI-*ni*, or ŠU-*i* instead of **ŠU-*ri*, was a deliberate one, a choice that directly correlates with the plene spelling of the dat.-loc.sg. ending in their phonetically spelled counterparts. In my 2014 book I did not, however, treat the entire material regarding this claim, and I therefore present it here.

### 2.1. THE SPELLING SUMEROGRAM-*CI*

The meaningful correlation between the spelling SUMEROGRAM-*i* and the full phonetic spelling *°Ci-i* is supported by the fact that spellings of the type SUMEROGRAM-*Ci* in fact regularly correspond to full

5 I know of only a few exceptions to this rule: [*ḫa-aš-š*]*i-i=kán* (KBo 39.73 obv.? 4), *ḫa-aš-ši-i=ma=kán* (KUB 1.13 ii 26), $^{GI}$*pád-da-ni-i=ma* (KUB 9.6 i 12), $^{GI}$*pád-da-ni-i=ma-a=š-ša-an* (KUB 9.6 i 14), and [*u*]*d-da-ni-i=ma* (KUB 18.6 i 3).

6 If it had been accented on the first syllable of the word, we would expect plene spelling of the *a*, as in the nom.sg. *ḫa-a-aš-ša* = /χás:a/ and acc.sg. *ḫa-a-aš-ša-an* = /χás:an/; cf. Kloekhorst 2014, 261–63. Accentuation of the particle *=i̯a* "and" is unlikely, since it is a clitic.

7 Note that this observation does not hold for spellings in which Sumerograms are not phonetically complemented but are preceded by the Akkadian prepositions *ANA* and *INA*, which are used to render Hittite dat.-loc. forms Sumerographically as well. These spellings do not give any linguistic information about the phonetics and/or phonology of the underlying Hittite forms.

8 Cf. Kloekhorst 2014, 445–49, for these cases, with the places of the forms' attestations.

9 I know of no examples of a spelling SUMEROGRAM-*ḫi* that denotes a dat.-loc.sg. form, undoubtedly because of chance: we do have spellings such as BAL-*ḫi* "I libate," SUM-*ḫi* "I give," and ḪUŠ-*ḫi* "he fears," which show that there was no graphic constraint against a spelling SUMEROGRAM-*ḫi*.

phonetic spellings in which the vowel of the dat.-loc.sg. ending is spelled nonplene; compare the following examples.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *an-ni* "mother" | = | AMA-*ni* (not **AMA-*i*) |
| *an-tu-uḫ-ši* "human being" | = | UN-*ši* (not **UN-*i*) |
| *aš-šu(-ú)-li* "well-being" | = | SILIM-*li* (not **SILIM-*i*) |
| *ḫal-ma-aš-šu-it-ti* "throne" | = | $^{(d/GIŠ)}$DAG-*ti* (not **$^{(d/GIŠ)}$DAG-*i*) |
| $^{URU}$*ḫa-at-tu-ši* "Ḫattuša" | = | $^{URU}$GIDRU-*ši* and $^{URU}$KÙ.BABBAR-*ši* (not **$^{URU}$GIDRU-*i* or **$^{URU}$KÙ.BABBAR-*i*) |
| *iš-ta-ma-ni* "ear" | = | $^{UZU}$GEŠTU-*ni* (not **$^{UZU}$GEŠTU-*i*) |
| *iš-ta-na(-a)-ni* "altar" | = | $^{(GIŠ)}$ZAG.GAR.RA-*ni* (not **$^{(GIŠ)}$ZAG.GAR.RA-*i*) |
| *kar-di-mi-at-ti* "anger" | = | TUKU.TUKU-*ti* (not **TUKU.TUKU-*i*) |
| *gi-im-ri* (*ge-em-ri*?) "field" | = | LÍL-*ri* (not **LÍL-*i*) |
| *pal-ši* "road" | = | KASKAL-*ši* (not **KASKAL-*i*) |
| $^{(d)}$*ši(-i)-ú-ni* "god" | = | DINGIR$^{(LIM)}$-*ni* (not **DINGIR$^{(LIM)}$-*i*) |
| *ši-u̯a-at-ti* "day" | = | UD$^{(KAM)}$-*ti* (not **UD$^{(KAM)}$-*i*) |
| *ti-i-e-eš-ni* "forest" | = | $^{GIŠ}$TIR-*ni* (not **$^{GIŠ}$TIR-*i*) |
| *u̯a-ar-u̯a-la-ni* "seed, progeny" | = | NUMUN-*ni* (not **NUMUN-*i*) |
| *ú-i-te(-e)-ni* "water" | = | A-*ni* (not **A-*i*) |
| *ú(-i)-it-ti* "year" | = | MU$^{KAM}$-*ti* (not **MU$^{KAM}$-*i*)[10] |

### 2.2. SUMEROGRAM-*I* ALTERNATING WITH SUMEROGRAM -*CI*

It cannot be denied, however, that some Sumerograms show dat.-loc.sg. forms of both the shape SUMEROGRAM-*i* and the shape SUMEROGRAM-*Ci* and would therefore potentially undermine this distribution. Upon closer scrutiny, almost all these forms can be explained.

**KI**: This Sumerogram shows not only a dat.-loc.sg. form KI-*i* but also a form KI-*pí*. As we have seen above as well, KI-*i* can be equated with *ták-ni-i* "earth." The form KI-*pí*, however, is generally seen as representing the form *da-ga-an-zi-pí* "(personified) earth." So in this case, the two Sumerographic spellings represent different underlying words.

**GE$_6$**: This Sumerogram occurs with the dat.-loc.sg. forms GE$_6$-*i* and GE$_6$-*ti*. The former is generally thought to represent *da-an-ku-u̯a-i* "black, dark" (on which see further below), whereas the latter is equated with *iš-pa-an-ti* "night."

In other cases, the situation is less clear.

**AN**: Its dat.-loc.sg. form occurs a few times as AN-*ši*, which clearly represents *ne(-e)-pí-ši* "heaven." However, we find AN-*i* once as well[11]—namely, in KUB 29.11 ii: (12) *ták-ku* $^{d}$*SÎN* SI GÙB-*ŠÚ* UGU AN-*i ne-i̯a-an* . . . "if the moon's left horn is turned upward to heaven. . . ." To my mind, this form must be a mistake. It occurs in a line that stands between two lines where KI-*i* "earth" is used in the same spot: KUB 29.11 ii (11) *ták-ku* $^{d}$*SÎN* SI ZAG-*ŠÚ* GAM KI-*i ne-i̯a-an* . . . "if the moon's right horn is turned downward to the earth . . ." and KUB 29.11 ii (13) *ták-ku* $^{d}$*SÎN* SI GÙB-*ŠÚ* GAM KI-*i*

10 In view of MU-*an-ti* (KBo 22.2 obv. 1, OS) it cannot be excluded that some of the attestations of MU.KAM-*ti* represent /uit:ánti/.

11 Note that some other seeming occurrences of AN-*i* are interpreted by the CHD (L–N, 448) as an Akkadographic form AN-*I*, which is a variant of AN-*E*, the Sumerographic spelling of Akkadian *ŠA-ME-E* "of heaven."

*ne-i̯a-an* . . . "if the moon's left horn is turned downward to the earth. . . ." I therefore assume that, under the influence of KI-*i*, the scribe erroneously wrote AN-*i* instead of AN-*ši*.[12]

**DINGIR.MAḪ**: The same situation may apply to this Sumerogram. Its normal dat.-loc.sg. form is DINGIR.MAḪ-*ni* (attested dozens of times; cf. van Gessel 1998, 720–21), which can be equated with the phonetically spelled form [$^{d}$*ḫa-an-na-ḫ*]*a-an-ni* (KUB 33.59 iv 8) "to Ḫannaḫanna." Twice, however, we find the spelling DINGIR.MAḪ-*i* (KBo 14.21 i 78; FHG 2 iii 21). The exact rationale behind these two forms escapes me, but it is relevant that on both tablets on which these forms occur, we also find the spelling DINGIR.MAḪ-*ni* (KBo 14.21 i 59; ii 18, 53; iii 47; FHG 2 iii 6). I therefore think that these two attestations of DINGIR.MAḪ-*i*, which compete with more than a hundred attestations of DINGIR.MAḪ-*ni*, do not alter the general picture that there is a distribution between SUMEROGRAM-*Ci* and SUMEROGRAM-*i*.

**GUNNI**: The dat.-loc.sg. form GUNNI-*i* occurs often and can be equated with *ḫa-aš-ši-i*, which always shows plene spelling of its ending. However, a form GUNNI-*ši* is attested as well, which does not match the spelling of *ḫa-aš-ši-i* and would therefore contradict our findings thus far. As I also argued in Kloekhorst 2014, 447n1753, the form GUNNI-*ši* occurs on one tablet only, KUB 20.45, where GUNNI-*i* can also be found. We may therefore see GUNNI-*ši* as a feature of this specific tablet, which does not compromise the general picture about the distribution between SUMEROGRAM-*Ci* and SUMEROGRAM-*i*.

**IZI**: This Sumerogram also occurs with two dat.-loc.sg. forms. The form IZI-*ni* (KBo 6.5 iv 16; Bo 3640 iii$^{(?)}$ 10) can be directly equated with *pa-aḫ-ḫu-e-ni* "fire" (note that IZI-*ni* from KBo 6.5 iv 16 in fact duplicates *pa-aḫ-ḫu-e-ni* from KBo 6.3 ii 54). However, IZI-*i* also occurs (KBo 11.32 obv. 9, 13, rev. 49; KBo 13.126 rev. 11; KUB 39.70 i 14; KUB 58.98 ii 2), and its interpretation is less clear to me. Interestingly, according to the CHD (Š, 258), one of the attestations of IZI-*i* must be interpreted as <GU>NNI-*i* "fireplace." (Note that IZI = NE and that GUNNI consists of the signs KI.NE; the CHD's reading of IZI-*i* as <GU>NNI-*i* therefore equals <KI.>NE-*i*.)

KBo 11.32 rev. 48–50

48 . . . SILA$_4$ GE$_6$=*kán* BAL$^{!}$-*ti*

49 <GU>NNI-*i* (text: IZI-*i*) *pa*[-*r*]*a*-[*a* KI]N$^{?}$-*ṇa-an-zi̯* MUN-*an-zi*

50 *ša-ri-an-*[*z*]*i* . . .

He offers a black lamb. They "fully [pre]pare(?)" (the goat meat?) at/on the brazier(!) (text: in/at the fire). They salt (it) and truss/sew (it) up. [translation CHD Š, 258]

The CHD's emendation of IZI-*i* to <GU>NNI-*i*, which is based on semantic considerations, is formally attractive as well. As we have seen above, GUNNI-*i* is the Sumerographic spelling of *ḫa-aš-ši-i* "fireplace," in which the spelling of the ending as *-i* is regular.

In the text in which this example occurs, KBo 11.32, we find two more attestations of IZI-*i*—namely, in obv. 9 and 13. To my mind, in these contexts a translation "in/onto the fireplace" would be apt as well.

KBo 11.32 obv. 8–9

8 [E]GIR=*ŠÚ* $^{DUG}$*KU-KU-BI*$^{HLA}$ *pa-ra-a šar-ni*<-*in*>-*kán-zi*

9 GUNNI-*an*=*kán ḫu-u-i-i̯a-an-zi* Ì=*kán* $^{GIŠ}$*te-pa-za* IZI-*i la-ḫu*<-*i*>

Later they replace the vessels, and they walk around the fireplace. With a ladle he pours oil on the fire/onto the fireplace(?).

12 Note that in KUB 29.11 ii 9, the full phonetic spelling of "heaven" is used: *ták-ku* $^{d}$*SÎN* ZAG-*aš* SI-*ŠU ša-ra-a ne-pí-ši ne-i-i̯a-an* "if the moon's right horn is turned upward to heaven."

KBo 11.32 obv. 12–13

12 2 NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *ḫa-zi-la*[*-aš*] *pár-ši-la-aš pár-ši-i̯a*

13 Ì=*kán me-ma-al* IZI-*i* *šu-uḫ-ḫa-i*

14 EGIR=*ŠÚ* $^{DUG}$*KU-KU-BI*$^{ḪI.A}$ *pa-ra-a šar-ni-in-kán-zi*

15 GUNNI=*kán ḫu-u-i-an-zi*

He breaks two thickbreads of *ḫazila*-weight into crumbs and pours oil (and strews) the meal into the fire/onto the fireplace(?). After that they replace the vessels and walk around the fireplace.

The question thus arises to what extent IZI-*i* may be interpreted as an alternative way to render *ḫa-aš-ši-i* "fireplace" Sumerographically. In fact, in all attestations in which IZI-*i* occurs, a translation "onto the fireplace" would be equally fitting as "into/on the fire,"[13] so I am inclined to answer this question positively.

$^{d}$**LAMMA**: This Sumerogram, which denotes the concept of the "Tutelary Deity" (for this translation, see McMahon 1991, 3), occurs with two dat.-loc.sg. forms—namely, $^{d}$LAMMA-*ri* and $^{d}$LAMMA-*i* (cf. van Gessel 1998, 687, for attestations). As Gregory McMahon (1991, 4–5) makes clear, the Hittite pantheon knew many tutelary deities, and it is therefore not always known to which deity a given attestation of $^{d}$LAMMA refers. The dat.-loc.sg. form $^{d}$LAMMA-*ri* is, on the basis of its phonetic complement, generally thought to refer to Inar(a) (McMahon 1991, 2), and this form may therefore be interpreted as representing an underlying $^{d}$*i-na-ri* (cf. van Gessel 1998, 188, for attestations). The absence of plene spelling from the vowel of the ending in the latter form matches the Sumerographic spelling with ℂ*i*. The interpretation of the form $^{d}$LAMMA-*i* is less clear: in light of the existence of many tutelary deities, this form need not refer to Inar(a) but may represent another deity. The existence of $^{d}$LAMMA-*ri* next to $^{d}$LAMMA-*i* therefore does not invalidate the general picture of the distribution between the spellings SUMEROGRAM-*Ci* and SUMEROGRAM-*i*.[14]

**MUNUS**: The two dat.-loc.sg. forms of this Sumerogram, MUNUS-*ni* and MUNUS-*i*, are treated below.

**ZAG**: This Sumerogram occurs dozens of times with the dat.-loc.sg. form ZAG-*ni*, and this form is generally equated with *ku-un-ni* "right." In one text, however, we find the form ZAG-*i* (KUB 59.29 ii 12), which contradicts the spelling ZAG-*ni*. Nevertheless, since the context in which ZAG-*i* occurs is rather broken, it is not clear to me whether ZAG should here be read as representing *kunna*- "right" or denotes *erḫ-/arḫ-/araḫ-* "boundary, limit" (or is perhaps $^{UZU}$ZAG "shoulder"?).

We see that the existence of some cases in which a single Sumerogram seems to have both a dat.-loc.sg. form spelled SUMEROGRAM-*i* and a form spelled SUMEROGRAM-*Ci* does not seriously undermine the assumption that the difference between these two types of spellings is linguistically relevant and correlates with the spelling of the ending in the corresponding, fully phonetically spelled forms.

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13 KUB 58.98 ii (2) [NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA KU$_7$ *pár-ši-i̯a n=*]*a-an=kán* IZI-*i* *pé-eš-ši-i̯a-zi* "He breaks a sweet bread and throws it into the fire/into the fireplace(?)"; KUB 39.70 i (11) [. . . *nu A-N*]*A* EN.SISKUR (12) [ZA.ḪUM *ŠA*] KAŠ *ar-ḫa da-a-i nu=kán* $^{GIŠ}$*lu*[*-u-e-e*]*š-ni* (13) [*an-da ši-ip-pa-an-*]*ti n=a-at=kán ki-iš-ta-nu-zi n=a*[*-at š*]*a-ra-a* (14) [*da-a-i n=a-*]*at=kán* IZI-*i* *iš-ḫu-u̯a-a-i* "He takes the pitcher of beer from the patient and pours (it) onto the incense and extinguishes it. He lifts it (sc. the incense) up and throws it into the fire/onto the fireplace(?)"; HT 5, (6) [. . . *n=a-a*]*t=kán* IZI-*i* *iš-ḫu-u-u̯a-a-iz-zi* "He will pour it into the fire/onto the fireplace(?)"; KBo 13.126 rev. (10) *ma-a-an=za* DINGIR$^{MEŠ}$ MUNUS$^{MEŠ}$ . . . (11) IZI-*i* *pé-i̯a-an-te-eš ma-a-an=za* UDUN *ḫar-š*[*a-aš* . . .] (12) . . . *pé-e-i̯a-an-te-eš*$_{17}$ *nu-u=š-ma-aš=kán* x[. . .] (13) IZI-*na-az ḫu-u-it-ti-i̯a*[*-an-ni-i*]*š-ga-m*[*i*?] "Whether you female deities have been sent to the fire/to the fireplace or have been sent to the bread-oven . . . I will be attracting you back from the fire." Especially in the latter context, where IZI-*i* contrasts with UDUN *ḫarš*[*aš*] "bread-oven," a meaning "fireplace" seems to fit well.

14 In fact, this distribution may now be used to argue that the attestations of $^{d}$LAMMA-*i* do not represent a form of Inar(a) but must denote the name of a different deity.

### 2.3. SUMEROGRAM-*I* NEXT TO *°A-I* AND *°U-I*

There is, however, one extra factor we need to take into account. As we have already seen above, the Sumerographic spelling $GE_6$-*i* corresponds to the full phonetic spelling *da-an-ku-u̯a-i* "dark" and not to a form containing a plene spelled ending *-Ci-i*. Likewise, I have already remarked (in Kloekhorst 2014, 459n1810) that the Sumerographic spelling LUGAL-*i* probably represents an underlying phonetic spelling **ḫa-aš-šu-i*[15] and not a spelling ending in *-Ci-i* (cf. also the few attestations LUGAL-*u-i*).

The same phenomenon can be found in the following words.

"bovine": The dat.-loc.sg. form $GU_4$-*i* belongs to a *u*-stem noun (cf. nom.sg. $GU_4$-*uš*, acc.sg. $GU_4$-*un*; the further phonetic shape of the word is unknown, however),[16] so that its underlying form must have ended in *°u-i*.

"evil": The dat.-loc.sg. form ḪUL-*i* belongs to the *u*-stem adjective *idālu-/idālau̯-* and represents the full phonetic form *i-da-a-la-u-i* or *i-da-a-lu-i*, which ends in *°u-i* (cf. also the Sumerographic spellings ḪUL-*u-i* and ḪUL-*lu(-u)-i*).

"eye": The dat.-loc.sg. form $IGI^{ḪI.A}$-*i* (KUB 33.98 iii 19) belongs with *šākuu̯a-*, so we can predict that its underlying form must have been **ša-a-ku-i* and thus ended in *°u-i*.

"Sun-god": The dat.-loc.sg. form $^{d}$UTU-*i* belongs to the *u*-stem name $^{d}$*aštanu-*/$^{d}$*eštanu-*/$^{d}$*ištanu-* (cf. nom.sg. $^{d}$UTU-*uš*, acc.sg. $^{d}$UTU-*un*), so its underlying form must have ended in *°u-i*: **$^{d}$aš/eš/iš-ta-nu-i*.

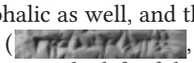
"table": The dat.-loc.sg. form $^{GIŠ}$BANŠUR-*i* belongs to a *u*-stem word (nom.sg. $^{GIŠ}$BANŠUR-*uš*, acc.sg. $^{GIŠ}$BANŠUR-*un*), so its underlying form must have ended in *°u-i* (the further phonetic shape of the word is unclear, however).

"thickbread": The dat.-loc.sg. form NINDA.$GUR_4$.RA-*i* (KBo 30.109 obv. 7) belongs to the noun *ḫarši-/ḫaršai-* and represents the full phonetic form *ḫar-ša(-a)-i*, which ends in *°a-i*.

"wood": The dat.-loc.sg. form GIŠ-*i* belongs to the *u*-stem noun *tāru-* and represents the full phonetic form *ta-ru-ú-i* (cf. also the spelling GIŠ-*ru-i*), which ends in *°u-i*.

The conclusion that must be drawn on the basis of all these forms is that the Sumerographic spelling SUMEROGRAM-*i* represented not only full phonetic spellings ending in *°Ci-i* but also spellings ending in *°a-i* and *°u-i*. In other words, in all cases in which a word ended in the sign *-i* preceded by a *(C)V*-sign, *°(C)V-i*, the corresponding Sumerographic spelling is SUMEROGRAM-*i*.

This phenomenon muddles the correlation between the spelling SUMEROGRAM-*i* and the place of the accent. For instance, there can be no doubt that $GE_6$-*i* = *da-an-ku-u̯a-i*, ḪUL-*i* = *i-da-a-la-u-i*, $IGI^{ḪI.A}$-*i* = **ša-a-ku-i*, and NINDA.$GUR_4$.RA-*i* = *ḫar-ša(-a)-i* were accented on their stems: /tánk$^{w}$āi/ (Kloekhorst 2014, 395–96, 690), /itálaui/, /sāk$^{w}$i/, and /χársāi/ (cf. Kloekhorst 2014, 395), respectively.[17] This insight means that the spelling SUMEROGRAM-*i* does not always indicate that the underlying form was accented on its ending, as it applies only to forms that correspond with a full phonetic form ending in *-Ci-i*. If the underlying

15 Note that, for example, Puhvel (HED 3, 240) states that this word is possibly attested phonetically as "]*ha-as-su-u-ú-i*" in KUB 7.7, 8. However, Puhvel correctly warns that this word possibly could be acephalic as well, and then would not belong to the paradigm of "king." And indeed, when looking at the photo of this tablet (  , available through Hetkonk, hethiter.net/: fotarch Phb03621), we see that traces of a broken sign are present to the left of the ḪA sign and that there clearly is no word space between these traces and ḪA. We should therefore transliterate the form as [. . .]x-*ḫa-aš-šu-ú-i*, which makes its identification as the phonetically spelled dat.-loc.sg. form "king" virtually impossible.

16 Cf. Kloekhorst 2008, 507–8, where it was hypothesized that the word underlying "bovine" was **kuu̯āu-*.

17 This placement of the accent on the stem in all likelihood goes for LUGAL-*i* = **ḫa-aš-šu-i* as well: /χás:ui/; cf. Kloekhorst 2014, 459n1810.

form ended in *˚a-i* (as in ablauting *i*-stems) or *˚u-i* (as in *u*- and *u̯a*-stems), the accent need not have been on the ending.

### 2.4. SUMEROGRAM-*I* VERSUS SUMEROGRAM-*CI*: CONCLUSIONS

All in all, it seems justified to maintain my 2014 idea that the spelling of Hittite dat.-loc.sg. forms as a Sumerogram + phonetic complement contains linguistically relevant information. When in its full phonetic spelling a dat.-loc.sg. form shows the plene-spelled ending *˚Ci-i* (which therefore must have been accented, /-ī́/), the corresponding Sumerographic spelling is in principle always SUMEROGRAM-*i*. By contrast, when in its full phonetic spelling a dat.-loc.sg. form shows the nonplene-spelled ending *˚Ci* (which therefore must have been unaccented, /-i/, indicating that the word was accented on its stem), the corresponding Sumerographic spelling is in principle always SUMEROGRAM-*Ci*. Note that this does not mean that the Sumerographic spelling SUMEROGRAM-*i* automatically corresponds to a full phonetic spelling ending in *˚Ci-i*; it can also correspond to words ending in *˚a-i* or *˚u-i*, and these words need not have been accented on their ending.

In fact, it has now become clear that when attaching a phonetic complement to a Sumerogram, the scribe in principle always used the last sign of the fully phonetically spelled word. This practice implies that the scribe always had the Hittite phonetic spelling in the back of his mind, even when writing Sumerographically.

## 3. THE PHONETICS OF SOME HITTITE DATIVE-LOCATIVE SINGULAR FORMS

A combination of the insights discussed in sections 1–2 provides us with a powerful tool for determining the place of the accent in Hittite dat.-loc.sg. forms even when they are rarely attested or found only in Sumerographic spellings. It must be emphasized that this matter is not trivial. Within the Hittite nominal system, all oblique cases (except the locative, if this case has a separate form)[18] have, in principle, the same accentuation.[19] This characteristic means that if one can determine the place of the accent in the dat.-loc.sg. form of a certain word, one can predict the accentuation of all other oblique cases of that word as well. Therefore, all new knowledge that can be gained about the accentuation of the dat.-loc.sg. form of a specific word can have an impact on our knowledge of the phonological shape of the entire paradigm of that word.

### 3.1. SOME KNOWN EXAMPLES

In my 2014 book, I already treated several examples for which our new knowledge about the interpretation of the spelling of dat.-loc.sg. forms provides new and interesting linguistic information. Here I briefly summarize a few important cases.[20]

"heart": *kar-ti-i* (~ ŠÀ-*i*) = /kərtí/ < PIE dat.sg. **Ḱrd-éi*.

"moment": *lam-ni-i*, *la-am-ni-i* = /lamní/, contrasting with *ŠUM-ni* "name" = /lámni/.

"basket": *pád-da(-a)-ni* = /p(ə)t':áni/ < PIE **pth*$_2$*-én-i*, but the form *pád-da-ni-i* represents /p(ə)t':aní/, which is the result of an inner-Hittite accent shift of /p(ə)t':áni/ to /p(ə)t':aní/.[21]

18 In Kloekhorst 2018, 194, I argued that in the paradigm for "hand" the instrumental form also shows an accentuation that differs from the one found in the dat.-loc.sg. form: inst. *ki-iš-šar-ta* = /kiːšːárt:/ versus dat.-loc.sg. *ki-iš(-ša)-ri-i* = /kiːšːrí/. I regard this situation as potentially original (PIE inst. **ǵʰs-ér-t* vs. dat.sg. **ǵʰs-r-éi*), and one should therefore be careful not to project the accentuation of a given dat.-loc.sg. form too easily onto its corresponding instrumental form.

19 In fact, this principle goes for the nominal systems of all Indo-European languages and is a feature inherited from PIE.

20 Cf. Kloekhorst 2014, 450–62, for elaborate treatments of these words.

21 Cf. Kloekhorst 2020, 2022 for the postulation of a phoneme /t':/ for Hittite.

"blood": *iš-ḫa-ni* = /ɨsχ:áni/ < PIE **h*$_1$*sh*$_2$*-én-i*, but the form *iš-ḫa-ni-i* represents /ɨsχaní/, having undergone an accent shift like that in "basket"; the later-attested form *e-eš-ḫa-ni* represents /ʔésχ:ani/, which has taken over the accentuation and root vocalism of nom.-acc.sg. *e-eš-ḫar* = /ʔésχ:ər/ < **h*$_1$*ésh*$_2$*-r*.

"forehead": the adverb *ḫa-an-ti-i* (~ SAG.KI-*i*) = /χəntí/ < PIE dat.sg. **h*$_2$*nt-éi* (accentuation matched by abl. *ḫa-an-ta-a-az* = /χəntáts/), but *ḫa-an-ti* = /χánti/ < PIE loc.sg. form **h*$_2$*ént-i*.

"house": *pár-ni* (~ É-*ni*) = /párni/, which indicates that *per/parn-* goes back to a PIE static paradigm **pér-r*/**pér-n-*.

"foot": GÌR-*i* represents underlying **pa-ti-i* or **pa-di-i* = /patí/ < **pod-éi*, the accentuation of which is corroborated by gen.pl. *pa-ta-a-an* = /patán/, dat.-loc.pl. *pa-ta-a-aš* = /patás/, and inst. *pa-te-et* = /patét:/ < **pod-V*°.

"river": ÍD-*i* represents underlying **ḫa-pí-i* = /χapí/, the accentuation of which is corroborated by all.sg. *ḫa-pa-a* = /χapá/.

"star": MUL-*i* = /χ(ə)strí/ (besides nom.sg. *ḫašterza*) < PIE **h*$_2$*str-éi*.

"woman": MUNUS-*i* (also MUNUS-*ni-i*) probably represents underlying /k$^{w}$ní/ (through */k$^{w}$nái/ < PIE **g*$^{w}$*n-éh*$_2$*-i*?), whereas MUNUS-*ni* probably represents /k$^{w}$án:i/, in which the accentuation of nom.sg. MUNUS-*anza* = /k$^{w}$ánts/ < **g*$^{w}$*én-h*$_2$*-s* and acc.sg. MUNUS-*na-an* = /k$^{w}$án:an/ < **g*$^{w}$*énh*$_2$*-(o)m* has been introduced.

"much, many": the OH form *me-ek-ki-i* "greatly" is not an old nom.-acc.sg. form of the adjective *mekki-/mekkai-* but rather an old dat.-loc.sg. form /mek:í/ of the adjective *mēkk-*, which thus originally must have been accentually mobile—for example, acc.sg.com. *me-e-ek-kán* = /mék:an/ versus dat.-loc.sg. *me-ek-ki-i* = /mek:í/, ultimately reflecting a PIE pattern.

### 3.2. SOME NEW EXAMPLES

To these interesting cases treated in my 2014 book, we can now add the following observations.

"bed": The Sumerogram GIŠ.NÁ has been equated with Hittite *šašt(a)-* "bed" by, for example, Johannes Friedrich (HW 287) and Johann Tischler (HHwb 229). The dat.-loc.sg. form GIŠ.NÁ-*i* (KBo 22.231 rev. 10; KUB 17.25 i 2; KUB 17.26 i 2) implies that its underlying form was accented on its ending (or that the stem was a *u-* or *u̯a*-stem). This situation contrasts with the word *šašt(a)-*, the dat.-loc.sg. form of which is spelled *ša-aš-ti*, which must have been accented on its stem, /sásti/. The Sumerogram GIŠ.NÁ therefore cannot be equated with *šašt(a)-*.[22]

"brother": The dat.-loc.sg. form ŠEŠ-*ni* indicates that this form was accented on its stem, and we therefore may assume an underlying **ne-ek-ni* = /nékni/. This interpretation implies that the paradigm of *nekna-* (only one form of which is phonetically attested—namely, voc.sg. *ne-ek-na* = /nékna/) was accented on its stem throughout the paradigm: nom.sg. ŠEŠ-*aš* = /néknas/, acc.sg. ŠEŠ-*an* = /néknan/, dat.-loc.sg. ŠEŠ-*ni* = /nékni/, and so forth.

"disease": The Sumerogram GIG is generally equated with *erman-/arman-*. The Sumerographically spelled dat.-loc.sg. GIG-*i* (KUB 5.1 i 76, NH/LNS), therefore, must represent a form of *erman-/arman-* with an accented ending, probably **ar-ma-ni-i* = /ərm(a)ní/. However, the phonetically spelled dat.-loc.sg. form *er-ma-ni* (KUB 8.62 i 19, NS) must have been accented on its stem, probably /ʔérm(a)ni/. The two forms thus contradict each other. However, since *er-ma-ni* has clearly

22 This argument had already been made on other grounds by Siegelová (1971, 20–21; cf. also CHD Š, 309–10).

introduced the stem vocalism of the nom.-acc.sg. form *e-er-ma-an* = /ʔérmən/[23] and is therefore innovative versus the expected original form with a stem *arman-* (as is attested in the derived verb *armaniie/a-*$^{zi}$ "to be(come) ill"), we may assume that the accentuation of *er-ma-ni* = /ʔérm(a)ni/ is innovative as well and that the accentuation of GIG-*i* = **ar-ma-ni-i* = /ərm(a)nḯ/ is more archaic.

"Fate-goddess": The dat.-loc.sg. form $^{d}$*gul-ši* (KUB 5.1 i 48), with a nonplene spelling of the ending's vowel, indicates that the stem in this name must have been accented. This position is problematic, however, since the generally accepted etymology of the name $^{d}$*gulša-* traces it back to a PIE zero-grade formation **k*$^{w}$*ls-o-* (cf., e.g., Kloekhorst 2008, 492–93, with references), which from a PIE point of view can hardly have been accented on its root. Fortunately, Willemijn Waal's (2014) demonstration that the sign *gul* in this word should be read Sumerographically, $^{d}$GUL*(-aš)-ša-*[24] and that its underlying form was probably *kuu̯anša-* or *kuu̯ašša-* makes it easier to understand the dat.-loc.sg. form, which we now should transliterate as $^{d}$GUL-*ši*. Following Waal's argumentation, it should represent an underlying **kuu̯anši* or **kuu̯ašš](i)*, which was accented /k$^{w}$á(n)s:i/.

"honey": The Sumerographically spelled dat.-loc.sg. form LÀL-*t*[*i*] (KBo 15.10 i 31, MH/MS) indicates that the accentuation in this word must have been on its stem, and we therefore could assume that it represents an underlying form **mi-li-it-ti* = /mílit:i/, reflecting a virtual PIE **mél-it-i*. However, the one attestation *ma-li-it-ti* (Bo 3757 ii 5), which Frank Starke (1990, 163n627a) and Jaan Puhvel (HED 6, 154), for example, cite as a dat.-loc.sg. form to *militt-*, would fit LÀL-*t*[*i*] as well. The form *ma-li-it-ti* is interesting since, as Starke (1990, 163n627a) already noticed, the spelling *ma-l*° represents an initial cluster /ml-/.[25] I have therefore argued that the original paradigm of "honey" must have been hysterodynamic, **mél-it*, **ml-it-ós*, **ml-it-éi* (Kloekhorst 2008, 580). This paradigm has now become impossible, however, since the nonplene spelling of the vowel of the dat.-loc.sg. ending in *ma-li-it-ti* shows that the ending was unaccented. We therefore now must assume that the accent lay instead on the suffix and that the original paradigm of "honey" was in fact proterodynamic, thus implying that the suffix contained a full grade. The question then arises whether this full grade was **-éit-* or **-iét-*. A preform **ml-éit-i* should regularly have yielded Hittite */mlḗti/, spelled **ma-le-e-ti*, with lenition of the **t*. This form does not fit the spelling *ma-li-it-ti*, where we find geminate (i.e., fortis) *-tt-*. We therefore should instead assume a preform **ml-iét-i*, which should regularly yield Hittite */mliét:i/, with geminate *-tt-*. We would expect that a form */mliét:i/ would phonetically be spelled **ma-li(-i)(-e)-et-ti*, and it is therefore interesting to note that the form that is usually cited as *ma-li-it-ti* can in fact be read *ma-li-et-ti* = /mliét:i/ as well. (The sign E/IT is ambiguous regarding its reading—it can be read both *et* and *it*.) We may therefore view *ma-li-et-ti* as the direct reflex of PIE **ml-iét-i*, which justifies the reconstruction of the PIE paradigm of "honey" as **mél-it*, **ml-iét-s*, **ml-iét-i*.

"mountain": The word underlying the Sumerogram ḪUR.SAG is unknown. On the basis of the dat.-loc.sg. form ḪUR.SAG-*i*, which is often attested, we can now assume that this word was in its oblique cases accented on its endings.[26] However, the two attestations of a dat.-loc.sg. form

23 Cf. Kloekhorst 2014, 163, for a discussion of the spelling *er-m*° in the dat.-loc.sg. form versus *e-er-m*° in the nom.-acc.sg. form.

24 Especially the forms $^{d}$GUL-*aš* (instead of $^{d}$GUL/*gul-ša-aš*), $^{d}$GUL-*an* (instead of $^{d}$GUL/*gul-ša-an*), and $^{d}$GUL$^{ḪLA}$-*uš* (instead of $^{d}$GUL/*gul-šu-uš*—note the Sumerographic plural marker!) cited by Waal 2014, 1020, are convincing arguments to read the sign GUL here as a Sumerogram. Ilya Yakubovich's attempt to explain away these Sumerographic spellings (Yakubovich 2014, 292; cf. Melchert 2016, 356–57) is ill founded and totally unconvincing (see now also Waal 2019).

25 This cluster is also attested in the adjective *maliddu-* = /ml°/ "sweet" (next to *miliddu-* = /milit:u-/) and is known from, for example, Greek βλίττω "to gather honey" < **mlit-ie/o-*.

26 Unless the underlying word is a *u-* or *u̯a*-stem, which seems to be excluded by the dat.-loc.sg. form ḪUR.SAG-*ri*; the latter points instead to a stem ending in *-r-*.

ḪUR.SAG-*ri* (KUB 29.1 i 14, NS; KBo 40.335 ii 7, NS) instead seem to point to accentuation of the stem. One explanation could be to assume that these two attestations represent a word different from ḪUR.SAG-*i*. Another possibility is that they are the result of an analogical accent retraction like that in *išḫanī* >> *ēšḫani* "blood." This possibility implies, however, that the paradigm of "mountain" contained forms in which the accent lay on the stem, not on the ending. If this is the case, the word for "mountain" would originally have been an accentually mobile *r*-stem, like the word for "hand" (*keššar*, *kiššeran*, *kišraš* = /kːésːər, kːiːsːéran, kːiːsːrás/) or the word for "star" (*ḫašterza*, MUL-*i* = /χ(ə)stérts, χ(ə)strḯ/).

"oil": The dat.-loc.sg. form Ì-*i* (KBo 32.14 iii 10, rev. 29, MH/MS; KUB 8.67, 7) points to an underlying form **ša-ak-ni-i* = /səknḯ/, the accentuation of which is corroborated by the gen.sg. form *ša-ak-na-a-aš* = /səknás/.

"queen": It is generally accepted that the Hittite word underlying the Sumerogram MUNUS.LUGAL was **ḫaššuš(ša)ra-*. Its dat.-loc.sg. form is often attested as MUNUS.LUGAL-*ri*, including in OS texts, implying accentuation of the stem: /χásːusːri/. However, we also find a few attestations of MUNUS.LUGAL-*i* (KBo 10.25 ii 27, OH/NS; KBo 40.135 rev. 9, OH/NS; KUB 9.34 i 9, MH/NS), the status of which is not fully clear to me. In one case (KBo 40.135 rev. 9) the form directly follows LUGAL-*i*, so we may assume that the spelling with *-i* was taken over from this form (where the spelling is regular, since it represents **ḫa-aš-šu-i*). In the other two cases the forms are used independently, so the spelling with *-i* may have to be taken seriously. If so, it would point to accentuation of the ending: /χasːusːrḯ/. This accentuation would, in principle, fit the fact that there are other indications that originally the feminizing suffix *-š(ša)r(a)-* was desinentially stressed in its oblique cases.[27] This place of accentuation would mean, however, that these spellings represent archaic forms, whereas the renewed form, /χásːusːri/, is well attested already in OS texts, thus making this chronology rather shaky.

"son": On the basis of dat.-loc.sg. DUMU(.NITA)-*li*, it is clear not only that the stem of the underlying word ended in an *-l-* (as is generally recognized; cf. also nom.sg. DUMU-*la-aš*, acc.sg. DUMU-*la-an*) but also that it was accented on its stem in its oblique cases.

"soul": The Sumerographic spelling ZI-*ni* implies that the underlying form was **iš-ta-an-za-ni*, which was accented on its stem: /ɨstántsani/ or /ɨstantsáni/.[28]

"Storm-god": The phonetics underlying the Sumerogram $^{d}$IM/$^{d}$U "Storm-god" are unknown, but on the basis of the dat.-loc.sg. forms $^{d}$IM-*ni*/$^{d}$U-*ni* and $^{d}$IM-*un-ni* we can now tell not only that his name ended in *-unn-* but also that the name was accented on its stem in its oblique cases. In that sense, it is interesting to note that the Luwic name of the Storm-god, *tarḫu(a)nt-*, which is often thought in one way or another to be cognate to the Hittite form, is in its oblique cases accented on its ending, as is clear from Hieroglyphic Luwian (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-ti-i* = /tarχʷntḯ/ (Vertegaal 2018, 178–79) and Lycian dat.sg. *trqqñti* = /trkʷntí/ (Kloekhorst 2013, 138).

27 Cf. Kloekhorst 2014, 80–81. Note that on the basis of the onomastic element *-ḫšušar*, which is found in many personal names in Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe/Kaniš and is generally equated with the Hittite word for "queen," we may assume that this word originally was athematic: nom.-acc.sg. **ḫaššuššar* < **-sr* (Kloekhorst 2019, 95–97). We therefore can now reconstruct an original paradigm like *keššar/kiššer-/kišr-* "hand"—namely, nom.sg. */χásːusːər/, acc.sg. /χasːuséran/, gen.sg. /χasːusːrás/, dat.-loc.sg. /χasːusːrḯ/, etc. When the noun was thematicized, the stem accentuation was generalized, yielding */χásːusːra-/, to which the dat.-loc.sg. form MUNUS.LUGAL-*ri* = /χásːusːri/ belongs.

28 Cf. Kloekhorst 2014, 271n995, for the possibility that the original form of this word was **ištānzana-*, implying an underlying */ɨstántsana-/, which would have yielded MH and NH /ɨstántsana-/, with accentuation on the first *a*.

"thunder": Although the Sumerogram BÚN is usually equated with *tetḫeššar* "thunder,"[29] this does not fit the dat.-loc.sg. form BÚN-*mi* (KUB 5.1 iv 71). Instead, this form indicates that the underlying word in this case is *tetḫima-* "thunder." Moreover, the form BÚN-*mi* shows that its dat.-loc.sg. form, **tetḫimi*, was accented on its stem: /tétχimi/ or (less likely) /tetχími/.

"tongue": The Sumerographically spelled dat.-loc.sg. EME-*i* (KBo 39.8 ii 29; iii 53; IBoT 4.12 iii 7) seems to point to a form that was accented on its ending. This spelling contrasts with the phonetically spelled form of the dat.-loc.sg. of "tongue," *la-a-li*, which clearly was accented on its stem, /lấli/ (cf. the nonplene spelling of the vowel of the ending and the plene spelling of the *a* of the stem). I therefore regard the Sumerographic forms EME-*i* as mistakes: in all three cases, the form EME-*i* follows KAxU-*i* "in/to the mouth," and I assume that the spelling with -*i* was taken over from here.

## 4. THE PHONETIC SPELLING OF ALLATIVE SINGULAR FORMS

Our finding that the spelling of the ending of the dat.-loc.sg. in Hittite is linguistically relevant, also when it is spelled as a phonetic complement to Sumerograms, raises the question to what extent this fact holds for the other oblique case whose ending ends in a vowel—namely, the allative singular.

It is well known that the all.sg. ending has two allomorphs: one in which the vowel of the ending is spelled plene, *°Ca-a*, and one in which the vowel is spelled nonplene, *°Ca*. Moreover, it is generally agreed that the plene-spelled version must have been accented, whereas the nonplene-spelled version was unaccented (Kloekhorst 2008, 161). For instance, *ki-iš(-ša)-ra-a* = /kːɨsːrấ/ "hand," *ta-ak-na-a* = /t(ə)knấ/ "earth" versus *a-aš-ka* = /ʔáska/ "gate," *ne(-e)-pí-ša* = /népisa/ "heaven," and *šu-u-uḫ-ḫa* = /sṓχːa/ "roof." Also when an enclitic is attached, all.sg. forms sometimes show plene spelling of their ending when they are accented—for example, *iš-ša-a-a=š-ma* (KBo 17.2 i 6, 8, OS) = /ɨsːấ=sma/ "to their mouth"—but this practice is not consistent: *iš-ša-a=š-ša* (KBo 3.38 obv. 4, OH/NS), *iš-ša=ma-a=š-ši* (KBo 13.100, 7, NS).[30]

The place of the accent in these all.sg. forms is always the same as in the corresponding dat.-loc.sg. forms: *ki-iš(-ša)-ra-a* ~ *ki-iš(-ša)-ri-i* = /kːɨsːrấ/, *ta-ak-na-a* ~ *ták-ni-i* = /t(ə)knấ/, and *iš-ša-a-a=š-ma* ~ *iš-ši-i* = /ɨsːấ/ versus *a-aš-ka* ~ *a-aš-ki* = /ʔáski/, *ne(-e)-pí-ša* ~ *ne(-e)-pí-ši* = /népisi/, and *šu-u-uḫ-ḫa* ~ *šu-u-uḫ-ḫi* = /sṓχːi/. The all.sg. form, too, is therefore potentially an important case for determining the place of the accent in the oblique cases of a given word. Moreover, just as word-final long accented /-ấ/ is retained as such throughout Hittite, word-final long accented /-ấ/ also seems to have retained its length throughout the attested period of Hittite: compare the fact that $^{É}$*ḫištā*, a cultic building, in principle always shows plene spelling of its *a*—$^{É}$*ḫi-iš-ta-a*, $^{É}$*ḫe-eš-ta-a*—whether it is attested in OS, MS, or NS texts (for attestations, cf. Kloekhorst 2014, 350n1362, 359n1395, 363n1425). In theory, the difference between all.sg. forms that are accented on their ending (spelled *°Ca-a*) and those that are accented on their stem (spelled *°Ca*) should therefore be detectable in texts from all periods. Unfortunately, this is hardly the case in practice: the allative is lost as a living case after the OH period, so we do not have many attestations of all.sg. forms from later texts. As a consequence, to determine the accentuation pattern of a given word, the all.sg. case is much less useful than the dat.-loc.sg., simply because it is much less often attested.

## 5. THE SUMEROGRAPHIC SPELLING OF ALLATIVE SINGULAR FORMS

Since we have seen above that dat.-loc.sg. forms that are spelled as a Sumerogram plus phonetic complement reveal important linguistic information, it is worthwhile pursuing to what extent this is true of the all.sg. case as well.

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29 Cf. the alternation between EZEN$_4$ BÚN-*na-aš* "festival of the thunder" (KUB 5.4 i 17, 27; iii 4) and EZEN$_4$ *te-et-ḫe-eš-na-aš* (KUB 5.4 i 38; ii 21); see HEG III 349; cf. also HW 279; Tischler, HHwb 216; Weeden 2011, 261.

30 The difference between the two ways of spelling may be diachronic: in OH, the length of the /ā/ was retained, even in word-internal position, whereas after the OH period it was shortened.

Let us look first at two all.sg. forms that were petrified as adverbs—namely, *āppa* "back, afterward" and *šarā* "upward." The former shows a consistent nonplene spelling of its final vowel, *a-ap-pa*, whereas the latter shows a consistent plene spelling, *ša-ra-a*. When these words are spelled Sumerographically with a phonetic complement, they appear as EGIR-*pa* and UGU-*a*,[31] respectively (never **EGIR-*a* and **UGU-*ra*). On the basis of these words, we may assume that also in the all.sg. cases there is a correlation between the full phonetic spelling of the ending and its spelling as a phonetic complement after Sumerograms: when the vowel of the all.sg. ending of a word is spelled nonplene, *°Ca*, in full phonetic spelling, this word is Sumerographically spelled SUMEROGRAM-*Ca*, whereas when the vowel of the all.sg. of a word is spelled plene, *°Ca-a*, in full phonetic spelling, the word is Sumerographically spelled SUMEROGRAM-*a*. And since the full phonetic spelling of the all.sg. ending gives information about the accentuation of the word, we may conclude that the phonetic complements do too.

When looking at other all.sg. forms that are spelled Sumerographically, we see that our postulations on the basis of *āppa* and *šarā* are confirmed.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *a-ku-u̯a-an-na* "drinking" | = | NAG-*na* (never **NAG-*a*) |
| *kat-ta* "downward" | = | GAM-*ta* (never **GAM-*a*) |
| *ku-un-na* "right" | = | ZAG-*na* (never **ZAG-*a*) |
| *pár-na* "house" | = | É-*na* (never **É-*a*) |
| *tu-un-na-ak-ki-iš-na* "inner room" | = | É.ŠÀ-*na* (never **É.ŠÀ-*a*) |

Also in other cases where we do not have the full phonetic spelling, we can still argue that the rule above is correct.

KASKAL-*ša* "road" should correspond to a phonetically spelled **pal-ša*, which is also the all.sg. form we would expect on the basis of the dat.-loc.sg. form *pal-ši* ~ KASKAL-*ši*. Both forms were accented on their stem: /pálsi/ and /pálsa/.

GÙB-*la* "left" belongs to a word whose underlying form we do not know. On the basis of this spelling (not **GÙB-*a*), we may assume that it was accented on its stem, as confirmed by the corresponding dat.-loc.sg. form GÙB-*li* (not **GÙB-*i*).

ḪUR.SAG-*a* "mountain" belongs to a word whose underlying form we do not know. On the basis of this spelling (not **ḪUR.SAG-*Ca*), we may assume that the word was accented on the ending in its oblique cases, as confirmed by the numerous dat.-loc.sg. forms ḪUR.SAG-*i* (cf. the discussion above).

GIŠTIR-*na* "forest" should correspond with an underlying form **ti-i-e-eš-na*, which is also the form we would expect on the basis of the corresponding dat.-loc.sg. form GIŠTIR-*ni* = *ti-i-e-eš-ni*. Both forms were accented on their stem: /t:iés:ni/ and /t:iés:na/.

In some other cases, things are less straightforward.

ÍD-*a* "river" is attested in KBo 22.2 obv. 3 (OS), and its spelling matches the full phonetic spelling *ḫa-pa-a* (KUB 13.3 iii 29, 32), both pointing to a form that is accented on its ending, /χapá/. This accentuation is confirmed by the dat.-loc.sg. form ÍD-*i*, which would match a form **ḫa-pí-i* (unattested as such), representing /χapí/. However, we also find the Sumerographic spelling ÍD-*pa* (KBo 10.11 i 3 ([Í]D-), OH/NS; KBo 13.137, 7, OH/NS), which points instead to a form that is accented on its stem. Since both attestations of ÍD-*pa* are from NS texts, I assume that they represent forms in which the accent of the direct cases was introduced. We therefore may assume that the word for "river" was originally inflected nom.sg. */χápas/ (or */χáps/?), acc.sg. */χápan/, gen.sg. */χapás/,

31 Admittedly, UGU-*a* is attested only once, in KBo 6.34 iii 18.

dat.-loc.sg. /χapí/, and all.sg. /χapá/ and that in the all.sg. at a certain point in time the stem of the nominative and accusative forms was introduced, yielding /χápa/, spelled ÍD-*pa*.

$^{URU}$MUL-*ra* "Star(-city)" belongs to the paradigm of $^{URU}$*ḫašter(a)-* (e.g., acc.sg. $^{URU}$*ḫa-aš-te-ra-an*, gen.sg. $^{URU}$*ḫa-aš-ti-ra-aš*), which must be connected with the Hittite word for "star," *ḫašter-*. As we have seen above, the dat.-loc.sg. form of "star," MUL-*i*, points to a desinentially stressed form */χ(ə)strí/. The spelling of the all.sg. form of the city name, $^{URU}$MUL-*ra*, points instead to a form with accentuation on its stem: /χ(ə)stéra/. We may therefore assume that in the city name the stem accentuation (nom.sg. *ḫašterza* = /χ(ə)stérts/) was generalized, whereas in the noun itself the original accentual mobility was retained. Alternatively, we may assume that the city name was in fact thematic /χ(ə)stéra-/ and thus forms a derivation of the original athematic noun /χ(ə)stér-, χ(ə)strV́-/.

$^{DUG}$ÚTUL-*ša* "pot" is attested in the OS text KBo 17.43 i 15, 16, for example, and its spelling implies that the underlying form was accented on its stem. However, the dat.-loc.sg. form $^{DUG}$ÚTUL-*i* (e.g., KBo 6.2 i 56, OS) implies that its underlying form was accented on its ending. The information of both forms is thus contradictory: is the word for "pot" in its oblique cases accented on its stem or on its ending? Since both forms are attested in OS texts, I am hesitant to assume that the one has undergone an accent shift that the other one has not. So perhaps we should assume that there are two different words here that underlie these forms.

ŠÀ-*ta* "heart" is attested several times[32] and corresponds to the phonetically spelled form *kar-ta* (KBo 17.65 rev. 46 [for this form, cf. Beckman 1983, 163]; KBo 24.61 rev. 11).[33] Both spellings indicate that the accent was on the stem, /kárta/. Its corresponding dat.-loc.sg. form *kar-ti-i* ~ ŠÀ-*i* points instead to /kərtí/, with the accent on the ending, however. Since this latter accentuation must be archaic (reflecting PIE **ḱrd-éi*), we would expect that the all.sg. form was originally accented on the ending as well: **kar-ta-a* ~ *ŠÀ-*a* = /kərtá/.[34] This reasoning implies that in the original */kərtá/ an accent retraction to /kárta/ has taken place. We could assume that this change happened by analogy to the accentuation of the nom.-acc.sg. form *kir*, *gir* = /kír/.[35] However, in other cases where we encounter such a generalization of the accentuation of the direct cases, the stem of these cases was also introduced (e.g., dat.-loc.sg. *išḫanī* "blood" >> later *ēšḫani* [after nom.-acc.sg. *ēšḫar*] or dat.-loc.sg. *iššī* "mouth" >> later *a̯iššši* [after nom.-acc.sg. *a̯iš*]), so we would expect an outcome **ki-ir-ta* = /kírta/.[36] I am therefore not fully sure how to interpret ŠÀ-*ta* = *kar-ta*.

Although these latter four cases require making some extra assumptions, I do not think that they seriously undermine the basic principle that even when all.sg. forms are written Sumerographically—that is, as a Sumerogram plus phonetic complement—the spelling of the ending reveals information about the accentuation of the underlying word.

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32 E.g., KBo 4.12 obv. 32; KUB 6.45 iv 46; KUB 13.33 ii 12; KUB 17.28 ii 56; KUB 31.77 iii 17.

33 The one attestation in KUB 1.16 iii 58 may have to be emended to *kar-ta<-a=t-ta>* "to your heart"; cf. the context: (57) . . . *nu=z=(š)a-an* (58) [*ud-da-*]*ạ-ar=me-et ḫa-at-ta<-tar>=me-et-t=a kar-ta<-a=t-ta> ši-iš<-ša>-at-ti* "you will im<p>ress my [wo]rds and my wisd<om> onto <your> heart" (note that *kar-ta<-a=t-ta>* is not the only form that needs emendation and that in KUB 1.16 iii 63 we also find *kar-di<-i=t-ti>* "in <your> heart"; cf. Kloekhorst 2014, 451).

34 It is, in principle, possible that the forms *kar-ta-a=š-ma* (VBoT 58 i 13) and *kar-da-a=š-ma* (KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.41 obv. 9) "into their heart" were accented on their ending because, before an enclitic, the length of the vowel of the accented ending was not always spelled.

35 See Kloekhorst 2014, 426, for the reading of the nom.-acc.sg. form of "heart" as *ki-ir*, *gi-ir* instead of *ke-er*, *ge-er* as advocated in Kloekhorst 2008, 469.

36 Likewise, the dat.-loc.sg. form KE/I-E/IR-*ti* (KBo 3.21 iii 12, 16, 22, 26, MH/MS) may be read as *ki-ir-ti* and analyzed as /kírti/, in which the nom.-acc.sg. stem *kir* = /kír/ has been carried over into the original dat.-loc.sg. form *kar-ti-i* = /kərtí/. It therefore need not represent *ke-er-ti* = /kérti/, an old loc.sg. form < PIE **ḱérd-i*, as argued in Kloekhorst 2014, 451.

## 6. CONCLUSION

We can conclude that the Hittite dat.-loc.sg. and all.sg. forms reveal important information about the place of the accent in them also when they are spelled as a Sumerogram plus phonetic complement. It is thus of paramount importance in the linguistic treatment of Hittite nouns to look closely at the spelling of these cases.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

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# 20 VISUAL RHETORIC: PHYSICAL DESIGN FOR SEMANTIC STRESS IN THE SÜDBURG INSCRIPTION

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## DEDICATION

A preliminary version of this study was written for the seminar on second-millennium Luwian taught by the Festschrift honoree, Theo van den Hout, at the University of Chicago in autumn 2014. It is therefore with great pleasure and gratitude that I contribute a revised version of that paper to this volume.[1]

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Among the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions discovered to date, the SÜDBURG inscription of Ḫattuša is one of the most important for its potential in illuminating aspects of Hittite history and the development of the Upper City of Ḫattuša in the Late Bronze Age, in addition to providing unique data points for interpreting the Luwian signs, grammar, and lexicon. Each of these aspects continues to be studied and debated by scholars. The present essay leaves aside these aspects and focuses instead on something hitherto given little attention: the artistic style of the inscription and its likely relationship to the semantics of the text.

The inscription is beautiful. The stones on which it was carved were carefully selected and shaped to fit together precisely, forming a wall of an almost fully enclosed structure, which was also one corner of a much broader structure extending to the south. While these observations on the methodical planning and execution of the chamber itself and the inscription in particular can easily be agreed with, they may, perhaps, also be too easily and too quickly dismissed. Indeed, as one considers the often-difficult text of the inscription in light of the visual organization of the signs, interesting and rhetorically significant patterns can be discerned. In this study, I focus on the visual organization of the signs and show, first, how in two places identical sign sequences in adjoining registers create chiastic patterns and, second, that these patterns focus attention on what is arguably the most important assertion of the text.[2]

1 I wish to express my gratitude to the volume editor and my doctoral adviser, Petra Goedegebuure, for very helpful feedback and suggestions on a previous draft of this study. I am furthermore grateful for the comments of the anonymous reviewer. Any remaining errors and shortcomings are my own.

2 At the outset of this essay, it must be acknowledged that the meanings of signs and words, and even the identification of sentence boundaries, are the subject of ongoing debate in the research on this inscription. Perhaps the most contentious point is the identification of the king mentioned in the inscription. The reading of PURUS.FONS.*MI* as Šuppiluliuma is not disputed, but the identification of which of the two Šuppiluliumas known from cuneiform sources continues to be debated. Whether this Šuppiluliuma is the mid-fourteenth-century king who transformed the Hittite kingdom into one of the largest empires of the ancient Near East or is the last known king of the Hittite Empire, at the end of the twelfth century, has far-reaching consequences for the interpretation of numerous place names in the inscription, as well as the nature of the events recorded on it. One sign that continues to be debated is the sign *416 and whether it refers to "enemies," "rulers," or "troops" (for "enemies," see, e.g., Yakubovich 2008; for "rulers," see Oreshko 2016, 50–82, 99–108; for "troops," see Melchert 2018). And these effects do not even begin to touch on the implications for understanding the historical development of the

Before discussing the inscription, what is meant by "chiastic pattern" and its ability to be applied to the visual aspect of an inscription must be clarified. Doing so is especially important since, to my knowledge, the type of pattern to which I apply the term "chiasm" has not been identified as such before. The pattern in question is unrelated to the discourse structure, which is the ordinary context for the application of this term. Instead, my application of the term is based on the final visual layout of the boustrophedically inscribed signs.

## 2. CHIASTIC PATTERNS IN TEXT AND ART

A chiastic pattern (or "chiasm" or "chiasmus") refers to "inverted parallelism," which is "the appearance of a two-part structure or system in which the second half is a mirror image of the first, i.e., where the first term recurs last, and the last first" (Welch 1981, 10). This pattern has been observed in texts in multiple languages across the ancient and modern worlds and is a specialized form of grammatical or semantic parallelism. The following example from the Song of Ullikummi (CTH 345) is illustrative.

KUB 33.96+ i 4–6 (text from Güterbock 1951, 146–47)

6 *nu* ḪUL-*lun* UD.KAM-*an* $^{LÚ}$ḪUL-*an šalla*[(*nuškizzi*)]
7 *nu* $^{d}$U-*ni* IGI-*anda idalawatar šan*[*ḫiškizzi*]
8 *nu* $^{d}$U-*ni tarpanallin šallanu*[(*škizzi*)]

He prepares an evil person as an evil day.
He plans evil against the Storm-god.
He prepares a usurper against the Storm-god.

The verbs in the first and third sentences frame the second sentence in an ABA' manner. This structure draws attention to the second sentence, revealing the purpose for the preparations: to fulfill his plan of evil against the Storm-god.[3]

While chiastic patterns appear in discourse patterns as just illustrated, they are also known in visual art. For example, Edmund Thomas (2013) discusses the ways that pediments on Greek temples were sometimes arranged in such a way that the left-hand side of a series of figures is mirrored on the right-hand side and that the two sides pivot on a central figure or image. He notes that the key criterion for applying the term "chiasm" to such symmetrical arrangements is that the mirrored elements are inverted: "What makes a symmetrical formation chiastic is the inversion of the *relation* between pairs or groups of figures" (Thomas 2013, 57; emphasis original). He cites the east pediment from the Temple of Apollo at Delphi as an example (fig. 20.1).[4] Thomas comments on the pediment as follows: "Apollo's chariot was flanked on one side by male statues, *kouroi*, and on the other by female, *korai*. . . . in so far as the male figures are inversions of the female it could be regarded as designed on a chiastic principle. The representation does not stop there,

entire southern half of the city of Ḫattuša. For a recent discussion on the difficulty of interpreting and dating this text, see Weeden 2020. In spite of these very important and debated issues related to the SÜDBURG inscription, this study, by and large, does not address any of them. Instead, it focuses on the composition of this inscription—not only its semantic composition (which cannot yet be fully determined) but also its visual composition, and how these two aspects are related. Because a general consensus on the precise semantic meaning of the signs and sentences has not yet emerged, the results of this study must remain tentative. However, as I hope will be made clear, this lack of precision does not significantly undermine the core argument developed in this essay.

3 It can also be observed that other features of this example suggest alternative interpretations of the structure. The repetition of "(against) the Storm-god" in the second and third sentences and the vagueness of the first sentence suggest interpreting the structure as an ABB' pattern. That two patterns suggest themselves based on different features of the unit can be understood as "formal multiplicity," which is a way of causing a text to be experienced as aesthetic (see Fabb 2004, 1–2; cf. also my analysis of this term in the broader discussion of how language can be shaped to be experienced as aesthetic in Marineau 2020, 45–46 in particular, 28–46 more broadly).

4 Thomas 2013, 59. The image in figure 20.1 is narrowed from that in Thomas for the sake of focusing on the figures in the pediment.

Figure 20.1. Portion of reconstruction of east pediment from the Temple of Apollo, Delphi, ca. 530 BCE (enlarged detail from line drawing in Thomas 2013, 58).

however. The *kouroi* and *korai* are placed between corner images of a lion fighting a bull and one fighting a stag" (Thomas 2013, 57–58). In other words, while there are differences on each side of the central figure, the groups and their organization on one side correspond with the groups and their organization on the other side.

Comparable to this pattern are various instances of royal cartouches in Luwian monumental inscriptions and on seal impressions. The cartouches shown in figures 20.2 and 20.3 are illustrative.[5] In the cartouche of Tutḫaliya IV in Chamber B at Yazılıkaya (fig. 20.2), *LABARNA.LA* and MAGNUS.REX columns under the winged solar disk are arranged symmetrically around the central (DEUS)MONS.*TU* column.[6] In the cartouche of Muršili II (fig. 20.3), the centered signs URBS+MINUS-*li* "Muršili" with the cuneiform logogram $SIG_5$ "good" are flanked on each side by the title MAGNUS.REX, "Great King" and the cuneiform logogram TI "life."[7]

Following Thomas, these examples illustrate how "visual chiasms" occur both in monumental Greek art and in the cartouches of Hittite kings, which combine cuneiform and hieroglyphs.[8] As already mentioned, the kind of chiastic arrangement that I argue occurs in the SÜDBURG inscription does not conform to

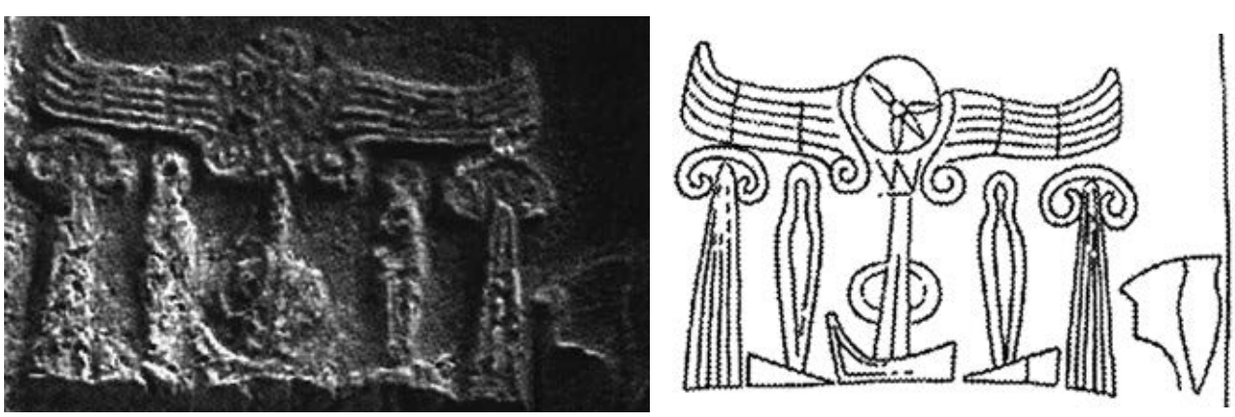

Figure 20.2. Cartouche of Tutḫaliya IV in Chamber B at Yazılıkaya (enlarged detail from photo and line drawing in Seeher 2011, 110).

5 For analysis of the seal impression in figure 20.3, see Herbordt, Bawanypeck, and Hawkins 2011, 117.

6 See also the first register of figure 127 in Seeher 2011, 114, as well as the comparison of three cartouches of Tutḫaliya IV in Seeher 2011, 116, fig. 129.

7 While the cuneiform signs within the central circle of the impression are oriented to be read in clockwise rotation, their positioning—that is, the centered though upside-down location of $SIG_5$ and the doubled and inverted placement of TI—nevertheless contributes to the visual arrangement of a central image flanked on each side by corresponding elements.

8 The anonymous reviewer doubts whether the types of symmetrical arrangement on the Greek pediment and in the Hittite cartouche should be classified as chiasm, given that the elements are not visually arranged in an X. I, however, wish to maintain Thomas's definition of visual chiasm as cited above.

the symmetrical patterning illustrated by these examples.

Instead, the patterns are arranged more closely to the visual structure of the Greek letter *chi*, "χ," the basis for the term "chiasm." This chiastic arrangement is made possible by the boustrophedic orientation of the inscription. As I will demonstrate, identical clauses occur on vertically adjoining registers where a central sign or group of signs forms the center of the *chi* and the signs occurring before and after these central signs form the branches of the *chi*. Furthermore, I will argue that the occurrences of this pattern did not occur accidentally but were purposefully incorporated into the design of the inscription.

Figure 20.3. Cartouche of Muršili II on a seal impression: Rek 23.1–5 (line drawing from Herbordt, Bawanypeck, and Hawkins 2011, pl. 3).

## 3. CHIASTIC PATTERNS IN THE SÜDBURG INSCRIPTION

The SÜDBURG inscription begins in the upper right-hand corner of the right-hand wall of the chamber in which it appears.[9] In all, there are six registers. The final register covers only a little less than half of the available space at the bottom of the wall; about one-third of the bottom of Block V and the entire bottom of Block VI lack writing (fig. 20.4). While David Hawkins (1995, 21) notes that the inscription's preservation is "practically perfect," at the end of register 1 a chunk of Block III is missing. In its place, a smaller rock fills the gap in the wall; this block is uninscribed (fig. 20.5).

At first glance, the reason for this adaptation is unclear. Did the block become accidentally broken during the process of producing the inscription? Was the block deliberately cut? While it may be difficult to be sure, given the neat organization of the list of deities in register 2 of Block III (beginning below the small added block), as well as the list of cities in register 3, it seems that the broken/cut-off corner did not disrupt the visual organization of Block III—rather, it made it possible.[10]

The observations regarding Block III give credence to the notion that other observable sign and clause organizations on the inscription were deliberate. As one stands inside the chamber facing the inscription, the double occurrence of the large VITIS$_x$ sign at the beginning of the inscription is conspicuous (fig. 20.6).[11] On closer inspection, it is apparent that these two VITIS$_x$ signs are a part of two (nearly) identical sequences of signs. In the following transliterations, the identical portions are underlined, while the unique portions are not. The unique portions do not interrupt the sequence of the identical portions.[12]

9 The standard critical edition of the SÜDBURG inscription is Hawkins 1995. References to "registers" and "blocks" follow this edition. The photographs of the inscription used in this essay are from different sources, as indicated in the captions.

10 The city and region list in register 3 of Block III is visually not as clean as the deity list: an additional city name spilled over to the beginning of register 4 on Block IV immediately below Block III.

11 The interpretation of the VITIS$_x$ sign as Myra in this essay follows Simon 2018. Note that Simon (2018, 36) describes a portion of this sign as "auffällig."

12 In the sequence in register 1, the signs may be part of two separate clauses. See the translation in Yakubovich 2008, 7; and contrast it with Oreshko 2016, 306. Regardless of how the words and phrases are related syntactically, the sign sequences nevertheless create a visual pattern.

Register 1: *HATTI* REGIO OMNIS$_2$ REL+*ra/i* *ali-wa/i-ní* INFRA *á-ka* VITIS$_x$ *ta-mi-na ma-sa$_5$ lu-ka i(a)-ku-na*

When (in) all the land of Hatti, (I/he) subjected the enemy(ies): Myra, Tamina, Masa, Lukka, (and) Ikkuna.

Register 2: *a-tá* *ali-wa/i-ní* INFRA *á-ka* VITIS$_x$ *ta-mi-na ma-sa$_5$ lu-ka i(a)-ku-na*

That/those enemy(ies) he subjected: (in?) Myra, Tamina, Masa, Lukka, (and) Ikkuna.

Because of the boustrophedic manner of writing, these two sign sequences are written in opposite directions, but they both pivot on the largest and visually most decorative signs in the sequences (and perhaps in the whole inscription): the VITIS$_x$ signs. Furthermore, the end of the sequence in register 1 is immediately above the beginning of the sequence in register 2, and likewise, the sequence in register 2 ends at the right edge of Block I, immediately below the beginning of the inscription (fig. 20.6).

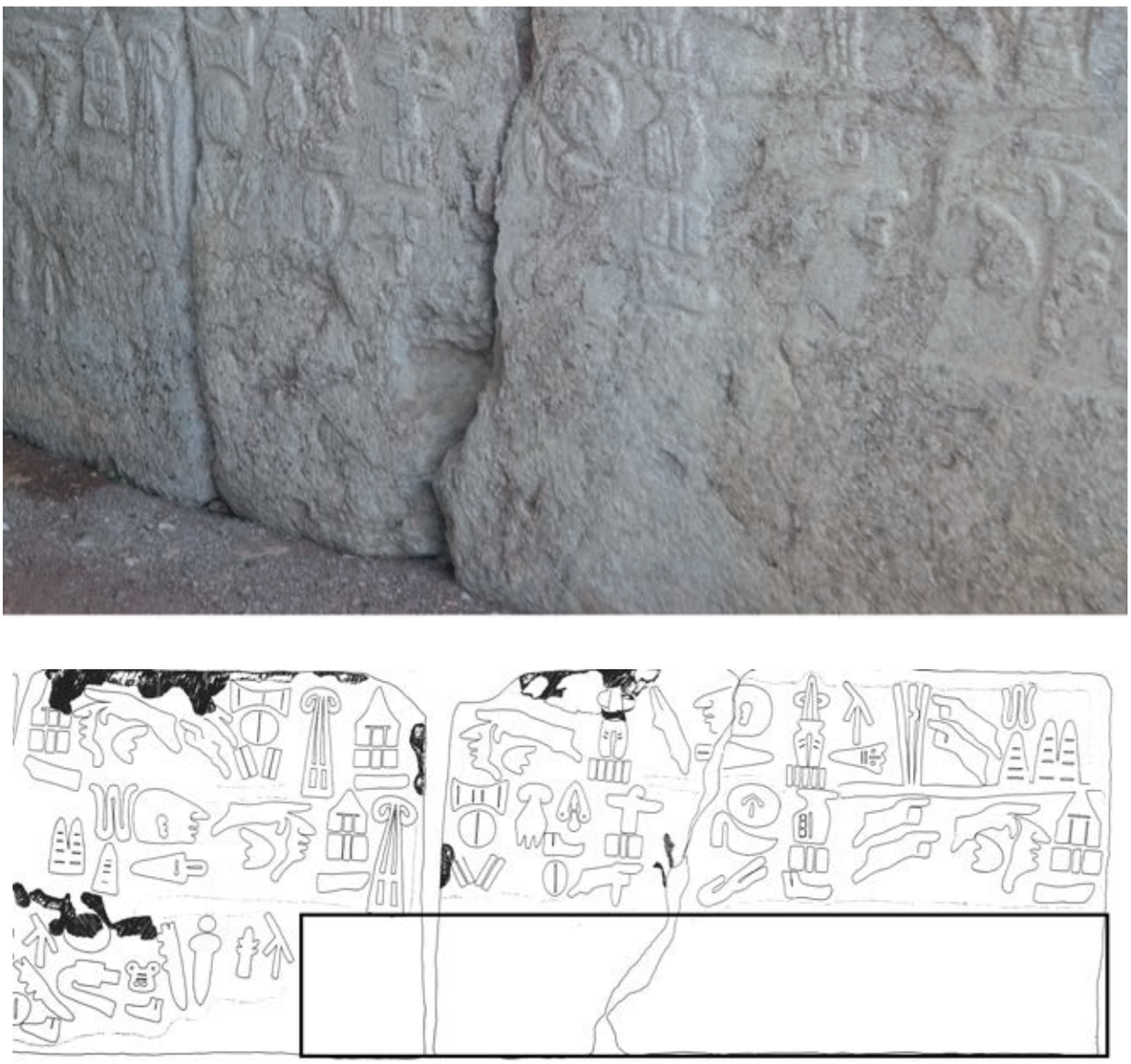

Figure 20.4. SÜDBURG inscription register 6 of Blocks V and VI
(photo by Thalia Lysen, used with permission; line drawing from Hawkins 1995).

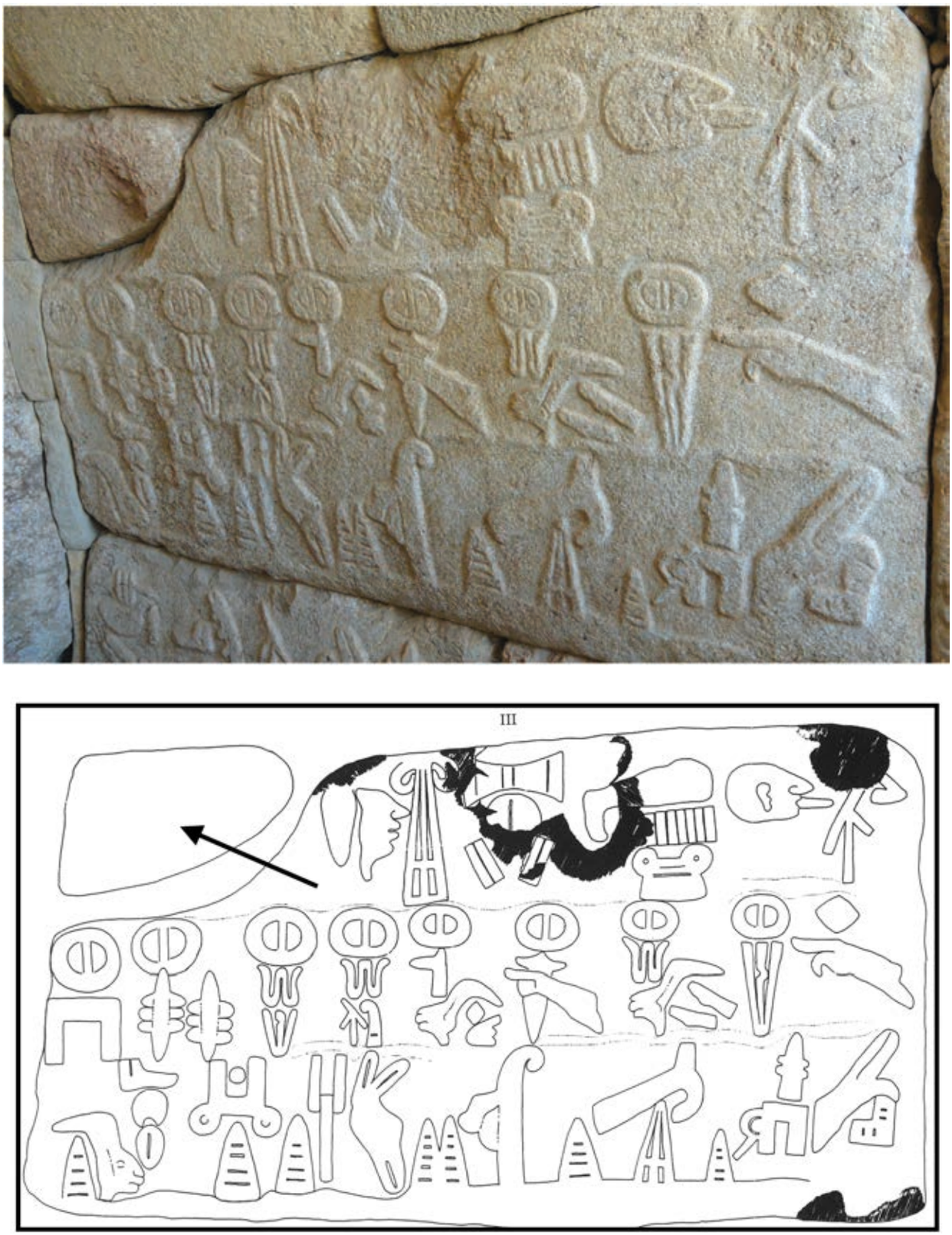


Figure 20.5. SÜDBURG inscription Block III (photo by Robert Marineau; line drawing from Hawkins 1995).

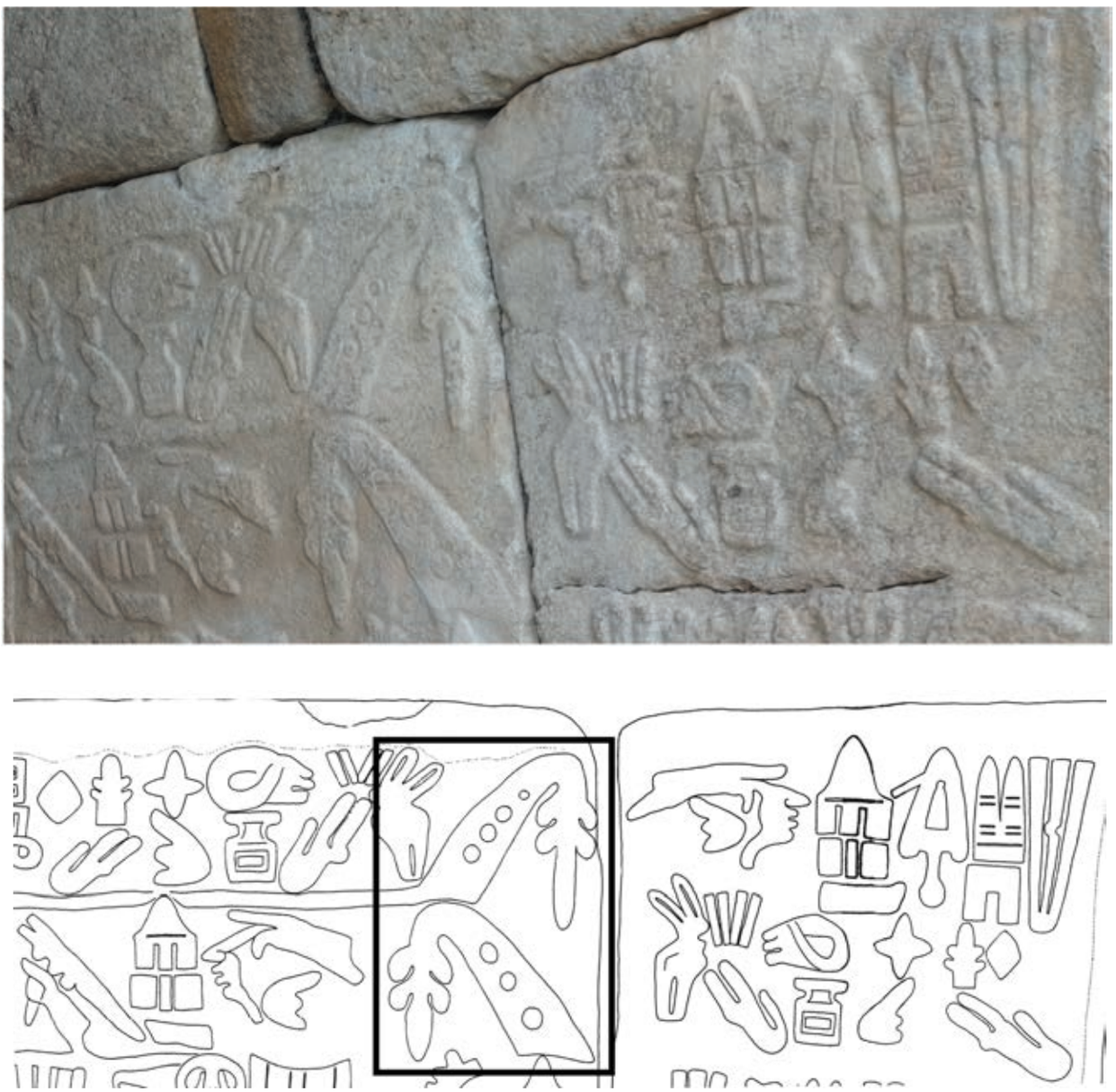

Figure 20.6. SÜDBURG inscription Blocks I and II—the VITIS$_x$ sequences
(photo by Thalia Lysen, used with permission; line drawing from Hawkins 1995).

I suggest that the inverted placement of these sequences, pivoting and centered around the VITIS$_x$ signs, creates a visual chiastic pattern and that this arrangement was no accident. Rather, the semantics of the text, along with the space requirements of the blocks and script, were planned to shape the visual experience of the text. This suggestion is supported by two other features of the inscription. The first feature has already been discussed: the shape and visual design of Block III in spite of (or because of!) the broken/cut-off upper left-hand corner. The second feature is another instance of double-sentence organization later in the text.

While the double sentences in registers 1 and 2 were mostly identical, the double sentences in registers 4 and 5 are entirely identical:

Register 4: PURUS.FONS.*MI* MAGNUS.REX *ali-wa/i-ní* INFRA *á-ka*

Šuppiluliuma, Great King, subjugated the enemy(ies).

Register 5: PURUS.FONS.*MI* MAGNUS.REX *ali-wa/i-ní* INFRA *á-ka*

Šuppiluliuma, Great King, subjugated the enemy(ies).

Instead of pivoting around a single sign (cf. the sentences in registers 1 and 2, which pivoted around the double occurrence of the VITIS$_x$ sign), these sentences pivot around two sign clusters: MAGNUS.REX *ali-wa/i-ní* (fig. 20.7). Once again, the sentences occur one on top of the other. Attention is drawn to the words "Great King" and "enemies" at the center of the chiasm. And, as the rest of these sentences indicate, the "Great King, Šuppiluliuma" had the upper hand in the conflict.

All the above observations regarding the design of Block III—the stacked sentences written in reverse direction with a central pivot point in both registers 1 and 2 and registers 4 and 5—are entirely visual and fully independent from any linguistic relationships. Indeed, all the visual collocations have little to do with one another within the development of the argument of the text. Regarding the visual design of Block III, the list of deities shows the divine support that Šuppiluliuma enjoyed in his military campaigns, while the list of cities and regions on this block are places that Šuppiluliuma rebuilt following the campaigns. There is no clear indication of the relationship of the deities to the place names despite their spatial collocation on the wall. As for the double sentences in registers 4 and 5, they are not connected in the discourse except as participants in a summary of conquests of two separate and unrelated regions, Mount MONS.IUDEX?.QUINQUE in register 4 and the region of Tarḫuntašša—assuming this reading of TONITRUS(URBS) REGIO is correct—in register 5. The double sentences in registers 1 and 2 may be considered part of the same discourse unit, where the first part introduces both the inscription as a whole and the start of the conquests, while the second occurrence of the sentence both reiterates the first set of conquests and closes out the first discourse unit before it transitions to summarizing the rebuilding projects of the king.

So, what effect do these observations on the visual organization of the inscription have on the argument of the text? I suggest that each cluster of visual patterns draws attention to complementary aspects that encapsulate the argument of the inscription as a whole. The double sentences in registers 1 and 2 focus on a specified group of places that are subjugated, whereas the double sentences in registers 4 and 5 focus on the agent of the subjugation.[13] The sentences in registers 1 and 2 leave unexpressed the agent of the transitive verb "to subjugate"—namely, Suppiluliuma—but do have specific patients. The sentences in registers 4 and 5, on the other hand, have only a generic and nonspecific patient, "enemy(ies)," but a specifically named agent, "Šuppiluliuma, Great King." Taken together, these two sets of sentences indicate the specific agent and the specific patient of the same verb "to subjugate."

The visual design and meaning of the text on Block III contribute something different. This block includes three main features: the name "Šuppiluliuma," along with the honorific titles "Great King, Hero" (in register 1); the list of deities that support this person (in register 2); and the list of cities and regions that this same person is responsible for rebuilding (in register 3). Thus, in contrast to the two sets of double sentences that communicate the negative acts of power by Šuppiluliuma (i.e., subjugating enemies), Block III communicates the divine support he enjoys, as well as his positive acts of power (i.e., rebuilding projects).

To conclude, the composition of the SÜDBURG inscription deliberately incorporated visual aspects of the inscription to complement semantic aspects. Furthermore, the visual aspects complement the semantic aspects by drawing attention to the central argument of the inscription: Šuppiluliuma has conquered many enemies and built many towns, all with the support of many deities.

13 Within the discourse units where the sentences in registers 4 and 5 occur, separate patients are named, but these patients do not occur within the syntax of these particular sentences. Likewise, the agent of the sentences in registers 1 and 2 is also named—just not within these sentences themselves.

Figure 20.7. SÜDBURG inscription Blocks V and VI—MAGNUS.REX *416-wa/i-ní (photo by Thalia Lysen, used with permission; line drawing from Hawkins 1995).

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

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# 21 THE MEDIOPASSIVE IN TRANSITION FROM OLD TO NEW HITTITE

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## DEDICATION

Our honorand's broad range of interests in all things Hittite includes changes in the language within the historical period. It is a great pleasure and honor to offer him in this richly deserved tribute for his innumerable contributions to Hittitology the following remarks on changes in a major grammatical category of the language.[1]

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Hittite inherited from Proto-Indo-European a contrast of active and mediopassive ("middle") diathesis in the finite verb, expressed formally by different inflectional endings. The formal prehistory of the mediopassive has been ably elucidated (Yoshida 1990). There is also Old Hittite evidence (see section 2 below) that Hittite inherited most, but perhaps not all, of the functions reconstructed for the Proto-Indo-European mediopassive. Leonid Kulikov has carefully documented that in the oldest Sanskrit the mediopassive undergoes what he terms "degrammaticalization" (Kulikov 2012) and has briefly summarized significant changes in diathesis elsewhere in Indo-European (Kulikov 2012, 186–87). He does not include Hittite in his survey, and what follows seeks to fill that gap. As will be clear, the Hittite mediopassive also undergoes major functional changes from Old to New Hittite.[2]

## 2. FUNCTIONS OF THE MEDIOPASSIVE IN OLD HITTITE

In delineating the functions of the mediopassive one must distinguish "oppositional middles," which contrast with active forms of the same verb, and *media tantum* ("deponents"), inflected only in the mediopassive.

### 2.1. OPPOSITIONAL MEDIOPASSIVES IN OLD HITTITE

Old Hittite shows four expected uses of the mediopassive in contrast to the active: for "direct reflexives," autocausatives, reciprocal actions, and passives/anticausatives.

1 I thank Leonid Kulikov for very helpful comments and crucial references. Responsibility for the contents naturally remains mine.

2 The following is based on a new survey of all mediopassives in three restricted corpora: Old Hittite texts in Old Script (OH/OS), assured Middle Hittite compositions in Middle Script (MH/MS), and assured New Hittite compositions (NH). I have also resurveyed all material in the still indispensable and foundational collection of Erich Neu (1968b). For the data, see http://www.linguistics.ucla.edu/people/Melchert/Hittite%20Medio-Passive.htm.

We have only two attested examples of the mediopassive used alone for so-called direct reflexives—that is, transitive actions performed on one's own person. The Old Hittite composition about Naram-Sin shows two instances with *šuppiyaḫḫ-* "to purify": *īt šuppiyaḫḫut . . .* [$^{m}$*Nar*]*am-*$^{d}$SIN-*naš šuppiyaḫḫati* "Go purify yourself! . . . Naram-Sin purified himself" (KBo 3.16 iii 8, 11; OH/NS). In the Allaiturahi Ritual, there is one example of *warp-* "to wash" with a bare mediopassive: *ŠA ZUNNI witenaz warput* "Wash yourself with rainwater!" (VBoT 120 iii 7; pre-NH/NS).

We find also autocausative *nē(y)a-* "to turn (oneself)," as in *āppa=ma=aš=(s)ta nēa* "He turns back" (KBo 17.43 ii 14; OH/OS) and *ninink-* "to mobilize (oneself)" in *š=aš niniktati* "He mobilized" at KUB 23.28+ i 12 (OH/NS), expressing motions/changes of state initiated by the subject (for the type, see Geniušienė 1987, 86–89, 251–53).

Just two examples of the mediopassive alone indicate reciprocal actions, both of them in New Script copies of older compositions. The Laws §174/*59 shows *takku* LÚ.MEŠ *zaḫḫanda* "If men strike each other . . ." (NS KBo 6.26 ii 16; verb assured by OH/OS KUB 29.32:7 [*zaḫḫand*]*a*). The Song of Silver attests ŠU-*az=at=kan appant*[*at*] "They took each other by the hand" (KUB 33.115 iii 13; pre-NH/NS). On the reason for the paucity of evidence, see section 3.1.[3]

As in the oldest stages of other ancient Indo-European languages, in Old Hittite the use of the mediopassive to express the passive is rare. The expected nonexpression of the agent also raises questions in some cases as to whether a given example is a true passive or an anticausative (where no agent is necessarily presupposed—cf. Kulikov 2011, 231–32 with references), but the overall syntax can help disambiguate them. Whatever the subject noun means, *waršulaš=teš ammel katta uwaru* (KUB 36.44 i 4; OH/NS) is surely "May your *w.* be(come) visible/appear to me!" (thus with Neu 1968b, 22). This syntax is also that attested in New Hittite compositions (section 3.1.4)—compare Sanskrit *dṛśyáte* "is visible; appears" ← "is seen" (Kulikov 2011, 234–35). On the other hand, the use of *ḫalzi(y)a* with an expressed subject ($^{KUŠ}$NÍG.BÀR "curtain" KBo 17.19 ii 13 and $^{NINDA}$*šarama* "ration-bread" KBo 20.10 ii 2, both OH/OS) argues that it is a true passive "is called," also in the many instances (OH/NS) with no overt subject. Also clearly passive is one example from an Old Hittite historical text (Neu 1968a, 112): [(*kī mān ḫ*)*ull*]*attati* $^{m}$*Ḫapruzišš=a* [. . . (*ḫ*)]*uladaru* "As these were defeated, let also Hapruzi [. . .] be defeated" (KBo 3.29:14–15; OH/NS with dupl.).

One expected use of the oppositional mediopassive is lacking in Old Hittite: the "self-benefactive" or "indirect reflexive" type of Sanskrit *yájate* "worships/sacrifices for oneself" versus active *yájati* "worships/sacrifices." I have suggested (Melchert 2017, 478) that *ušneškatta* "offers for sale" (KUB 29.29 ii 12, Laws §146b/*35b; OH/OS) versus active *ušneške-* "to pledge" is an example (pledging something in return for something else is self-benefactive). However, even if this analysis is correct (and it must remain provisional, given the isolation of the form), it surely represents a lexicalization and not a synchronically living use of the mediopassive. Already in Old Hittite (OS) we find for self-benefactives only the reflexive particle *-z(a)* plus the *active*: for example, *n=an=za dāi* "He shall take it for himself" (KBo 6.2 i 8, Laws §6 and passim).

The few diagnostic oppositional mediopassives in Old Hittite raise a formal issue that requires a brief excursus. Against older views, more recent accounts have rejected a direct correlation of the active *mi-* and *ḫi*-conjugations with the contrast in the third-singular mediopassive endings *-tta(ri)*, *-ttat(i)*, and *-ttaru* versus *-a(ri)*, *-at(i)*, and *-aru* (Neu 1968a, 19–23; implicitly Hoffner and Melchert 2008, 184, 230–34). However, such a correlation has recently been reasserted (Yoshida 2016a, 506–7 and passim). As we shall see below, the claim is untrue for New Hittite and largely based on false premises, but such a contrast in *oppositional* mediopassives in Old Hittite must be taken seriously. As seen above, the Old Hittite mediopassives for the active *ḫi*-verbs *au(š)-* "to see," *ḫalzai-* "to call (out)," *nai-* "to turn," and *šuppiyaḫḫ-* "to purify" are *uwaru*, *ḫalzi(y)a*, *nēa*, and *šuppiyaḫḫati*,[4] respectively, while for active *mi*-verbs we find the cited *ḫullattati* and *ḫuladaru* to *ḫulle/a-* "to defeat" and *niniktati* "mobilized" to *ninink-* "to mobilize, set in motion," as well as

3 The likely example *n=e . . . zaḫḫiškanta* at KBo 17.36 ii 15–16 (OH/OS) is in a broken context.

4 Plus Pret3Sg *šiuniyaḫḫati* "was struck by a god" (error for "were . . .") at KUB 11.1 iv 15 (OH/NS), anticausative Pres3Sg *šiyari* "spurts out" at KBo 3.16+ ii 10 (OH/NS) and Pret3Sg *šiyati* KBo 3.16+ ii 16, 18 (to *šai-*$^{-ḫḫi}$ "to press"), and Pret3Sg *ku-li-e-ya-wa-aḫ-ḫa-ti* at KBo 7.14+ ro 22 (OH/OS), whatever it means.

*ḫandāitta* "draws even with" (anticausative to *ḫandā(i)-* "to align" at KBo 20.14 i 9, 13 [OH/OS] and elsewhere) and *lazziatta* "gets well/better" (anticausative to active *lazziya-* "to make better" at KBo 6.2 i 18, Laws §10; OH/OS). There is thus some basis for supposing that in Old Hittite the synchronic valency-reducing use of the mediopassive to form direct reflexives, autocausatives, passives, and anticausatives from actives may show a correlation between endings with and without *-tt-* in the third singular and the two active conjugations. Any such correlation clearly broke down by New Hittite (see section 3.1.5).

There is also no reason to believe that any such correlation was inherited. Although they must be treated as separate lexemes in attested Hittite (against the handbooks), the Old Hittite *medium tantum šarra-* "to cross, transgress" is clearly related etymologically to Old Hittite transitive active *šarr(a)-* "to divide, apportion" (Yoshida 2016a, 505; et al.). However, the first underwent the renewal **-or* > **-otor* (> Pres3Sg *šarratta*), while the latter appears as an active *ḫi*-verb (Pres3Sg *šārri/šarrai*). Old Hittite (OS) *tuḫḫušta* "comes to an end" cannot be the formal renewal of *contemporary* transitive *tuḫša(ri)* "cuts (off)" (contra Yoshida 2016a, 499; 2016b, 361; following Watkins), but it almost certainly is etymologically an anticausative **Téuh$_2$s-to(r)* "cuts off, stops" (← original passive *"is cut off") beside transitive **Téuh$_2$s-o(r)* "cuts off" (Neu 1968b, 171–77 with n22).[5]

### 2.2. *MEDIA TANTUM* IN OLD HITTITE

Most uses of *media tantum* in Old Hittite are among those reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European. There are verbs indicating the state of or changes in bodily posture: *ar-* "to stand," *ēš-* "to sit down" (exclusively change of state in OH), and *ki-* "to lie, lie down." Others refer to translational motion (*iya-* "to walk"). There are also examples describing mental or emotional states: *lēlaniya-* "to become angry," *naḫšariya-* "to take fright." Finally, many "spontaneous" events (not subject controlled) are also *media tantum*, both telic and atelic: for example, *kiš-* "to happen; become" (both senses consistently *without* the particle *-z(a)* in OH/OS) and *lukk-* "to grow bright, dawn"; *marra-/marriya-* "to stew, melt, dissolve" and *w(a)r-* "to burn" (both intransitive and atelic).

In addition to these expected types of intransitive *media tantum*, Old Hittite surprisingly also shows a robust number of transitive *media tantum*, of three formal types: (1) with third-person singulars in *-a(ri)* (e.g., *ḫatta-* "to prick, slit; sacrifice [by throat slitting]," *paḫš-* "to protect"; (2) with third-person singulars in *-tta(ri)* (e.g., *šarra-/šarriye-* "to transgress,"[6] *wēšš-* "to wear," and *zaḫḫiya-* "to fight"); (3) with a third-person stem in *-i-* (and third-singular ending in *-i(y)a*) that is absent in the other persons: *ḫuett(i)-* "to draw, pull" and *parš(i)-* "to break apart" (Jasanoff 2012, 123–24).[7]

## 3. CHANGES IN THE MEDIOPASSIVE FROM OLD TO NEW HITTITE

Most changes in the usage of the mediopassive are due to two factors: (1) encroachment on, and in some cases eventual replacement of, the mediopassive by the reflexive particle *-z(a)*; and (2) a growing tendency in Hittite to mark contrasts in valency by overt morphological means.[8]

While the directions of these trends are quite clear, the historical development of the mediopassive reminds us of limitations on our methodology and data that are not always fully acknowledged. First, as is

5 The collocation LUGAL-*wa*<*š*> UD.KAM.ḪI.A *tuḫḫuššanteš* "The king's days (are) cut off/at an end" (KUB 8.1 iii 1–2) seems decisive, despite the ingenious alternative etymology linking *tuḫḫušta* "comes to an end" < *"comes full circle" with Old Irish *dún* "ring fort" (Watkins 1990).

6 While *šarratta* reflects prehistoric **-otor* (section 2.1), synchronically the stem is *šarra-* (with Yoshida 2016a, 506), so the ending is just *-tta(ri)*.

7 For the peculiar stem alternation, see (all OH/OS): Pres1Sg *par(a)šḫa* at KBo 17.1+ iii 14 versus Pres3Sg *paršiya* at KBo 17.11+ i 52, etc., and Pres3Pl [(*parši*)]*yanda* KBo 17.11+ i 51. The third-person stem is with Jasanoff *-i-*, not *-ya-* (pace Yoshida 2016a, 499).

8 This tendency includes the use of transitivizing derivational suffixes (Luraghi 2015, 6–10). Luraghi also correctly identifies many changes in the use of the mediopassive but underestimates the growth in use of the mediopassive to mark valency reduction in the form of the passive.

well known, all chronological divisions of languages into historical periods are arbitrary: not all members of a speech community adopt innovations simultaneously. Second, one may question "lexical diffusion" as an explanatory principle, but there can be no doubt that changes do descriptively affect individual lexemes differentially. Finally, in the present case we are working with written texts produced by a bureaucratic elite that dealt on a regular, almost daily basis with older records of cultic texts and other genres that served as models for the texts they produced. This situation leads to the persistence of some older patterns that are not what one may justly term "set expressions." There is thus much continuity as well as change in the attested New Hittite usage of the mediopassive.

### 3.1. CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE USE OF OPPOSITIONAL MEDIOPASSIVES

#### *3.1.1. "Direct Reflexives"*

Beginning in Old Hittite, we find the mediopassive used *with* the reflexive particle *-z(a)*: LUGAL-*uš=za šuppiāḫḫati* "The king purified himself" (KBo 25.112 ii 14; OH/OS); $^{d}$*Inarašš=a=z unuttat* "Inara adorned herself" (KUB 17.5 i 4–5; OH/NS); *ŠA* KASKAL-*NI=za* A-*az ārraḫḫut* "Wash yourself with the water of the path!" (KBo 33.119:9; pre-NH/NS); *nu=wa=za* [. . . D]INGIR.MEŠ-*aš waššiyaḫḫaḫat* "I have dressed myself for the [. . .]gods" (KUB 24.5+ vo 15; ?/NS).

We also find already in Old Hittite (OS) the further step of the *active* plus the particle: *unut=wa=z(a)* "Adorn yourself!" (KUB 31.43 ii 23 and KBo 25.119:3). Note also beside *-za ārraḫḫut* in the preceding line active *mān=za* EN SISKUR *ārri* "When the ritual client washes himself" (KBo 33.119:8). For New Hittite, note *-za . . . war(a)pta* and *-za . . . arriškenun* (KUB 12.31 ro 11, vo 10 and dupls. [Muršili II]) and *-za . . . waššiškeši . . .-za . . . waššiya* (KUB 26.25 ii 6–7 [Šuppiluliuma II]).

#### *3.1.2. Autocausatives*

Autocausative mediopassive *ne(y)a-* "to turn" (intrans.) is well attested as late as Šuppiluliuma II (KBo 4.14 and passim);[9] *ninink-* "to mobilize" (intrans.) appears in texts of Muršili II (KBo 5.8 i 33, ii 11, and 5.4 vo 43) and Hattušili III (KUB 21.1 iii 46); *(arḫa) šarra-* "to divide (oneself)" is found at KBo 5.6 i 23 (Muršili II).[10] Two of these are also renewed with *-za*: NH *-za ne(y)a-* "to turn" (intrans.) (KUB 1.1 iv 11 [Hattušili III]) and *-za (arḫa) šarra-* "to divide (oneself)" (KBo 3.4 ii 53 and KUB 14.15 iii 30 [Muršili II]).

#### *3.1.3. Reciprocals*

Reinforcement with a reflexive also took place in reciprocals: [*n*]*u=šmaš=kan . . .* $^{d}$U-*aš* $^{d}$*Dašmišušš=a* Š[U-*z*]*a appantat* "The Storm-god and Tasmisu took each other by the hand" (KUB 33.87+ i 15–16; pre-NH/NS). We have no assured New Hittite examples of the reciprocal construction, so we cannot be sure that a shift to the active took place, but that change seems likely.

#### *3.1.4. Anticausatives*

This usage is continued with minimal change. In addition to the examples seen already in Old Hittite, *uwa-* "to be(come) visible, appear" (KUB 14.14 vo 15, 22, 30, etc. [Muršili II], and KUB 21.19 iv 28 [Hattušili III]) and *lazziya-* "to get better" (KBo 4.8 ii 21 [Muršili II], KBo 6.29+ i 11 [Hattušili III], and KUB 23.103 ro 4 [Tuthaliya IV]), we find *lagāittari* "is toppling" (KUB 5.7 ro 18) and *zinnattat* "came to an end" (KBo 2.5 iv 11

9 One should note, however, that while the Pres3Sg and Imv3Sg continue to end in *-a(ri)* and *-aru*, the Pret3Sg ending *-at(i)* has been replaced by *-attat* (*neyattat* KUB 19.41+ ii 2, *neattat* KBo 16.6 left edge 3 [both Muršili II], and *niyattat* KBo 4.14 ii 2 [Šuppiluliuma II]). This change is presumably motivated by the desire to avoid homophony with the new transitive active Pret3Sg *neyat*.

10 Note that the form is *šarrattari*, although active *šarra-* "to divide" is clearly a *ḫi*-verb in New Hittite (Pret1Sg *šarraḫḫun*, Pret3Sg *šarraš*).

[Muršili II]). Note that *lagāittari* has replaced older *lagāri*,[11] and *zinnattat* stands beside active *zinna/i-*, overwhelmingly a *ḫi*-verb in New Hittite (contra Yoshida 2016a, 500). We have no diagnostic forms to determine whether *uwa-* "to be(come) visible" has undergone a similar renewal.[12]

### *3.1.5. Passives*

On the other hand, use of the mediopassive to mark the passive of active transitive verbs becomes massively productive—arguably its only truly productive use by New Hittite. A complete survey is impossible here (see Neu 1968a, 110–12, and the URL given in n1 above). I focus on formal developments, some of which have been misunderstood and misrepresented. First of all—with a single possible exception—all passives in New Hittite are formed with the *-tta(ri)* and *-ttat(i)* endings, whether or not the *synchronically* corresponding active stem belongs to the *mi-* or *ḫi*-conjugation. The only likely counterexample in an assured New Hittite composition is *kunati* at KUB 34.75 ro 11, notably built to an active verb that remains consistently a *mi*-verb in New Hittite. While due caution is in order, it is hard to avoid an interpretation "was killed," a not unexpected colloquialism in a deposition for the usual "suppletive" use of *ak(k)-* "to die" (Werner 1967, 53; Neu 1968b, 101–2).[13]

Renewal of the endings *-a(ri)* and *-at(i)* by *-ttari* and *-ttat* in passives of factitives in *-aḫḫ-* (NH Pret3Sg *išiyaḫtat* "was denounced" at KUB 5.24 iii 24 and other examples in NS) may reflect merely the fact that these verbs have almost entirely switched to the *mi*-conjugation in New Hittite (Oettinger 1979, 41–42; Hoffner and Melchert 2008, 217; et al.).

However, active *ḫi*-verbs also now show passives with exclusively *-tta-* endings: *dā-* "to take" (*d/tattat* KUB 12.31 vo 11 and KBo 4.2 iv 33, 35 [Muršili II] and *dattari* Bo 86/299 ii 3, 89 [Tuthaliya IV]); *tarna-* "to release" (*tarnattat* KBo 5.8 i 22 [Muršili II] and *tarnattari* KBo 4.10 ro 12 [Tuthaliya IV]); *zaḫ-* "to strike" (*zaḫtari* KUB 5.1 iv 72 and 5.18 ro? 6, vo? 6); and *zinna-* "to finish, bring to an end" (*zinnattari* KUB 22.70 vo 65 versus active *zinnāi* KUB 22.70 vo 67). Note further passive *ēštat* "was occupied" (KBo 5.8 ii 15 [Muršili II]) to transitive mediopassive *-za ešat* "occupied" (KBo 3.4 iii 60–61, etc.).

It is crucial to note that no Middle Hittite or New Hittite passive forms in *-tta-* are formal renewals of Old Hittite transitive *media tantum* (contra Yoshida 2016a, 499, 501, and passim; 2016b, 362–63, with several false translations) but are productively formed passives to their real formal replacements—namely, active(!) *ḫi-* and *mi*-verbs: *ḫannata*[*t*] "was judged" KBo 31.143 (MH/MS) to *ḫanna-*$^{-i}$ and EGIR-*pa ḫuittiyattat* (KUB 1.1 iii 15 [Hattušili III]) "was renewed" (literally "was dragged [out] again") to *ḫue/ittiya-*$^{-mi}$. The passive *tuḫḫuštat* "has been cut off/separated" in the Middle Script copy of an earlier ritual text (KBo 39.8 i 41) is also likely to be built on the new transitive active *tuḫš-*$^{-mi}$ "to cut (off)" seen in *tuḫ*$^{ḫu}$*šandu* in the very same line, rather than on the older transitive *medium tantum tuḫš-* (Pres3Sg *tuḫša(ri)*). See section 3.2.2 for discussion of the genuine New Hittite renewals of Old Hittite transitive *media tantum*.

## 3.2. CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE USE OF *MEDIA TANTUM*

### *3.2.1. Intransitive* media tantum

The extent to which intransitive *media tantum* are reinforced with *-z(a)* or replaced by actives varies significantly according to their semantic class.

Verbs referring to the most basic bodily states and motions remain resolutely mediopassive: *ar-* "to stand," *ēš-* "to sit (down)," and *ki-* "to lie (down)"—examples seem superfluous. The only change is that

11 Just as *laknu-* has largely if not completely replaced the active *ḫi*-verb *lāg-* "to topple, knock down."

12 The forms *ú-wa-it-ta-ri* and *u-wa-it-ta-at* belong to *(u)wai(a)-* "to feel regret for" (contra Neu 1968b, 21). See section 3.2.1 with n19.

13 The reality of *karšāru* "shall be cut off" (Neu 1968b, 83–84) in a New Script copy of a pre–New Hittite text is cast into doubt by the matching *kar(a)štaru* in the parallel text KUB 32.138 ii 10 (Glocker 1997, 32–33). Pret3Sg *ḫannat* in a difficult passage (KUB 12.63 vo 33; pre-NH/NS), if it means "was judged" (Neu 1968b, 39), has no probative value for New Hittite usage.

mediopassive *ēš-* alone now means "to sit, be seated," replacing Old Hittite active *ēš-* (Otten and Souček 1969, 85), while *-za ēš-* is used for "to sit down" (Neu 1968b, 29). However, *ḫāliya-* "to bow" shows both mediopassive and active forms (*ḫaliyattat* KUB 14.15 iv 29, 31 and 19.49+ i 39; *ḫāliyandat* KUB 14.16 iii 16 and dupls. and KBo 4.4 iii 47 [all Muršili II], but active *ḫaliyat* KBo 3.3+ i 13 and dupls. and *ḫāliēr* KBo 3.4 iii 19, 14.19 iii 11, and 4.4 iv 20, 32 [all Muršili II]).[14] There is also late *ḫāliškattari* (KUB 5.6+ ii 51). The other verb *ḫink-* "to bow" is attested thus far only in the active in New Hittite compositions: *ḫin(i)kzi* KUB 5.6+ ii 54, *ḫink(at)ta* (Pret3Sg) KBo 5.6 iii 38 (DŠ 28) and 4.2 iii 56 (both Muršili II).[15]

The translational motion verb *iya-* "to walk" is inflected without exception as a mediopassive throughout New Hittite. However, *šalīg-* "to come in contact with, violate" (construed with the allative or dative-locative) is entirely replaced by active forms, mostly *mi*-conjugation but also a couple of *ḫi*-conjugation forms: beside Pret3Sg *šalikaš* (ABoT 1.60 ro 7; MH/MS) we find in New Hittite *šalikmi* KUB 5.1 i 29; *šalikti* KUB 5.4 i 42 and KBo 2.2 ii 56; *šaligai* KUB 26.12 iv 37 (Tuthaliya IV); *šalikzi* KUB 5.1+ i 27; *šalikanzi* KUB 5.1+ i 54, ii 6, 10, 54, 78, 98, 100; *šalikta* KUB 5.7 ro 34; *šalikiške*[*t*] KUB 22.70 vo 6; and *šalikišker* KUB 22.70 vo 52, 55 and 50.23:10.

*Media tantum* expressing "spontaneous" (non-subject-controlled) states and events continue to be inflected consistently in the mediopassive. Examples include LUGAL-*ezziya-* (*ḫaššuezzi(y)a-**) "to become king" (Neu 1968b, 109); *irmaliya-* "to fall sick" (Neu 1968b, 73);[16] *kiš-* "to happen, occur, take place" and with a predicative nominative "to become";[17] *tukk-* "to be visible; important" (*tuqqār*[*i*] "is important, matters" KUB 19.14 iv 19 (DŠ 37) [Muršili II] and KUB 15.17+ i 9 [Hattušili III]; *tuqqāt* "was visible" KBo 4.12 ro 18 [Hattušili III]).

It is also unlikely to be coincidental that all six cases of onetime sporadic use of the mediopassive in otherwise active intransitive verbs likewise refer to non-subject-controlled states and events: *āš-* "to remain, be left" (*āštat* KUB 22.70 ro 18); *ištar(a)kk(iya)-* "to get sick" ([*i*]*štar(a)kkiyattat* KUB 14.15 ii 13 beside regular *ištar(a)kta* KUB 14.15 ii 6 [Muršili II]); *mau(š)-* "to fall" (*maušḫaḫat* KUB 1.1 iii 24 and dupls. [Hattušili III]); *mer-* "to disappear" (*mertat* KUB 31.56:6 [Hattušili III]); *nakkešš-* "to weigh upon" (*nakkēštat* KUB 14.4 iii 25 [Muršili II]); and *neku-* "to become twilight" (*nekutt*[*a*]*t* KBo 5.8 iii 19 [Muršili II]).[18]

Verbs referring to mental or emotional states continue to be inflected as mediopassives, but there are some instances of renewal by actives. We find for *kariya-* "to accede to, be gracious to" Pret1Sg *kariyaḫḫaḫat* (KUB 19.49+ i 47 [Muršili II]) and for *(u)way(a)-* "to feel regret for, concern about" (with dative of the experiencer) Pres3Sg *uwaittari* (KUB 31.68:45) and *uwaittat* (KUB 23.103 ro 24 [Tuthaliya IV]).[19]

In the Treaty of Muršili II with Kupanta-Kuruntiya, *karuššiya-* "to keep silent" shows both mediopassive and active inflection: Pres2Sg *karuššiyari* (KUB 6.41+ iii 60) and Pret3Sg *-za karuššiyattat* (KUB 6.41 iii 50 and KBo 4.3 ii 26), but Pres1Sg *karuššiyami* (KUB 6.41 iii 66 and KBo 4.3 iv 9), Pres2Sg [*karušš*]*iyaši* (KBo 4.3 ii 37), and Pret3Sg *-za karuššiyat* (KBo 4.7 iii 9). In later texts, the verb is consistently active: KUB 21.5 iii 10, 14 and 21.4 i 13 (Muwattalli II), KBo 4.12 ro 26 (Hattušili III), and KUB 22.70 ro 62, 75.

We find a similar mixed pattern for *naḫšariya-* "to take fright" in texts of Muršili II: *naḫšarriyandari* (KBo 5.6 ii 6, DŠ 28) versus *naḫšariyanzi* (KBo 5.6 iii 6), further mediopassives (KBo 3.4 ii 68, iii 16; 4.4 iv 31;

14 Strictly speaking, *ḫaliyat* is ambiguous, but the existence of *ḫaliyattat* and the pattern cited in n9 argue that *ḫaliyat* is active (also implicitly Neu 1968b, 34; cf. also 35n6 for other NS active forms).

15 A Pres3Sg mediopassive as an "historical present" would be conceivable, but the contexts argue for an active preterite (also implicitly Neu 1968b, 54).

16 The inflection is mediopassive with either accusative or nominative of the experiencer.

17 There is in New Hittite a strong tendency for *kiš-* "to occur" not to take the particle *-z(a)* and for *kiš-* "to become" to do so (Hoffner and Melchert 2008, 361–62), but there are at least seven exceptions to both generalizations, so the difference should not be exaggerated (cf. Neu 1968b, 97–98n1).

18 Broken context precludes analysis of *auštat* (KBo 14.40:9 [Muršili II]), while the contextual sense "I interceded" for *memiyaḫḫat* (KBo 4.12 ro 27 [Hattušili III]) may or may not show use of the mediopassive to underscore personal involvement (cf. Neu 1968b, 116n1). Transitive *tamaštat* "oppressed" (KBo 4.6 ro 25 [Muršili II]) is puzzling. In any case, I withdraw the claim that the sporadic examples with *intransitives* are hypercorrections (Melchert 2017, 480n2).

19 Thus van den Hout (1995, 209), not to *au(š)-* "to see" (Neu 1968b, 21).

4.7 i 57; 5.13 i 10; KUB 19.13 i 49 = DŠ 34; KUB 14.8 i 20 and dupls.), but also actives (KUB 19.54 i 10 and KBo 14.12+ iv 9 = DŠ 28). The verb *waršiya-* "to be(come) calm, soothed" likewise shows a mixed usage in texts of Muršili II: *waršiyattari* (KUB 14.8 vo 34) versus *waršiyazzi* (KUB 14.8 vo 28) and *waršiyaddu* (KUB 14.8 vo 17 and 14.11 iii 38). The oracular inquiry KUB 16.77 ii 36 also has *waršiyattari*. It is unclear whether the language of Muršili II is transitional (as in other grammatical features) or the mixed usage is to be attributed to partial modernization by later copyists.

### *3.2.2. Transitive* media tantum

While intransitive *media tantum* mostly continue to be inflected as mediopassives in New Hittite (with some exceptions in verbs of change in body posture, translational motion, and mental states), *all* Old Hittite transitive *media tantum* are renewed by actives, and many have been entirely replaced. It is this development that, along with the increase in the use of the mediopassive in *-tta-* for the passive, greatly raises the profile of the mediopassive as a means of marking valency reduction. This change begins already in Old Hittite, where we find Pres3Sg *tuḫḫuszi* "cuts off" at KBo 25.2 ro 10 (OH/OS; Neu 1983, 199) beside usual Old Hittite *tuḫša*.[20]

By New Hittite, replacement by active inflection is effectively complete for most verbs of this class. Of those with third-person endings in *-a(ri)* and *-at(i)*, the verb *ḫatta-* "to prick, slit, slaughter" is rare in New Hittite compositions, but we find only Pres3Sg active *ḫattāi* "slaughters" at KUB 5.12 vo 2.4.5. Old Hittite *ḫuett(i)-* "to draw, pull" appears in New Hittite exclusively as an active *mi*-verb *ḫue/ittiya-*: KUB 14.4 i 15; KBo 4.4 iii 32; 2.5 ii 3, iii 19, 25, 55, iv 15 (Muršili II); KUB 21.19 ii 18; 21.17 i 23; and KBo 4.12 ro 16 (Hattušili III); Bo 86/299 i 23 (Tuthaliya IV); KUB 50.6+ ii 46, iii 57, 61, KBo 2.6+ i 40, ii 37, iii 49, 66, and KUB 5.24 ii 14, 20 (oracular inquiries).

In its transitive use with a "content accusative," *ḫanneššar* "legal case," the verb *ḫanna-* "to judge, decide" is also exclusively an active *ḫi*-verb in New Hittite: KBo 19.70:3, KUB 19.14 iv 6, KBo 3.4 ii 14 = 16.1 iii 4, and KUB 14.17 iii 19 = KUB 26.79 i 12 (Muršili II); KUB 6.45 iii 17 = 6.46 ii 56 (Muwattalli II); KUB 1.1 iii 72 and duplicates (Hattušili III). It also shows mostly active *ḫi*-inflection in its intransitive use "to litigate against, contest in court" (with dative-locative of the opponent): KBo 3.3+ ii 13 (Muršili II) and KUB 21.17 iii 37, KUB 21.19 ii 6 and likely KUB 21.19 ii' 2 (Hattušili III). We do find, just once, Pres3Sg *ḫannari*: KBo 4.10 vo 23 (Tuthaliya IV).[21]

Of those Old Hittite transitive *media tantum* with third-person endings in *-tta(ri)* and *-ttat(i)*, *šarra-* "to cross (a boundary), transgress (oaths, words)" is inflected exclusively in the active in New Hittite, mostly as a *ḫi*-verb: Pres2Sg *šarratti* is frequent in treaties of Muršili II (KBo 5.9, 5.4, 5.13 and dupls., KBo 4.3, KUB 6.41, 6.44+, 6.48, and 19.49+) and also occurs in KUB 21.1 iv 32 (Muwattalli II), KBo 4.10 ro 15 (Tuthaliya IV), and KUB 19.55+ ro 28 (Milawanda Letter). Pres3Sg *šarrai* appears at KBo 5.9 ii 37 (Muršili II). Based on the competing mediopassive *šarriye-* (n20) we also find Pret3Pl *šarriyēr* to a stem *šarriya-* at KUB 14.14 ro 22 and 14.8 i 19, 36, and active *šk*e-forms [*šarr*]*esker* and *šarrišker* at KBo 4.4 i 46, ii 9 (all Muršili II). Old Hittite transitive *zaḫḫiya-* "to fight" (with and without an expressed object) appears in the mediopassive in New Hittite only in the "calling out" challenge (*eḫu*) *zaḫḫiyawaštati* "Come (on), let's fight!"—a cliché surely learned early by every Hittite male (KBo 3.4 ii 13 and often in texts of Muršili II).[22] Otherwise, its New Hittite inflection is throughout as an active *mi*-verb: KBo 4.4 iv 8; 5.8 iii 26; 3.4 ii 3, 25, 38, iii 14, 44, iv 38; 5.4 vo 27, 46; KUB 21.10:15; 21.49 ro 4; and 14.16 i 16 (Muršili II); KUB 21.1 iii 52, 53 (Muwattalli II); KUB 1.1 ii 24 and duplicates (Hattušili III); KUB 23.1+ i 36 (Tuthaliya IV). Texts of Muršili II also attest multiple active examples of the stem *zaḫḫiške-*.

20 At KUB 36.106 vo 6 (OH/OS or MS) read Pres3Sg *šar-ri-et-*[*ta*] (Kloekhorst 2008, 728–29, contra CHD Š, 231).

21 The syntax of other examples argues against taking this example as transitive with unexpressed object (contra Neu 1968b, 39).

22 The inherited transitive sense of mediopassive *zaḫḫiya-* precludes attributing a specifically reciprocal value to its use in this phrase.

The fate of *wēš-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$ "to wear" in New Hittite (certainly still alive in the MH/MS instructions for the bodyguard at IBoT 1.36 i 77 and passim) is rather different. Likely reflecting its stative sense and less-than-prototypical transitivity, it appears to have been replaced with *waššan ḫark-* "to have on": see *waššan ḫarkun* "I was wearing" (KBo 4.2 iv 37 and dupls. [Muršili II]), *waššan ḫarzi* "wears" (KUB 22.70 ro 9), and *waššan ḫarta* "wore" (KUB 22.70 ro 78).

Some Old Hittite transitive *media tantum* are not attested in assured New Hittite compositions, but it is reasonably clear that they were also replaced by actives. For Old Hittite *tuḫš-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ "to cut (off)" we find, besides the already OH/OS Pres3Sg *tuḫḫušzi* cited above, also Late Middle Hittite active Imv2Pl *tuḫšatt*[*en*] (HKM 34:9) and Imv3Pl *tuḫšandu* (HKM 31:11). Older *iškalla-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ "to tear, slit" (Pres3Sg *iškallāri* at KBo 6.3 i 39; OH/NS) is replaced by an active *ḫi*-verb (Pres3Sg *iškallai*, Pres3Pl *iškallanzi*, Pret1Sg *iškallaḫḫun*, Imv3Sg *iškallau*, Imv3Pl *iškallandu*). The Pres3Sg *arga* (KUB 41.8 iv 29; pre-NH/NS) beside Imv3Sg *argaru* (KUB 41.8 iv 31 and dupl. KBo 10.45 iv 32) and the active replacement Pres3Sg *ārki* (KBo 10.45 iv 30) suggest that *ark-* "to mount (sexually)" had an original inflection *ark-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$, but the Pres3Sg *arkatta* (KBo 22.2 ro 9, 10; OH/OS) complicates the picture. Perhaps this example is to be interpreted as passive "is mounted," but this possibility is far from assured.

Only two Old Hittite transitive *media tantum* continue to show significant mediopassive inflection in New Hittite compositions, though it is quite clear that they too are being replaced by actives. Unsurprisingly, the Pres3Sg *paršiya* "breaks apart," ubiquitous in cultic context, is still predominant in the two manuscripts of the Prayer of Muwattalli to the Storm-god of Lightning. It is exclusive in the redacted manuscript KUB 6.45 iv 53, 55, 56, 60 (on the manuscript's history, see Singer 1996, 134–42). The less experienced scribe of the dictation copy managed to use older *paršiya* ten times but finally lapsed into active *paršiya*[*zzi*] (KUB 6.46 iv 52, 53). This renewal began in Middle Hittite (see CHD P, 181–82).

New Hittite inflection of *paḫš-* "to protect" is mostly that of an active *ḫi*-verb, from Muršili II: Pres1Sg *paḫḫašḫi* KBo 5.9 i 24, 26, 27, ii 13, plus examples from Tuthaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II; Pres2Sg *paḫḫašti* KBo 5.4 i 44; 5.13 ii 14, iii 20; etc. (Muršili II), plus examples from Muwattalli II and Tuthaliya IV; Pres1Pl *paḫšueni* KUB 26.1+ i 4, 5 (Tuthaliya IV); Pres2Pl *paḫḫaštini* KUB 19.49+ iv 31 (Muršili II); Pres3Pl *paḫšanzi* KUB 21.1 i 69 (Muwattalli II); Pret3Sg *paḫḫašta* KBo 16.8 ii 20, etc. (Muršili II), plus many examples from Tuthaliya IV; Pret3Pl *paḫšer* KUB 21.49 ro 12 (Muršili II); Imv3Sg *paḫḫašdu* (Tuthaliya IV); Imv2Pl *paḫḫašten*/PAB-*ašten* appears in texts of Hattušili III and Tuthaliya IV, as does Imv3Pl *paḫšandu*/PAB-*andu*.

Many attested mediopassive forms alternate in the same manuscripts with the actives just cited, but not all can be appropriately labeled as "set phrases," and they persist to the end of Hittite: Pres3Sg *paḫšari* Bo 86/299 ii 69 and PAB-*ri* KUB 23.103 ro 5 (Tuthaliya IV); Pres3Pl [*paḫḫa*]*šša*ntari KUB 21.1 i 75, ii 44 (Muwattalli II); Pret1Sg *paḫḫašḫat* KUB 6.41 i 30 (Muršili II), *paḫḫašḫaḫat* KUB 21.1 i 72 (Muwattalli II), PAB-*ašḫat* KUB 26.32+ i 10, PAB-*ḫaḫat* KUB 26.32+ i 12, PAB-*aḫḫat* KUB 26.32+ i 17 (Šuppiluliuma II); Pret3Sg *paḫḫaštat* KBo 5.8 ii 26, KUB 3.119+ i 7 and duplicate 21.49 ro 6 (Muršili II), KUB 21.1 i 45 (Muwattalli II), KUB 8.82+ ro 7 (Tuthaliya IV); Imv3Sg *paḫšaru* KUB 21.1 iii 40, 44 and duplicates KUB 21.5 and 21.4 (Muwattalli II), Bo 86/299 ii 34, 47, 70 (Tuthaliya IV); Imv2Pl *paḫḫašdumat* KBo 4.12 vo 3 (Hattušili III); Imv3Pl [*paḫ*]*šandaru* KUB 19.49+ iv 45 (Muršili II), *paḫšantaru* KUB 21.1 iv 44 (Muwattalli II), KUB 26.58 ro 31 (Hattušili III), Bo 86/299 iv 14 (Tuthaliya IV).

A dearth of evidence for Old Hittite (especially OS) leaves the status of the transitive mediopassives *parḫ-*$^{\text{-atta(ri)}}$ "to pursue" and *šanna-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$ "to conceal" less than assured. For *šanna-* we have no Old Hittite evidence: the pattern of transitive Pres3Sg *šannatta* "conceals" (KUB 36.127 vo 10, 13; MH/NS) alongside the active *ḫi*-verb, attested in Pres2Sg *šannatti* from Late Middle Hittite (KUB 14.1 ro 35), matches that of *šarra-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$ "to transgress" replaced by *šarr-*$^{\text{-ḫḫi}}$, but one cannot prove that the transitive *medium tantum* is older in this verb.

The single active Pres3Sg *par(a)ḫzi* "pursues" (KBo 25.2 ro 11; OH/OS) is not decisive (cf. OS *tuḫḫušzi*, cited above), nor are the active forms in Middle Hittite historical texts: *par(a)ḫzi* and *par(a)ḫši* (KBo 16.47 ro 18; MH/MS), *par(a)ḫta* (KUB 14.1 ro 1; MH/MS), and *parḫišket* (KUB 14.1 ro 2). The MH/MS Imv3Pl forms *parḫantaru* and *parḫandaru* (CHD P, 143) appear beside the assured transitive mediopassives *šarratta* "you

transgress" and *paḫḫašdumat* "you shall protect" (Miller 2013, 156–62), and Pres3Pl *parḫanta* (KBo 31.83 ii 2; NS) is followed closely by clearly old [*ta*]*kku natta=ma*. Whether *parḫ-*$^{\text{-atta(ri)}}$ is a pre-Hittite creation (Yoshida 2016b, 366) or one of "early Middle Hittite," its stem shape must have been based on the active *parḫ-*$^{\text{-mi}}$, since an original **bhérh*$_2$*-o-* would appear as †*parra-* (Yoshida 2016b, 361).[23]

As should be clear from the preceding summary, there is no basis for the claim of a special correlation between Old Hittite transitive *media tantum* in *-a(ri)* and their replacement by *ḫi*-conjugation actives in New Hittite (contra Yoshida 2016a, 506–7). There *are* two major patterns. First, unsurprisingly, not only Old Hittite transitive *šarriye-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$, *wešiya-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$, and *zaḫḫiya-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$ but also *ḫuett(i)-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ and *parš(i)-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ are replaced by active *mi*-verbs of the expanding *-iya-* class. Second, verbs of the shape *CVCCa-*, regardless of whether their Old Hittite ending was *-tta(ri)* or *-a(ri)*, are inflected almost entirely as active *ḫi*-verbs: not only *ḫanna-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ and *ḫatta-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ but also *šarra-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$ and likely *šanna-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$. This change probably results from the resemblance of their stems to those of New Hittite active *ḫi*-verbs such as *nanna-* "to drive," *penna-* "to lead (away)," *pippa-* "to overturn," and *ūnna-* "to drive/lead."

For Old Hittite transitive *media tantum* ending in an obstruent, there seems to be no clear pattern: *paḫš-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ is mostly replaced by an active *ḫi*-verb, but *tuḫš-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ with an active *mi*-verb. It is possible that *arg-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ "to mount" was replaced by active *ḫi*-conjugation *ārki* because of existing active *ark-*$^{\text{-ḫḫi}}$ "to cut," but with only a single example ending in a stop we cannot be sure.

## 4. A SPECIAL CASE: *WEḪ-* "TO TURN"

Hittite *weḫ-* "to turn" cannot be assigned to any of the types discussed above. The active verb is intransitive, so its mediopassive forms are not "oppositional." Some other Hittite active intransitives show occasional mediopassive forms, but they are relatively infrequent and typically display no difference in meaning from the active: for example, *ḫuya-* "to run" (Neu 1968b, 161–62)[24] or *tiyari* "steps, enters" (KUB 31.127 i 42 and dupl.; pre-NH/NS).[25]

The active of *weḫ-* means "to turn" in the intransitive telic sense "to change one's orientation": *āppa lē wēḫzi* "let it (evil, impurity, etc.) not turn back" (KBo 17.1 iv 3; OH/OS), [*p*]*ēdi=šmi=pat* ZAG-*ni* 1-*ŠU waḫanzi . . . namma* GÙB-*li=ya* 1-*ŠU waḫanzi* "They (the *hapiya*-men) turn in their place once to the right . . . then they also turn once to the left" (KBo 20.26+ ro 19–20; OH/OS).

Mediopassive *weḫ-*$^{\text{-atta(ri)}}$ is consistently atelic with several meanings—(1) "to spin": SAG.DU-*aš=ma=nnaš* $^{\text{LÚ}}$BÁḪAR-*aš* [$^{\text{GIŠ}}$DUB]BIN GIM-*an weḫattari* "Our head spins like a potter's wheel" (KUB 33.103 iii 5–6; pre-NH/NS); (2) "to go back and forth, move about": [$^{\text{m}}$*K*]*eššiš* ITU.3.KAM-*aš* ḪURSAG.MEŠ-*aš anda weḫatta* "Kessi roams in the mountains for three months" (KUB 33.121 ii 15; pre-NH/NS); in ritual context with *pēran* effectively "to attend": *nu PANI* DINGIR-*LIM* EN=*YA kāš* MUNUS-*aš wēḫattaru* "Let this woman move back and forth before/attend the god, my lord" (KBo 4.6 ro 15; NH);[26] attenuated to "be active, be present": $^{\text{d}}$*Tarpattaššaš kuiš peran w*[*eḫ*]*atta kūn=za dā* "(You) Tarpattassa who are present before (us), take this (mouse) for yourself!" (KUB 27.67 ii 45 and passim; pre-NH/NS). Note that this usage is already Old Hittite: *ANA* KI *šuḫmili taknaš* $^{\text{d}}$UTU-*i peraš=šitt=a kuiēš weḫanta* ". . . to the *s.* earth (and) the Sun-goddess of the earth and those who are present before/in attendance upon her" (KUB 43.23 vo 57–61; OH/OS).

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23 Since the undeniable existence of *weḫ-*$^{\text{-atta(ri)}}$ (see section 4) refutes the argument (Yoshida 2016b, 366) against the impossibility of a mediopassive in *-atta-* to a root *mi*-verb, one should retain the orthographically expected reading *parḫ-*$^{\text{-atta(ri)}}$, parallel to transitive *šarra-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$ and *šanna-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$.

24 To which add the OH/OS examples Pres3Sg *ḫuyatta* (KBo 30.39 + KUB 35.164 vo 8) and (likely) Pres3Pl *ḫuyanta* (Bo 4767:3, 8).

25 An exception is *mai-*$^{\text{-ḫḫi}}$ "to grow," where mediopassive *mi-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ seems to be specialized as telic "to mature, grow to term" (CHD L–N, 115).

26 Thus Singer (2002, 72), not "soll sich befinden" (Neu 1968b, 197). Compare *peran* EGIR-*pa iyantari* "they attend" (KUB 6.45 iii 7–8; NH), but for the genuine sense "to be active, be present," see below.

On the other hand, mediopassive *weḫ-*$^{-tta(ri)}$ is consistently telic, in a variety of senses—(1) "to happen" (cf. "to take a turn"): GIM-*an=ma=nnaš=kan* ḪUL-*uwa AWATE*$^{MEŠ}$ *ištarni=šummi wēḫtat* "As evil things have happened between us" (KUB 31.66 ii 10–11; NH); (2) "to pass" (of time): *lenganut=wa=mu kuiš nu=wa karū ḫalliya wēḫtat* "As for the one who swore me to an oath, the days have already passed" (KUB 26.1 iii 17–18; NH);[27] (3) "to go/pass away": *nu=kan ŠA* $^{m}$DU.$^{d}$U-*up* $^{GIŠ}$GU.ZA LUGAL-*UTTI INA* KUR *Parga wēḫtari* "The throne of kingship of D. in the land of Parga shall pass away" (KBo 3.3 ii 17–18; NH); (4) "to get away": *n=ašta kuedani ḫāli waštul anda kīša n=aš aku lē(y)=aš=kan wēḫtari* "In whose watch the sin occurs, let him die! Let him not get away!" (KUB 13.4 iii 19–20; MH/NS).[28]

How and why Hittite created not one but two semantically differentiated mediopassives beside active intransitive *weḫ-* remains to be elucidated, but use of the stem *weḫ-* instead of *waḫ(ḫ)-* suggests the innovation is relatively recent. The manifestly different senses of *weḫ-*$^{-atta(ri)}$ and *weḫ-*$^{-tta(ri)}$ do refute the claim that *ú-e-ḫa-at-ta-* is a mere alternative spelling of *ú-e-eḫ-ta-* (Yoshida 2016a, 509). There are in fact two attested mediopassive stems of this verb.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Changes in the use of intransitive *media tantum* are relatively modest. All those expressing "spontaneous events" and most referring to bodily motions and states remain mediopassive (though a few are converted to actives, as are those indicating emotional states). Among oppositional mediopassives, anticausatives undergo no change, while "direct reflexives" and reciprocals are almost always reinforced by the particle *-z(a)*, and at least the former replaced by actives plus *-z(a)*. Autocausatives remain mediopassive but also show reinforcement by *-z(a)*.

The major change is the gradual elimination of all transitive *media tantum* along with a massive expansion of the use of the passive, thereby making use of the oppositional mediopassive a major indicator of valency reduction in New Hittite.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter other than the following ones are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

| | |
|---|---|
| Imv2Pl | second-plural imperative |
| Imv3Pl | third-plural imperative |
| Imv3Sg | third-singular imperative |
| Pres1Pl | first-plural present |
| Pres1Sg | first-singular present |
| Pres2Pl | second-plural present |
| Pres2Sg | second-singular present |
| Pres3Sg | third-singular present |
| Pres3Pl | third-plural present |
| Pret1Sg | first-singular preterite |
| Pret3Pl | third-plural preterite |
| Pret3Sg | third-singular preterite |
| ro/vo | recto/verso |

27 Other examples show that *weḫ-*$^{-tta(ri)}$ is "unaccusative" and requires a subject pronoun, so *ḫalliya* "days" must be the subject (contra Neu 1968b, 196; et al.).

28 Thus with Jared Miller (2013, 257), despite doubts, contra Neu 1968b, 197. For more examples showing the usage of *weḫ-*$^{-zi}$, *weḫ-*$^{-atta(ri)}$, and *weḫ-*$^{-tta(ri)}$, see the URL in n2.

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# 22 ANATOLIAN HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING: THE QUESTION OF ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

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## DEDICATION

I dedicate this contribution to my friend Theo van den Hout, a leading scholar who has paid a great deal of attention to the cultural processes and writing systems of ancient Anatolia.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

When, where, and why was Anatolian hieroglyphic writing conceived, and how did it develop? Although several studies have attempted to answer these questions, the problem has yet to be resolved completely. The creation of a new writing system, in a context that was already equipped with a well-established one, is indeed an enigma that is difficult to explain. This difficulty is especially true when the new system is not much simpler than the one already in use.[1] Recently, several studies have been published on this subject, some of which maintain that the origin of Anatolian hieroglyphic writing is not connected to the Hittite Empire and its chronological period (the fourteenth to thirteenth centuries BC). According to Willemijn Waal, for example, the origin of the writing system is much older; she attributes its invention and use to the Anatolians, who exchanged goods with Old Assyrian merchants in Kültepe (Waal 2012). Rostislav Oreshko, on the other hand, locates the writing's place of origin in the western regions of Anatolia (Oreshko 2013). I will begin my discussion by analyzing these contributions, as I think it is helpful and constructive to tackle the problem from different perspectives.[2]

The hypothesis proposed by Waal argues that the *işurtum*-documents mentioned in Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe[3] were written in hieroglyphic script, which therefore would be older than generally assumed. According to this assumption, the *işurtum*-documents would have been written on wooden tablets; we have only about twenty references to these documents in the texts of the Assyrian merchants, all of which concern relations with the Anatolians (Veenhof 1995, 312). The hypothesis formulated by Waal is supported by some signs scratched or painted on vessels found at Kültepe (Waal 2012, 298); these signs, she says, are "similar" to some signs used in later hieroglyphic inscriptions and "likely served to indicate the names of the owners" (Waal 2012, 300). In fact, as Waal herself admits, not all the signs correspond exactly to those that were actually used to write in later ages (above all, it does not seem possible to read the names or words the signs should indicate). Waal quotes from my 1991 *Kadmos* article to argue that "if read phonetically, at least five of the names occurring on the early seals correspond to names attested in (later) cuneiform texts"

1 As happens, e.g., in Ugarit.

2 Many other contributions will be subsequently mentioned and taken into consideration.

3 For a detailed analysis of these documents, cf. Veenhof 1995.

(Waal 2012, 304, quoting Mora 1991, 18), though on the same page I added that almost all the readings of these names are uncertain and contradictory.

Waal connects the origin and first use of Anatolian hieroglyphs with the first attestations of Aegean scripts, especially from a chronological point of view (Waal 2012, 304–5).[4] Shortly after, when summarizing her ideas, she says:

> The above scenario implies that Anatolian hieroglyphs developed step-by-step, originating out of economic/administrative needs; indeed, just like virtually all independent writing systems in the world. This scenario is in a number of ways preferable to that advocated by Yakubovich, who suggests that Anatolian hieroglyphs were "invented" much later, around 1400 BCE. One of the difficulties with this scenario is the issue of why a new script would suddenly be introduced at a time when the cuneiform script had already been in use for over 200 years. Yakubovich believes that opting for a new script was dictated by nationalistic concerns [a quotation from Yakubovich 2008 follows].

I will start from this statement to review Waal's hypothesis. Actually, it is not such a big problem if a new writing system is introduced in a context in which another one is already in use; even though the simultaneous use of two writing systems is not common practice, there are other examples of the phenomenon in the ancient Near East. Moreover, it seems that in Anatolia the two scripts were used for different purposes.[5] Waal also argues that the writing was developed "step-by-step," but there is no evidence of a gradual transition from the first "paleo-Assyrian" step to the fifteenth/fourteenth-century BC documents. With regard to the supposed hieroglyphic signs on the vessels, they look partially similar to the signs found on the seals of the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries examined in my article published in *Kadmos* (Mora 1991), where I argue (and attempt to prove) that these signs were not the precursors of the signs of the hieroglyphic writing system.

The hypothesis regarding the documents called *išurtum*, which may have been written in hieroglyphic writing by the Anatolians, unfortunately has not been demonstrated yet.[6] According to Waal, these documents were used by local Anatolian authorities who lived in the palace. On the other hand, some Anatolians who lived near the *karum* were able to communicate with Assyrians in the Assyrian language. If some people among the Anatolians were able to write tablets in cuneiform script and in the Assyrian language (Waal 2012, 309–10; cf. also Michel 2011), one wonders why the palace did not use these intermediaries for its trade relations; furthermore, we have no confirmation that the Assyrians could understand hieroglyphic writing.[7]

The hypothesis put forward by Oreshko is quite different. After offering a detailed analysis of the hieroglyphic inscriptions found in the western regions of Anatolia, he expresses doubts about their belonging to the Empire scribal tradition, also from a chronological point of view, because "several features in the inscriptions suggest postimperial dating: the late title FLUMEN.DOMINUS-i(a), attested at AKPINAR, and, possibly, the developed phonetic writing of the KARAKUYU-TORBALI stone block" (Oreshko 2013, 401). According to Oreshko, "the extant material, however scanty it is, strongly speaks for the view that

4 Referring to Hawkins 1986, 374, Waal also says that the Anatolian script has some formal similarities to Aegean scripts.

5 Several previous studies discussed this matter: cf., e.g., Neumann 1992 and the paper by Yakubovich (2008) quoted by Waal.

6 In his seminal article on this subject, Klaas Veenhof is inclined toward a different interpretation: "The alternative, a wooden writing board, is also very unlikely. . . . Our difficulty in identifying such *i.*'s among the clay tablets excavated may simply be due to the fact that it was not really different from a *ṭuppum harmum*" (Veenhof 1995, 327). For some doubts about the hypotheses of widespread use of wooden tablets in Hittite Anatolia (since doubts can also be extended to earlier periods), cf. Marazzi 1994; Mora 2007, 2012; and van den Hout 2010; 2012; 2020, 184–217.

7 As Waal mentions, two previously published articles (Börker-Klähn 1995 and Mouton 2002) analyzed some signs on Cappadocian seals, highlighting their similarities to signs of Anatolian hieroglyphic writing. Jutta Börker-Klähn (1995, 45) suggests that "das bildluwische Schriftsystem sei zur Kolonistenzeit geschaffen worden"; regarding these proposed comparisons between isolated signs and the subsequent writing system, cf. below and Emmanuel Laroche's observations referred to in n11. In her interesting article, Alice Mouton (2002, 83n4) examines "l'influence éventuelle de l'iconographie cappadocienne sur les créateurs des hiéroglyphes anatoliens" and states that this is in any case not writing "à proprement parler."

they are products of the independent vernacular scribal tradition or, rather, traditions." In my opinion, it is certainly possible to date these inscriptions (or some of them) to the postimperial phase, as for other cases of inscriptions and reliefs in marginal areas. The following observations, according to which "there is no basis for the statement that it was the Hittites who were the 'propagators' of the script" (Oreshko 2013, 402), are more difficult to agree with; in fact, from this point on, Oreshko starts to discuss the place of origin of the hieroglyphic script, in sharp contrast to the opinion expressed by Ilya Yakubovich in his 2010 book *Sociolinguistics of the Luvian Language*. According to Oreshko (2013, 407), "the Hittite scribes were apparently fully content with the cuneiform script they had, since, despite some minor inconveniences, this script is a much more versatile means of representing language than hieroglyphs (at least according to our present level of understanding it)." Therefore, the hieroglyphic script "must have been invented somewhere in Anatolia, where the cuneiform script was unknown and where there existed a real need for a script *par excellence*" (Oreshko 2013, 408); he thus proposes the western region of Anatolia as the new script's place of invention. As I said above, this proposal does not seem very convincing, for different reasons;[8] in addition, if the western inscriptions are dated to a postimperial period, we do not have in these regions significant second-millennium hieroglyphic documents that could support the hypothesis of a western origin for the script.

## 2. LUWIAN PEOPLE AND HITTITE SCRIBES

In my opinion, the hypotheses that attribute the invention of hieroglyphic writing to the Hittite scribal class, in the period shortly before the beginning of the Hittite Empire, seem very reliable; as mentioned above, a well-developed and extended hypothesis of this kind was formulated by Yakubovich (2008, 2010). In a slightly earlier paper, Annick Payne also argued a similar assumption: "On this basis, I would seek the origin of the script in an area acquainted with cuneiform, possibly Kizzuwatna if not Hattusa itself" (Payne 2008, 120).[9] In a recent contribution titled "Hittite Epigraphic Finds from Büklükale," Mark Weeden introduced the question of the beginnings of the hieroglyphic script, pointing out that "it has in no case been demonstrated that any of the alleged cases of hieroglyphic writing from the Middle Bronze Age or before are performing the function of communicating names or languages" (Weeden 2016, 86–87).[10]

There is therefore a lot of material for discussion, but first of all one must reflect on what is meant by the term "writing"—as Anna Morpurgo Davies said, "In the study of writing everything is problematic" (Davies 1986, 51). Are the traces of some signs on different types of materials sufficient to assume the existence of writing? Are we sure that these few signs were part of a system with clearly defined rules? In our field of research, we are dealing with the origin of the writing, and we can follow the different stages of cuneiform script, whose "operating system," already from its earliest stages (economic documents, lists of professions), is quite understandable; in the case of the cuneiform script, it is also possible to follow all changes and additions in time, really step by step, until the formation of an ideographic-phonetic system. We cannot say the same for the signs on the vessels of Kültepe, for which any evidence and progressive stage in Anatolia during the immediately following centuries is still lacking.[11]

8 Cf. Yakubovich 2008, 18: "The hypothesis that the Anatolian Hieroglyphic Script was invented in the Western part of Asia Minor lacks empirical confirmation."

9 I do not agree with some of Payne's comments, however, particularly on the dating of the "Ankara silver bowl" (Payne 2008, 19) (cf. Mora 2007, with arguments for a later dating, and other subsequent contributions: Simon 2009; Durnford 2010; Giusfredi 2013). Payne then changed her mind on the dating of the Ankara bowl after a thorough review of the matter (Payne 2015, 84–98).

10 Regarding the interpretation of the signs incised (or painted) on some vessels from Kültepe (cf. Hawkins 2010; Waal 2017; Poetto 2018), there are many doubts. Furthermore, the date of their engraving (or painting) on the vessels cannot be confirmed (cf. Marazzi 2018; van den Hout 2020, 121–23). On the "preparatory" phases of the Anatolian hieroglyphic writing through the examination of archaic seals, cf. Weeden 2018.

11 Kültepe's signs, if considered individually, might also be compared with some signs from the Egyptian hieroglyphic script. I find the following statement by Laroche on the subject of the Anatolian hieroglyphs very interesting: "Plusieurs auteurs se sont efforcés, ces derniers temps, de faire remonter au début de ce millénaire ou même plus haut encore la date

I already stated this view in my 1991 *Kadmos* article, where I analyzed the signs found on seals of the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries BC that were apparently similar to the hieroglyphic signs used in later times; based on a classification of these signs, I concluded that "non siamo per ora in grado di stabilire che tipo di rapporto vi fosse tra questi segni e la scrittura geroglifica che ci è nota dalle iscrizioni di età imperiale. A parte le analogie nella forma di una parte dei segni (ma sono molti anche i segni dei quali non rimane più traccia in epoca successiva) non è possibile infatti accertare sicure corrispondenze" (Mora 1991, 20).

My *Kadmos* article is quite well known, and I will not dwell on it further. Rather, I would now like to summarize what I said in two brief papers published respectively in 1994 and 1995 and add a few necessary updates. These papers already addressed all the issues now under discussion.[12] The first section of the 1995 study deals with the question of some administrative systems that functioned by means of seals and sealings; for this purpose, the data from the southern Anatolian sites of Karahöyük and Acemhöyük (eighteenth century BC), with their wealth of symbols on seals, were especially examined.[13] The differences between these data and the documentation from Hattusa in the same period are explained on the assumption that, in areas north of the river Halys, the administrative recording system was different and the use of seals and sealings was integrated with the use of inscribed (cuneiform) tablets (Mora 1995, 278).

The second section of the 1995 paper examined the role of the Luwians and the role of Hittite scribes in creating hieroglyphic writing. In Luwian areas of Anatolia (cf. the sites quoted above), in a period before the birth of the Hittite kingdom, a number of symbols whose meaning is unknown to us were used, perhaps for commercial purposes or as signs of ownership (or for other unknown reasons). In my opinion, the beginning of the use of hieroglyphic script is to be placed between the end of the fifteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century BC, when contacts between Hittites and Luwians intensified (cf. Mora 1995, 278). The new writing system may have originated from the encounter between the bearers of different cultures: the Luwians on the one hand, with their wealth and traditions of signs/symbols, and the Hittite scribes on the other, with their expertise in an ideographic-syllabic script that had already been used for a long time in the core of the kingdom.[14] A significant fact concerning the importance of the Luwian lands with regard to the origin and early stages of hieroglyphic writing is the "border" position of several Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions of the imperial period.[15]

In conclusion, and after solving the issue of dating the Ankara bowl (see n9 above), the first documents of hieroglyphic writing in its mature form of an encoded system are the royal seals of the protoimperial period.[16] Some of these findings thus agree with the conclusions of the analysis made by Yakubovich, who, trying to reconstruct the value of the signs on the basis of the principle of acrophonic derivation,[17] con-

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de leur création; ils affirment, en invoquant quelques traces recueillies sur de la poterie archaïque, que le principe de l'écriture était déjà dégagé à l'époque de Kültepe-Kaneš, et que les monuments impériaux représentent l'aboutissement d'une longue évolution antérieure. Nous ne le croyons pas. Les graffites en question ne peuvent être considérés d'aucune façon comme un embryon d'écriture, mais seulement comme des dessins ou des ornements. On accordera volontiers que les signes à valeur graphique des hiéroglyphes classiques dérivent pour la plupart d'un répertoire de pictogrammes primitifs, mais l'agencement et la systématisation de ces éléments ne doit pas avoir précédé de beaucoup les premières inscriptions connues" (Laroche 1963, 107).

12 The very title of the 1995 article, "I Luvi e la scrittura geroglifica anatolica," suggests some aspects of the content.

13 With special reference to the studies by Judith Weingarten (1990, 1991) and Stephen Lumsden (cf. Lumsden 1990, 84–85: "commonly used symbols may already have had some meaning, or represented concepts, in a commonly held system of visual representation").

14 I would like to stress here the importance of some remarks made by Günter Neumann with regard to the Anatolian hieroglyphic writing system, especially the exclusion of "fremden Schriften als Vorbild" and the fact that some aspects of the cuneiform script acted as a *Vorbild* (Neumann 992, 27n5, 29).

15 Cf. Mora 1994, 213n22. We must also consider what Itamar Singer calls the "Luwian orientation of Muwatalli," such that the Lower Land, an Anatolian land that was previously neglected, "suddenly leaped into the foreground of Hittite history under Muwatalli's reform" (Singer 2006, 43). On the importance of the Luwian-speaking population in Hittite society in the thirteenth century BC, cf. van den Hout 2006.

16 Cf. Mora 1991, 22; Hawkins 2003, 166, with reference to Otten 2000; Yakubovich 2008, 12; Mora 2022.

17 Yakubovich 2008, 19: "It is a well-known fact that many early phonetic writing systems established the values of their signs via the principle of acrophonic derivation. . . . If the same principle underlies the phonetization of Anatolian hieroglyphic

cludes that "the analysis of a small group of well-attested signs appears to confirm the hypothesis that the phonetic component of the Anatolian hieroglyphic script was originally developed in the mixed Hittite and Luvian-speaking environment."[18] I therefore agree with the statement he makes in his 2010 book: "The sociolinguistic setting of Hattusa in about 1400 BC, where the majority of the population was already Luvian, while Hittite enjoyed political and cultural prestige, makes the Hittite capital the most likely venue for the phonetization of the Anatolian hieroglyphic script."[19] Continuing his analysis, Yakubovich (2008, 28) suggests that the introduction of the new script was "primarily dictated by nationalistic concerns"—a seemingly valid assumption, though it was perhaps not the only reason for introducing the new script.[20]

## 3. ANATOLIAN HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING AND PICTURES

In this last section, I deal with the question of the connection of hieroglyphic writing with the pictures of kings and princes on seals and rock reliefs; I mention the importance of Syrian documentation regarding the use and spread of the script in the Iron Age.

In the fourth section (titled "Siegel und Steininschriften") of her in-depth article on the Anatolian hieroglyphic script, Elisabeth Rieken says the following about a contribution by Jürgen Seeher:[21] "er hat überzeugend die Auffassung vertreten, dass die hethitische Siegelkunst als Vorbild für Reliefkunst auf Architekturblöcken sowie für Felsbilder und -inschriften gedient hätten." (Rieken 2015).[22] In fact, Seeher emphasizes the relationship between seals and reliefs, both for the similarities between the scenes and for the function of the seals as a "mark": in the same way that the seals marked documents or other objects, the reliefs could have marked territories. I have dealt with this issue in a published paper, in which I argue that it does not seem plausible to me that Hittite rock art derived from Hittite glyptic (Mora 2017). However, I think it is appropriate to go into more detail on this theme. The first Hittite royal seals bearing scenes with human figures are those of King Muwatalli, and the oldest dated royal relief is a relief of the same king, Muwatalli, at SİRKELİ. Glyptic art may have influenced the production of the reliefs, but considering the chronology, the opposite may also be true.

In fact, different seals with figurative scenes are known that do not seem to be royal seals (e.g., Beran 1967, nos. 134–36 (from Hattusa); Mora 1987, group III, notes 3.2–3.6).[23] The fact that some of these scenes are also represented on other objects, such as the famous rhyton with a deer head in the Schimmel collection (Bittel 1976, 13–19; van den Hout 2018) and a painted pitcher from Ugarit,[24] suggests that they were typical scenes represented on different supports. Do we really think that at the beginning of these handicraft and artistic activities there were only the seals and seal carvers? Or is it more likely that these typical scenes were based on archetypes and disseminated through different means? The same probably happened in the case of the celebration scenes of kings and princes, which were also represented in large pictures carved on rocks.

Regarding the symmetrical arrangement of the signs in the monumental royal inscriptions, which has been considered another clue that they derived from seals (Rieken 2015, 223–24, with references), we can

signs on Stages III–IV, it is reasonable to presume that syllabograms were likewise assigned values based on the language(s) that the inventors of the new script perceived as their own."

18 Yakubovich 2008, 24; cf. also Rieken 2015 for some refinements and further investigation of these aspects.

19 Yakubovich 2010, 295. For a discussion of some of the topics dealt with in Yakubovich's volume, cf. also Hawkins 2013.

20 I expressed my doubts about the hypothesis earlier (see n6 above)—doubts Yakubovich seems to share—that hieroglyphic writing was used extensively on wooden supports; the same hypothesis is discussed and shared by Payne (2015, 151, with particular reference to Waal 2011). On these topics and problems see, more extensively, Mora 2022.

21 Seeher 2009; on the same subject, cf. also Seeher 2012.

22 Massimiliano Marazzi also expressed a similar opinion: "l'elemento a nostro avviso interessante sta nel fatto che le iscrizioni rupestri geroglifiche appaiono nella sostanza essere una trasposizione sovradimensionata dell'esperienza glittica" (Marazzi 2010, 246, referring to Alexander 1986).

23 For discussion, cf. Mora 1987, 78–88, with previous bibliography; Marazzi 1990, 27–28; Giorgieri and Mora 1996, 79–80.

24 Cf. Mora 2002, with reference to the drawing published in Yon 1997, 157.

refer instead to the concept of symmetry in ancient art, for which there are numerous studies on Assyrian and Egyptian artistic production.[25]

Lastly, I would like to offer some remarks regarding the use of hieroglyphic script in thirteenth-century BC Syria. The new Anatolian script certainly reached Syrian centers through the intermediary of Carchemish; this origin for the hieroglyphic script used in Syria led to its taking on, over time, different features compared to the Anatolian ones. In addition to what Emmanuel Laroche first observed in some seminal contributions (e.g., the prevalence of phonetic values and the introduction of new syllabic signs; cf. Laroche 1981, 1983), and after further analysis, I have also observed other interesting aspects, among them the boustrophedic arrangement of signs on some seals from Syria (Mora 1998, 205). If we consider that, to date, the oldest seal representing complex scenes and a hieroglyphic inscription is the cylinder seal of King Shahurunuwa of Carchemish[26] and that the ALEPPO 1 inscription is the oldest known one with a boustrophedic orientation of signs, we should perhaps carry out more investigations to evaluate the possible influence of the center of Carchemish regarding some features of the hieroglyphic script in thirteenth-century Anatolia, and perhaps also of the use of figurative scenes carved on stone or rock.[27]

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25 Cf., e.g., Albenda 1992, with extensive bibliography. However, Rieken's remarks concerning the position of the initial-*a* sign on rock reliefs and the *Kompositionsprinzipien* of seals seem very interesting (Rieken 2015, 226). For a detailed analysis of this feature, cf. Burgin 2016.

26 Cf. Beyer 1982 and Mora 1992 for some comments on this topic.

27 For an update on these issues, see my chapter in *Handbook Hittite Empire* (Mora 2022).

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# 23 WOMEN IN HITTITE CORRESPONDENCE: SOME CASE STUDIES

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## DEDICATION

For Theo, with my gratitude for his constant support.[1]

## 1. INTRODUCTION

As Matteo Vigo (2016) recently showed, the study of the role of women in Hittite society is far from complete. The pioneering study of Muhhibe Darga (1976) needs to be updated and several issues further investigated. Furthermore, while reading about this topic, I had the feeling that several studies, such as Darga's, had a particular agenda—namely, to try to demonstrate the exceptional status of Anatolian women in the ancient Near East. But I question whether such an exceptional status really existed. The hypothesis of an ancient Anatolian matriarchy has long been refuted (Beckman 1986), yet it still lingers here and there in the secondary literature. So, what do the texts say exactly?

Darga, and Vigo after her, remind us that Queen Ašmunikkal and her royal husband Arnuwanda I are mentioned as authors of a decree donating land to the female palace attendant Kuwattalla (Darga 1976, 25; Vigo 2016, 337). To that text, one should add another land donation deed involving Muwatalli I and his unnamed wife (Rüster and Wilhelm 2012, no. 47). Darga and Vigo also point out that women can possess their own seal, which is a sign of power (Darga 1976, 26; Vigo 2016, 345). All these facts seem to assign an important place to Hittite queens and to women in general.[2]

Gary Beckman believes that Hittite society gave a lower rank to women than to men in general, but to illustrate this belief he provides only "foreign" literary examples as evidence—namely, two passages in Hurrian myths (Beckman 1993, 37; pace Vigo 2016, 332). Vigo observed, just as I did for temple personnel (Mouton 2012), that women worked side by side with men in the palace administration.

I have chosen to study Hittite correspondence, which provides a vivid illustration of the daily life of the inhabitants of the land of Hatti, in hopes of finding significant testimonies about women. Harry Hoffner's *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom* (Hoffner 2009) provided a reliable corpus of texts on which I have based my study.[3] Women from various social ranks are referred to in Hittite correspondence: female slaves, free women who do not belong to the royal family, and royal princesses or queens. I have made a selection of texts that are of interest.

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1 With many thanks to Mark Geller for improving my English.

2 Cem Karasu (2002, 419) misinterprets a passage in Telepinu's Edict as evidence for the exceptional power of Hittite queens.

3 I collated all the tablets quoted either from 2D or 3D photographs (when available) or from hand copies (especially for some of the Maşat letters, for which photographs were not accessible to me).

## 2. FEMALE SLAVES

The corpus of Middle Hittite letters coming from Maşat Höyük (Hittite Tapikka) deals with various issues—mainly military concerns but also disputes between protagonists over property, among other matters.

The piggyback letter HKM 36:37–51 is addressed by the royal scribe Hašammeli (most probably based in Hattuša) to a superior whose name is not given. In this note, we read the following passage:

> Concerning what I informed you about my female slave: how your agents stole her away together with the flour (she had milled), and led her back to the town of Tahazzimuna, § (. . .).[4]

Stefano de Martino and Fiorella Imparati (1995, 108–9) believe that this passage refers to the same subject matter as another Middle Hittite piggyback letter from Maşat Höyük—namely, HKM 30:11–25, which states:

> Say to Uzzū, my brother: Thus (speaks) Hašammeli, your brother: § You were writing to me about my female slave, but now you no lo[nger] write anything to me. § Now send [m]y fem[ale slave] to m[e]! If [*my female slave*] took *hapalā*, my female slave . . . *hapalā*![5] Give the goods to a messenger, and *let him* bring them to me. (For) what[eve]r [t]his female slave has taken and stolen (from you), take threefold that (amount) also (as compensation), but s[end] it (i.e., the rest of the goods) to me whenever som[e] other [messenger] comes my (way).[6]

From this second excerpt, we understand that Hašammeli's female slave must have stolen something from Uzzū, a scribe based in Tapikka. The threefold compensation mentioned in HKM 30 reminds us of §45 of the Hittite Laws, where we read:

> If someone finds either items or cattle, sheep, horse (or) donkey, he will lead it back to its owner, so that he (i.e., the owner) will take it (back). If he cannot find its owner, he will call witnesses. Later on (when) its owner finds it, he (i.e., the owner) will take away entirely what (was) lost to him. However, if he does not call witnesses and its owner finds it afterward, then he (i.e., the man who has found the goods) is considered a thief: he will make threefold compensation.[7]

In HKM 30, Hašammeli is held responsible for his female slave's theft. However, Uzzū is entitled to injure his slave, as §95 of the Hittite Laws states:

> If a slave burglarizes a house, he (i.e., his master) will give (the goods back) entirely; he will (also) give six shekels of silver for the theft. He (i.e., the owner of the burglarized house) will mutilate the nose and ears of the slave and (then) they will give him (i.e., the slave) back to his master. If he stea[ls] much, they will impose much on him (i.e., the slave's master); if he steals little, they will impose little on him. If his master says: "I will make a compensation because of him," he will make the compensation. [If] he [r]efuses (to make a compensation), he will lose that slave.[8]

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4 HKM 36:42–48 (Hoffner 2009, 152): *ŠA* GÉME*=YA=a=(t)ta kuedani uddanī watarnahhiškenun tuel=(l)a=an=kan mahhan maniyahhanteš IŠTU* ZÌ.D[A] *arha dayaer n=an=šan INA* $^{URU}$*Tahaz*[*z*]*imuna* EGIR-*pa pēhuter* § (. . .). Collated from the online 3D photograph.

5 The passage is too badly preserved for full translation. Maybe what is meant is "my female slave will give the *hapalā* back."

6 HKM 30:11–25 (Hoffner 2009, 154–5): *ANA* $^{I}$*Uzzū* ŠEŠ*=YA QIBI=MA UMMA* $^{I}$*Hašammili* ŠEŠ*=KA=MA* § *ŠA* GÉME*=YA=mu u*[*t*]*t*[*ar*] *hatreškeš kinun=a=mu na*[*mma*] *UL kuitki h*[*a*]*trāši* § *kinun=a=m*[*u*] G[ÉME*=Y*]*A arha uppi man* [GÉME*=YA*?] *h*]*appalā dāš nu* GÉME*=Y*[*A . . . h*]*appalā ANA* LÚ *ṬEMI* SIG$_5$ *pai n=at=mu katti=mi udau*? [*k*]*āš=a=za* GÉME *kuit* [*kui*]*t dān daya<n>na harzi n=ašta apāt=(t)a* 3*=ŠU dā n=at=mu u*[*ppi*] *mān damaiš kuišk*[*i* LÚ *ṬEMI*] *uizzi*. Collated from the online 3D photograph.

7 KBo 6.4 iv 4–11 (Hoffner 1997, 54): *takku UNUTE*$^{MEŠ}$ *kuiški našma* GU$_4$ UDU ANŠE.KUR.RA {ANŠE} ANŠE *uemiyazi n=an* EGIR-*pa* EN-*iš=ši pennai n=an pēhutezzi mān* EN<<-*iš*>>*=šin=ma UL uemiyazi nu=za kūtruwāezzi* EGIR-*zian=ma=at* EN*=ŠU uemiyazi nu=(š)ši=kan kuit harkan n=at šakuwaššar arha pēdai mān=za UL=ma kutruwāezzi* EGIR-*zian=ma=at* EN*=ŠU uemiyazi n=aš* $^{LÚ}$NÍ.ZU *kišari* 3*=ŠU šarnikzi.*

8 KBo 6.2++ iv 44–48 and duplicates (Hoffner 1997, 93–94): *takku* ÌR-*aš* É-*er tai*[(*ezzi šakuwaššar*)]*=pat pāi tayazilaš* 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pāi* ÌR-*š=a* KIR$_{14}$*=ŠU išta*[(*manuš=šuš kukkur*)]*iškezzi n=an āppa išhi=(š)ši pianzi tak*[(*ku mekki taie*)*zzi mekk*(*i=še*)] *išhianzi takku tēpu* [(*taiezzi*)] *tēpu=(š)še iš*[(*hianzi*) *takk*(*u BĒL=Š*)]*U tezzi šēr=šit=wa šarnikmi nu šarnikz*[*i takku m*(*immai nu*)] ÌR-*an=pat šūizzi.*

Personally, I am not sure that HKM 36 and 30 actually deal with the exact same subject matter. In HKM 36, Hašammeli's female slave has been abducted by the "agents" (*maniyahhanteš*) of someone whom Hašammeli calls his "lord and father," so that person can hardly be Uzzū, whom Hašammeli calls his "brother" in HKM 30. In HKM 36, Hašammeli is probably urging his superior to order the return of his slave. It is true that the address "my dear brother" also appears later on in that same letter, but, as suggested by Hoffner (2009, 152), that last bit of the piggyback letter might be addressed to someone else. Besides, de Martino and Imparati's reconstruction—that is, their idea that both letters deal with the same matter—has, in my opinion, one flaw: it ignores the use of the verb *arha taya-* "to steal away." That verb describes a theft, not a lawful capture in respect to a judgment. As for HKM 30, it most likely deals with another female slave of Hašammeli's who stole something from his colleague Uzzū. After all, Hašammeli could have had more than one female slave.

## 3. FREE WOMEN OUTSIDE THE ROYAL FAMILY

The Middle Hittite letter KBo 12.62 refers to a man's wife who "perpetrates an evil thing":

> Concerning what [you w]rote me [back] about Kupāpa, the wife of Dud[d]umi: [*Here on the tablet*] (which you sent to me) (is) how Kupāpa is perpetrating an [evil] thing *in* the city of Uda. § As for how I reacted when I saw the tablet, may the gods in the same way destroy this same Duddumi together with his wife (and) [child]ren![9]

We apparently do not have any other Middle Hittite attestations for Kupāpa, wife of Duddumi, so we cannot know what happened exactly. What interests me is the expression *idālu uttar iya-*, literally "to do an evil thing," which, in light of the reaction of the sender of this letter, indicates a very serious matter: the sender wishes the utter destruction of Duddumi's whole family. The expression *idālu uttar iya-* is very vague and basically could designate any evil behavior—conspiracy, for example. As an illustration, here is a passage from Telepinu's Edict in which the same expression occurs:

> [Z]idanta conspired with Hantili and they [perpetr]ated an evil thin[g]. They killed Muršili, they perpetrated a bloodshed crime.[10]

Marco Marizza (2009, 128 ) interprets Kupāpa's episode in the following way:

> However, the most important detail is that the topic discussed on the reverse of the tablet concerns the evil deeds perpetrated by the wife of Duddumi, Kubaba, who bears a Hurrian name. The involvement of women in correspondence is quite rare, and refers to princesses of the royal family or rather singular cases. Thus, one can assume that Kubaba has performed black magic rituals against some important character or that she has been involved in some homicide.[11]

Marizza suggests a possible case of witchcraft, whereas the exact same expression is understood as a "simple" case of conspiracy when it involves two men. Although such an interpretation cannot be excluded, I see no clear evidence of witchcraft in our letter. Besides, both men and women can recruit a ritual expert for bewitching an adversary or curse him directly in front of the gods. The Hittite texts show that such practices are not exclusive to women (Mouton 2010, 108–11). The fantasy revolving around female witches

9 KBo 12.62:6'–10' (Hoffner 2009, 86): [*zik=m*]*a=mu kuit* ŠA $^{f}$*Kupāpa* DAM $^{I}$*Dud*[*d*]*umi* [EGIR-*pa ha*]*trāeš* $^{f}$*Kupāpaš māhhan I*[*N*]*A*$^{?}$ $^{URU}$*Uda* [*idālu*] *uttar iēzzi* [*kā*$^{?}$ *tup*]*pí*$^{?}$ § [*nu m*]*āhhan tuppi ūhhun nu=za ammuk māhhan kišhat nu* DINGIR$^{MEŠ}$ $^{I}$*Duddumin=pat QADU* DAM=*ŠU* [DUM]U$^{MEŠ}$=*ŠU QĀTAMMA harninkandu.* Kirsten Reichardt (1998, 133) quotes this passage as an example of a curse inserted in a letter. I will not comment on the mediopassive form of *šipant-* that appears later in the text along with *antuhšeš* and that several Hittitologists have interpreted as evidence of human sacrifice (e.g., Wilhelm 1993, 61), because the lack of parallels of such a formula makes it unclear (pace CHD Š, 395).

10 KBo 3.1++ i 33 (Gilan 2015, 141; HEG IV 133): [*nu*] $^{I}$[*Z*]*idanta*[*š*] *ANA* $^{I}$*Hantili* [*katt*]*an* [(*šarā*)] *ulešta nu* HUL-*lu utt*[*ar iē*]*r nu=kan* $^{[I]}$*Muršilin kue*[(*nnir nu*)] *ēšhar iēr.*

11 Translated from Italian.

remains surprisingly vivid, even among modern scholars. Another good example, already pointed out by Jared Miller (2010, 182n55), is a statement by Volkert Haas (1988, 239):

> The magical authority of the woman rests on the process of giving birth, of menstruation, as well as of her characteristic of hysteria ("ihrer Eigenschaft zur Hysterie"), so that her nervous crises ("ihre nervösen Krisen") seem to surrender her to supernatural powers.[12]

In a Middle Hittite letter from Šapinuwa (Ortaköy), an Old Woman ($^{MUNUS}$ŠU.GI) is, this time, explicitly involved:

> Concerning the fact that an act of sacrilege has [just] occurred and that they have [. . .] a man of the Storm-god and an Old Woman, they will perform (a purification ritual). However, let them not perform (the ritual) in the town of Hanziwa. Let them not bathe [in the watercourse] of Hanziwa. Let them (rather) perform (the ritual) up [in the town of . . .-š]amāša, and then let them bathe only there. Let them not perform (the ritual) in Hanziwa! Let them not bathe in the watercourse of Hanziwa! Get to it![13]

Because of a break at a strategic place of the tablet—right where a transitive verb in participial form is expected—it is impossible to determine with certainty who is doing what during the incident described. The fact that the designations of the two mentioned characters—namely, LÚ $^{D}$IM "the man of the Storm-god" and $^{MUNUS}$ŠU.GI "the Old Woman"—are logograms without any phonetic complement renders the interpretation of this passage even more uncertain, because one cannot determine whether those nouns are the subjects or direct objects of the missing verb. What is certain is that the use of the term *maršaštarri-* "sacrilege, profanation" in this letter implies a heavy crime toward a god. Indeed, *maršaštarri-* stems from the adjective *marša-*, which means precisely "unfit for the sacred" (Mouton 2015, 51). The use of the term *maršaštarri-* indicates that we are not dealing here with ordinary defilement but rather a serious cultic offense.

Most of the scholars who have studied this passage have suggested that the man of the Storm-god (i.e., probably a priest of a Storm-god) and the Old Woman (not obligatorily a very old woman, but rather a mature woman, as noted in Hoffner 2009, 260) were the ones who had perpetrated a sacrilege (Ünal 1998, 21; Haas 2001; de Martino 2004, 353; Hoffner 2009, 260). Ahmet Ünal (1998, 21), the editor of this tablet, wrote:

> It deals with a ritual fraud whose actors are not mentioned in the text. Whether the Man of the Storm God and the female magician in question may have committed this ritual fraud or not is not clear.

However, a little further on the same page (Ünal 1998, 21), he wrote:

> Because the Man of the Storm God and the Old Woman belong to opposite sexes and because [of] the required ritual ablution, it is tempting at first sight to assume that the crime was committed by nobody else but by these two persons, and it was a sexual crime, but it is not certain.

His theory was accepted by de Martino (2004, 353), who wrote in his turn:

> As observed by A. Ünal, the fact that the two involved characters are of opposite sexes and the fact that both may be required to fulfill a purification rite and to wash themselves (as is prescribed for the temple personnel (. . .) could lead to the conclusion that these two characters had a sexual relation, but that they have not performed the necessary ablutions.[14]

De Martino's last specification is based on a passage of instructions to temple personnel, in which we read:

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12 Translated from German.

13 HHCTO 1:11'–17' (Hoffner 2009, 259–60): [*kāša=y*]*a kuit maršaštarraš uttar kišat nu* LÚ $^{D}$IM *kuit* $^{MUNUS}$ŠU.GI=*ya* [. . .] *harkanzi nu anniškanzi nu INA* $^{URU}$*Hanziwa lē anniškanzi* [*INA*] $I_7$ $^{URU}$*Hanziwa=ya=za=kan anda lē warpiškanzi* [*INA* $^{URU}$. . .-*š*]*amāša=(š)šan šer anniškandu namma=za=kan apiya=pat* {x x x} [*w*]*arappiškandu INA* $^{URU}$*Hanziwa=ma lē anniškanzi* [*n*]*u INA* $I_7$ $^{URU}$*Hanziwa=ya=za=kan anda lē warappiškanzi uwad duwaddu*. From the hand copy in Ünal 1998, 99 (no photograph available).

14 Translated from Italian.

> If someone sleeps with a woman, may he go to (this) woman in the same way that he practices the rite of the gods and gives food and drink to the deity (i.e., purified). In addition, [. . .]. As soon as the sun (has) arisen, he will bathe himself immediately. Let him promptly arrive, in the morning, at the time of the gods' meal. However, if he neglects (to do this), it is a fault on his part. If someone sleeps with a woman and his superior (or) supervisor urges him (to do it), he should speak. If he does not dare speak, he should speak to his friend. But he must bathe! If he voluntarily lingers, still does not bathe and forcibly comes near the bread and libation vase of the gods (while he is still) defiled, or (if) his friend knows (all) about it, so that he appears to him and hides him, but, in the future, this becomes known to all, it is capital death (that awaits) them. May they both die.[15]

Note the fact that having sexual relations, though defiling the temple servant, does not necessarily make him blameworthy. If he purifies himself, his act is in no way reprehensible, for the impurity is *a posteriori* reduced to nothing. What is reprehensible is neglecting to purify oneself after sexual intercourse before returning to the temple. In the light of this passage, we can safely say that the simple fact that the man of the Storm-god and the Old Woman had sex with each other would not be a problem in itself. However, if the man of the Storm-god had sexual relations with the Old Woman and then neglected to cleanse himself before returning to the temple, that omission would definitely constitute a *maršaštarri-*, a sacrilege. Such a crime would indeed require the purification of both the man of the Storm-god and the Old Woman. This scenario is a possible one, but certainly not the only one. Indeed, as Hoffner (2009, 260) wrote:

> (. . .) we should be cautious in assuming that the *only* action qualifying as sacrilege committed by two persons of opposite sex *must* be sexual. They may have contrived to steal one or more valuable sacred objects.[16]

This remark applies only in the case that the man of the Storm-god and the Old Woman are the culprits in our Ortaköy letter. Hoffner accepts this theory and reads the relevant sentence as follows:

> Concerning the fact that an act of sacrilege has now occurred, and they have apprehended[?] (as guilty parties) a Man-of-the-Storm-God and an Old Woman. They will begin to perform (a purification ritual).

In this translation, the missing participle is rendered by "apprehended[?]," so Hoffner's interpretation is quite close to Ünal's. However, there is another possibility, which was already alluded to briefly by Birgit Christiansen (2013, 141). If we restore a verb such as "to call, to summon" in the break, the man of the Storm-god and the Old Woman would not be the culprits but rather the ritual experts in charge of the purification ritual—an interpretation that sounds more logical to me. Indeed, when it means "to perform (a ritual), to celebrate (a festival)," the active verb *aniya-* is usually governed by a subject designating one or several ritual experts, not by the person who will be treated by the ritual (that person's designation being in the accusative case) (HW² 1:83–84). Therefore, one could suggest the following rendering:

> Concerning the fact that an act of sacrilege has [just] occurred and that they (i.e., someone unspecified) have [*summoned*] a man of the Storm-god and an Old Woman, they (i.e., those two ritual experts) will perform (a purification ritual; implied: for the culprits). However, let them not perform (the ritual) in the town of Hanziwa. Let them (i.e., probably the culprits who will be treated by the two ritual experts) not bathe [in the watercourse] of Hanziwa. Let them (i.e., the ritual experts) (rather) perform (the ritual) up [in the town of . . .-š]amāša, and then let them bathe only there. Let them not perform (the ritual) in Hanziwa! Let them not bathe in the watercourse of Hanziwa!

15 KUB 13.4 iii 68–83 and duplicates (Miller 2013, 260–61): *mān=(n)a=za* MUNUS-*i kuiš* GAM-*an šeszi nu=kan mahhan* (var. GIM-*an*) DINGIR$^{MEŠ}$-*aš šaklain* (var. *šaklā*[*in*]) *aššanuzi* DINGIR-*LIM-ni adanna akuwanna pāi n=aš ITTI* MUNUS-*TI QĀTAMMA paiddu namma . . .* (unreadable passage) *n=ašta kuitma*<(*n*)> $^{D}$UTU-*uš šarā nu=za* [*h*]*ū*[*d*]*āk war*[*ap*]*du n=aš=kan lukkatti* (var. [*l*]*ukkatta*) DINGIR$^{MEŠ}$-*aš* [(*adann*)]*aš mēhūni hūdāk aru mān=ma=aš karaštari=ma* [(*n=at*)]*=ši waštul mān=ma=za ITTI* MUNUS-*TI kuiš šeszi* [*n=a*]*n=kan MAHRI=ŠU* $^{LÚ}$GAL=*ŠU* EGIR-*an tamaszi nu memau=pat* [*m*(*ā*)]*n apāš=ma memiyauanzi UL mazzazzi* (var. *mazazi*) *nu* $^{LÚ}$*ariš=ši* (var. $^{[L]Ú}$*araš=ši*) *memāu nu=za waraptu=pat* {*mān*} *mān šekkantit=ma* ZI-*it parā dāi warapzi=ma=za nāui n=aš* DINGIR$^{MEŠ}$-*aš* $^{NINDA}$*harši* $^{DUG}$*išpantuzzi* (var. $^{DUG}$*išpanduz*[*zi*]) *maninkuwan šaknuanza šāliqa* [(*na*)]*šma=an* $^{LÚ}$*araš=šiš šakki n=ašta=(k)kan uwait=(t)a* [(*n=an š*)]*annāi* EGIR-*zian=ma=at išduwāri* [(*nu=šmaš=at*)] SAG.DU-*aš* ÚŠ-*tar* 2-*uš=*(*š*)*a=at akkand*[*u*].

16 Emphasis original.

I could see only Ünal's hand copy of the tablet, but it seems that the break can contain just three signs. A good candidate could, therefore, be *halzian*, the participial form of *halzai-* "to call, to summon." The fact that the verb "to bathe" is used with the pseudoreflexive particle *-za* does not contradict my interpretation: frequently in Hittite texts, the subjects of verbs are only implied, so that who is doing what is not explicit (see §95 of the Hittite Laws quoted above as an example).

In Hittite religious texts, the Old Woman is one of the major actors in purification rituals. Therefore, it would not be surprising if the Old Woman of our letter had been recruited for purifying the culprits through a ritual bath, among other techniques. As far as the man of the Storm-god is concerned, his involvement in this matter implies that the culprits committed an offense against that very Storm-god. He would then be the natural intermediary between the culprits and the angered god.

As for the choice of a particular watercourse for this purification, Haas (2001, 172) argued that performing the purification rite in the watercourse passing the town of Hanziwa would have defiled that town. Furthermore, as Hanziwa is a neighbor city of Šapinuwa, where a royal residence was situated, defiling that watercourse would have defiled the royal residential city as well (Hoffner 2009, 261).

A Middle Hittite letter from Šarišša (Kuşaklı) also mentions an Old Woman, although in a very different context:

> Say [to] the lord, the Chief of the palace officials, my Lord: [Thu]s speaks the mayor: § [I]ya, the Old Woman, said the following to me: "The (oracular) traces turned out bad for the person of the DUMU.MUNUS.SANGA, and these traces occurred. § The (token named) 'bad' (was) taken, and it (was given) back to 'Halmaššuit.' I performed the oracular consultation four times, and all four times it turned out bad. So let them perform a consultation there as well." § So we proceeded to perform an oracular inquiry through (oracular) birds, asking: "Concerning this which Iya has said, (namely): 'Should we fear for the person of the DUMU.MUNUS.SANGA?'"—it is confirmed (i.e., yes, we should fear). § (The letter then provides technical details of the augurs' inquiry that led them to that conclusion.) § Then we proceeded to make a further (divinatory) observation (of the birds) with reference to the life of the DUMU.MUNUS.SANGA, (asking): "Should we have nothing to fear for the person of the DUMU.MUNUS.SANGA?" § (Technical details of the augurs' inquiry follow.)[17]

The Old Woman Iya seems to be otherwise unattested. She transmits to the mayor the result of her four oracular inquiries through the KIN technique. All four inquiries indicate that the life of someone designated by the logograms DUMU.MUNUS.SANGA is at stake. Since that person is apparently an important individual in the kingdom, the Old Woman asks the mayor to perform another oracular inquiry to check her results. After the mayor asks augurs to proceed to that second set of oracular inquiries, he reports their results in his letter to the chief of the palace officials. The fact that such a matter is addressed to the chief of the palace officials, together with the presence of the Halmaššuit KIN-token (Halmaššuit being the Throne-deity), leads me to believe that the DUMU.MUNUS.SANGA might be related to the royal family. About that reading, Gernot Wilhelm (1998, 178n10), the editor of this tablet, commented:

> (. . .) written without space in all cases, as in the small Middle Hittite fragment KBo 24.85:6'. Is it about the "daughter of the priest" (DUMU.MUNUS SANGA), the "son of the priestess" (DUMU $^{MUNUS}$SANGA), or—as the lack of space might suggest—one unique logogram (DUMU.MUNUS.SANGA)?[18]

The Chicago Hittite Dictionary (CHD Š, 195) also hesitates regarding this same logographic combination, suggesting three alternative translations: "daughter of the priest," "son of the priestess," and "novice priestess." Imparati (2004, 859), however, notes that the logographic group SANGA.TUR usually designates

17 KuT 49:1–24 (Wilhelm 1998; Hoffner 2009, 266–67): [*ANA*] *BĒLI* GAL DUMU$^{MEŠ}$ É.GAL *BĒLI=YA QIBI=MA* [*UMM*]*A* $^{LÚ}$*HAZANU=MA* § [$^{f}$*I*]*yaš=mu* $^{MUNUS}$ŠU.GI *kiššan mēmišta ANA* SAG.DU DUMU.MUNUS.SANGA=*wa ūrkēš idālauešketta nu=wa kē ūrkēš kīšandati* § *idālu=wa dān nu=war=at=kan* <<AŠ>> EGIR-*pa* $^{D}$*Halmaššuitti nu=wa uttar arha* 4=*ŠU ariyanun nu=war=at* 4=*ŠU=pat idāluēšta nu apiya=(i)ya arha ariyandu* § *nu uwauēn IŠTU* MUŠEN$^{HÁ}$ *namma arha kiššan ariyauen kī=wa* $^{f}$*Iyaš kuit kiššan mēmišta ANA* SAG DUMU.MUNUS.SANGA=*wa nāhuwani handān=at* § (. . .) § *nu uwauen ANA* TI DUMU.MUNUS.SANGA *namma aumien ANA* SAG DUMU.MUNUS.SANGA=*wa UL kuwatka nāhuwani* § (. . .). Only partly collated, since the published photograph does not show the tablet's upper and lateral edges.

18 Translated from German.

novice or lower-ranked priests, so she is not convinced by the third translation. In her opinion, this group should probably be read "daughter of the priest,"[19] where "the priest" could designate the prince Kantuzzili. This being said, she notes[20] also the mention of a "$^{LÚ}$DUMU.SANGA," a designation that could be compared with our logographic group, just like DUMU.SANGA, which appears in KBo 52.280 (from Uşaklı Höyük) and KBo 18.69 (from Boğazkale).[21] Both $^{LÚ}$DUMU.SANGA and DUMU.SANGA in these Middle Hittite documents and others have also been discussed by Carlo Corti (2010). An even closer logographic group to our DUMU.MUNUS.SANGA is DUMU.LÚ.SANGA, which occurs three times without any space in KUB 19.26.[22] The exact same sequence DUMU.LÚ.SANGA without any space is also attested five times in one Neo-Babylonian tablet and twice in another—namely, texts 10 and 7, respectively, in David Weisberg's catalog (Weisberg 2003).[23] So why not consider DUMU.MUNUS.SANGA to be a single logographic group in our letter? Just as Corti (2010, 205–6) suggested for its male counterpart, $^{(LÚ)}$DUMU.SANGA/DUMU.LÚ.SANGA, this title would have been given to members of the royal family in Hittite Anatolia.

In her study on Hittite priesthood, Ada Taggar-Cohen, who does not note the difficulty of reading this logographic group and translates it as "child of the priestess" (Taggar-Cohen 2006, 333), otherwise shows that SANGA-priestesses are closely associated with the king and queen in festival texts (Taggar-Cohen 2006, 332). Furthermore, the male counterpart of that title is traditionally given to Hittite kings, although probably as an honorary title rather than one signifying a real cultic function (Gilan and Mouton 2014, 104–9). This phenomenon leads me to agree with Corti in seeing a royal character behind the DUMU.LÚ/MUNUS.SANGA.

## 4. ROYAL WOMEN

In a Middle Hittite letter from Šarišša, we read:

> Say to the lord, my Lord: Thus (speaks) Halpa-ziti, your servant: May it be well with the daughters (i.e., princesses) and with my Lord. All (is) well with us too. § The palace official Handapi brought me word, as follows: "The Queen wrote to me. In a dream, beatings were being administered to the daughter<s> (i.e., princess<es>). Since you (are) there, you yourself make an oracular inquiry through the god(s)." § So the palace official Hattušili and I made an oracular inquiry through the god(s).[24]

The imperfective form of the verb *walh-* "to beat, to strike," most probably with a distributive sense here, confirms in my opinion the implied plural character of DUMU.MUNUS in the dream report. Besides, the plural is present both before and after this passage in the text.[25] This excerpt is somewhat reminiscent of the earlier letter in which the Old Woman Iya indirectly reported the results of her oracular inquiries to the chief of the palace official. This time, the queen writes to a palace official about a dream that she probably saw herself.[26] Her dream showed "daughter<s>," most probably royal princesses, being beaten—a distressing experience for the queen, who asked her palace official to investigate it. The oracular observations that

19 Wilhelm (2010, 378) finally decided to follow Imparati's reading. He suggests that KuT 49, KuT 50, and KBo 32.224 deal with the same matter concerning a "daughter of a priest" whose name would be Patahuli.

20 In HKM 57:11 (Imparati 2004, 860).

21 KBo 52.280 obv. 9', rev. 19', 25', 30'; KBo 18.69 rev. 7'.

22 KUB 19.26 i 2', 9', 13'. Mentioned sub SANGA and without any discussion in Weeden 2011, 604.

23 A32097 (text 10) obv. 4, 13, rev. 30, 35, 37; A32107 (text 7) rev. 38, 40.

24 KuT 50 obv. 1–11 (Hoffner 2009, 263): *ANA BĒLI BĒLI=YA QIBI=MA UMMA* $^{1}$*Halpa*-LÚ ÌR=*KA=MA MAHAR* DUMU.MUNUS$^{MEŠ}$ SIG$_5$-*in U ANA MAHAR BĒLI=Y*[*A*] SIG$_5$-*in ēštu anzaš=(š)a katta hūman* S[IG$_5$-*i*]*n* § $^{1}$*Handapiš=mu* DUMU É.GAL *memiyan kiššan udaš* MUNUS.LUGAL=*wa=mu hatrāet ANA* DUMU.MUNUS$^{<MEŠ>}$*=wa zašhet anda walhanniš<kat>tat nu=wa=z apiya kuit zik nu=wa IŠTU* DINGIR-*LIM zikila arha ariya* § *nu* $^{1}$*Haddušiliš* DUMU É.GAL *ammug=(g)a IŠTU* DINGIR-*LIM arha ariyauen*. Collated from the photograph published in Wilhelm 1998, 182.

25 This interpretation was accepted by Hoffner (2009, 262–63) but rejected by Wilhelm (2010, 379).

26 Mouton 2007, 20. Or, as suggested to me by Joost Hazenbos (whom I thank), one of the princesses saw this dream. Since the queen reported the dream, I tend to favor the first hypothesis.

Halpa-ziti, the letter's sender,[27] reports are technical in character, and we cannot know what their exact functions in this matter were: they either served to determine the portent nature of the dream or were supposed to check the prediction of the dream and its significance. De Martino (2005, 312–13) has suggested that the Middle Hittite letter HKM 49 found at Maşat Höyük is related to the same matter—namely, the princesses' health. That letter states:

> Say to His Majesty, our Lord: Thus speak Dudduši, Atiunna, Al-[. . .] and Tarhumimma: § [May] all [be] well with all the daughters (i.e., princesses). § (. . .) As they have just observed the migrator[y birds], we have just reported them to His Majesty, our Lord.[28]

Two elements of this excerpt remind us of the Šarišša letter: (1) the mention of "daughters," probably designating royal princesses, and (2) the allusion to bird oracular inquiries in association with them.

Royal princesses are also mentioned in several other letters, especially in the context of diplomatic marriages (see Hoffner 2009, 269–70, 275–76, 282–89, 364–65). It is common knowledge that the Hittite queen Puduhepa was herself in charge of negotiating diplomatic marriages with foreign kings. She is well known for having sent several letters to the Egyptian pharaoh and calling him "my brother," just as her husband, Hattušili III, did (Hoffner 2009, 282–89). If nothing else, these letters sent and received by Puduhepa illustrate her power within the Hittite state. However, one wonders whether she was an exceptionally strong woman whose husband granted her unusual power or whether all Hittite queens were that powerful. Other Hittite queens are involved in a few Middle Hittite letters (Marizza 2009, 33–36), but none of those letters allows us to determine their power within the Hittite state. For instance, a Middle Hittite letter found in Ortaköy/Šapinuwa states:

> Say to His Majesty, my Lord: Thus (speaks) the Queen, [your] maidservant: May all be well in the presence of Your Majesty, my Lord! May the gods keep Your Majesty, my Lord, alive and protect Your Majesty, my Lord! (Everything is) well with me too. § I am still the same: my head and back hurt me. § (Please) write to me how it (is) also with Your Majesty, my Lord. And, Your Majesty, my Lord, send (me your) [gree]tings![29]

This section of the letter does not deal with politics,[30] so it is impossible for us to determine from it whether the queen involved was as powerful as Puduhepa. The editor of this letter, Aygül Süel (2002, 822–23), thinks that the queen is Taduhepa, the wife of Tudhaliya II.[31]

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

In his edition of Hittite correspondence, Marizza[32] noted briefly that Hittite letters seldom mention women. This rarity could be explained in part by the predominance of military matters in the correspondence. Nevertheless, the excerpts discussed in this study show that women, as much as men, were major actors in

27 Marizza (2007, 161) wonders whether this Halpaziti might be the same person as the GAL.GEŠTIN Halpaziti he deals with. GAL.GEŠTIN "chief of the wine" is a military title (see also Beal 1992, 342–57). The fact that a GAL.GEŠTIN (or its hieroglyphic equivalent MAGNUS.VITIS) can have a second function (such as scribe, for instance) might be attested by the sealings of hieroglyphic seals: see Mouton and Roche-Hawley 2015, 193.

28 HKM 49:1–5, 18–21 (Hoffner 2009, 185): *ANA* $^{D}$UTU-*ŠI BĒLI=NI QIBI=MA UMMA* $^{I}$*Dudduši* $^{I}$*Atiunna* $^{I}$*Al-. . . U* $^{LD}$U-[*h*]*umimma* § *MAHAR* DUMU.MUNUS$^{MEŠ}$ *hūmandaš hūman* SIG$_5$*-in* [*ēštu*] § (. . .) *kāša mēna*[*š* MUŠEN$^{HÁ}$] *mahhan auē*[*r* . . .] *n=aš kāša ANA* $^{D}$U[TU]-*ŠI BĒLI=NI hatrāuen.* No photograph was available to me for this tablet.

29 Or. 90/800: 1–16 (Süel 2002; Hoffner 2009, 257–58): *ANA* $^{D}$UTU-*ŠI BĒLI=YA QIBI=MA UMMA* MUNUS.LUGAL GÉME=[*KA*] *MAHAR* $^{D}$UTU-*ŠI BĒLI=YA hūman* SIG$_5$*-in ēštu nu* $^{D}$UTU-*ŠI BĒLI=YA* DINGIR$^{MEŠ}$ TI-*an harkandu nu* $^{D}$UTU-*ŠI BĒLI=YA pahšandaru katti=mi=ya* SIG$_5$*-in* § SAG.DU*=YA=mu mahhan iškiša=ya ištarakzi n=at=mu nūa QĀTAMMA* § *MAHAR* $^{D}$UTU-*ŠI=ya BĒLI=YA kuit mahhan nu=mu* $^{D}$UTU-*ŠI BĒLI=YA* [*ašš*]*ul hatrāi.* Only partly collated, since the published photographs (Süel 2002, 824–26) do not show the tablet's upper and right-hand edges.

30 For the piggyback letter that appears on the reverse of this letter, see Hoffner 2009, 258.

31 On this queen, see Wilhelm 2012.

32 Marizza 2009, 128: "Il coinvolgimento di donne nella corrispondenza à piuttosto raro e si riferisce a principesse della famiglia reale oppure a casi piuttosto singolari."

Hittite society. For instance, an Old Woman ($^{MUNUS}$ŠU.GI) could be summoned for performing a purification ritual side by side with a man of the Storm-god, or she could be consulted as an expert on divination in the same way as a male augur. As for the power of Hittite queens evidenced by correspondence, only the time of Puduhepa is well documented. From the perspective of Hittite ritual texts, femininity is not described as being an inferior state compared with virility, but rather a state that should remain distinct from virility. Ambiguity of gender—more precisely, femininity in a man—is not welcome, for it is interpreted as a sign of weakness, especially in military contexts. The following passage from a text describing a ritual for Ištar of Nineveh illustrates this undesirability:

> Remove from the men (i.e., the enemies) virility, strength, health and *courage*, (as well as their) weapons, bows, arrows (and) knife and bring them to Hattuša! Put in those ones' hand(s) the woman's distaff and spindle! Clothe them like women! Put the *kureššar* headdress on them! Remove your favor from them![33]

One could also cite the following passage from the text of an evocation ritual that expresses even more clearly the archetypes of both genders:

> (Gods), release to the king (and) queen life, health, long years, progeny, sons, daughters, descent; (release) to the man virility (and) strength, (and) to the woman femininity (and) motherhood![34]

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter other than the following one are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

HHTCO Ahmet Ünal, *Hittite and Hurrian Cuneiform Tablets from Ortaköy (Çorum), Central Turkey*. İstanbul : Simurg, 1998

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33 KBo 2.9+ i 53–58 (Fuscagni 2012, §8): *n=ašta ANA* LÚ$^{MEŠ}$ *arha* LÚ-*natar tarhuilatar haddulatar māl=(l)a* $^{GIŠ}$TUKUL$^{HÁ}$ $^{GIŠ}$PAN$^{HÁ}$ $^{GIŠ}$GAG.Ú.TAG.GA$^{HÁ}$ GÍR *dā n=at INA* $^{URU}$*HATTI uda apedaš=ma=kan* ŠU-*i ŠA* MUNUS-*TI* $^{GIŠ}$*hūlali* $^{GIŠ}$*huišan=(n)a dāi n=uš* MUNUS-*nili uēššiya nu=šmaš=kan* $^{TÚG}$*kureššar šāi nu=šmaš=kan tuēl aššul arha dā.*

34 KUB 15.34+ ii 17–19 (Haas and Wilhelm 1974, 190–91): *nu katta tarnatten ANA* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL TI-*tar haddulātar* M[U]$^{HÁ}$ GÍD.DA DUMU-*latar* DUMU.NITA$^{MEŠ}$ DUMU.MUNUS$^{MEŠ}$ *hāššuš hanzaššuš* LÚ-*ni* LÚ-*natar tarhu*[*i*]*latar* MUNUS-*ni* MUNUS-*nātar annitalwātar.*

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# 24 HORSES AND CHARIOTS, HITTITES AND INDO-ARYANS IN THE STUDIES OF ANNELIES KAMMENHUBER: A LOOK BEHIND THE CURTAIN OF CHARIOTRY RESEARCH

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

All roads lead to Boğazköy—at least in Hittitology.[1] However, this saying is—for some readers perhaps unexpectedly—also true of the study of horses, chariots, Hittites, and Indo-Aryans, especially when viewed from the perspective of the history of research since the early twentieth century. In this context, the archive of the Hittite kings in Ḫattuša has brought to light not only the well-known Hittite Horse Texts (CTH 284–86)[2]—among them the famous treatise by "Kikkuli, the horse trainer from the Land of Mitanni"[3]—but also the first linguistic traces of the so-called Indo-Aryans in Anatolia and the ancient Near East.[4] For the topic of this essay, the important research of Hugo Winckler (1863–1913) yielded two immediate results: (1) already before World War I, scholars distinguished between Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages in the ancient Near East,[5] and (2) Indo-Aryans were associated with the introduction of horses and chariots into this region.[6] And while the contributions to this Festschrift emphasize the immense range of interests of the *Jubilar*, it should not come as a surprise that Theo van den Hout in his long and successful career has also dealt with horses and chariots in Anatolia in the second millennium BC—for example, by contributing the entries "Pferd" and "Wagen" to the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* (van den Hout 2004, 2016) and the recent article titled "Another Storm God 'Jumping' on his Vehicle? Remarks on the Sketch on KUB 20.76" (van den Hout 2023). As he has always in our conversations pointed out the importance of the Hittite sources for horses and chariots, it seems only right that I offer a small

1 I thank the volume editors for their kind invitation to contribute to this Festschrift in honor of Theo van den Hout and their generous allocation of the space desired for this article. Furthermore, I owe a great depth of gratitude to Anne Flannery and Foy Scalf at the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (ISAC) of the University of Chicago for making the papers of Hans Gustav Güterbock available to me and to Susan Allison at ISAC for allowing me to illustrate a letter from Güterbock to Annelies Kammenhuber dated June 2–3, 1965. Last but not least, Andrew Baumann and Connie Gundry Tappy deserve special thanks not only for improving my English but also for commenting on various aspects of my manuscript. All errors and inadequacies remain, of course, mine.

2 CTH 287 has been assigned to fragments of Hittite Horse Texts.

3 CTH 284; still indispensable is the edition in Kammenhuber 1961 (see pp. 54–55 for the quotation).

4 Due to the lack of a historical term, "Indo-Aryan" was coined in the early twentieth century to denote an older dialect of Vedic Indic. Indo-Aryan in Anatolia and the ancient Near East is distinct from Iranian languages (Mayrhofer 1966, 13–24; 1974, 12–13), and the term is justified when used exclusively within linguistic boundaries. The term, therefore, does not provide any evidence about the ethnicity of the speakers. On the history of the term "Aryan" (German *arisch*, *Arier*), see Siegert 1941–42; Wiesehöfer 1990; also Raulwing 2013, 262ff.

5 Pointed out by Mayrhofer 1994; see Meyer 1908, 1909a, 1909b, 1925, and the overview in Burmeister and Raulwing 2023, 17–28, including the section on Eduard Meyer (pp. 21–22).

6 See Mayrhofer 1966, index 151 s.v. *Streitwagen*; Raulwing 1994, 79n26.

token for his Festschrift to provide a closer look "behind the curtain" of chariotry research—in this case focusing on Annelies Kammenhuber, who not only published the essential and still indispensable *editio princeps* of the Hittite Horse Texts (*Hippologia hethitica*, 1961) but also almost personifies the promotion of the most rigorous change in chariotry research since 1945 on the role of Indo-Aryans after the epoch-making study *Das Pferd in prähistorischer und früher historischer Zeit* (1956) by prehistorian Franz Hančar (1893–1968).[7] This essay takes a closer look at Kammenhuber's *Hippologia hethitica*, the reviews of her *magnum opus*, her study on the Indo-Aryans in the ancient Near East (*Die Arier im Vorderen Orient*, 1968), and two unpublished letters exchanged by Kammenhuber and Hans Gustav Güterbock (1908–2000) on May 30 and June 2–3, 1965, dealing with Güterbock's review of *Hippologia hethitica* and Kammenhuber's private comments, which shed light on their personal and professional relationship at that time.

## 2. ANNELIES KAMMENHUBER

Annelies Kammenhuber (fig. 24.1) was born on March 19, 1922, in Hamburg.[8] Her father was a master metalworker. After graduating from high school in the spring of 1940 and completing six months of her mandatory *Reichsarbeitsdienst*, she began her wide-ranging studies of English, Romance languages and literature, classical philology, Indology, philosophy with Kurt Huber (1893–1943),[9] and Indo-European languages, the latter in Hamburg with the linguist Ernst Fraenkel (1881–1957) and in 1940 in Munich with Ferdinand Sommer (1875–1962), the distinguished Indo-Europeanist who can be considered the *spiritus rector* of the new discipline of Hittitology, which he helped found in the 1920s.[10] Kammenhuber's study of Indology in Munich took place under the *Kurator* for the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, *SS-Oberführer*,[11] rector of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich, and professor of *Arische Kultur und Sprachwissenschaft* Walther Wüst (1901–93),[12]

7 Here Hančar 1956b, 525ff., and folding tables (see n30). See also Nagel 1966; Hančar and Mayrhofer 1967; Littauer and Crouwel 1979. On the context of Indo-European, Indo-Europeans, horses, and chariots, see also Raulwing 1998, 2000.

8 See the obituaries by Alfonso Archi (1997), Gabriella Frantz-Szabó (1998), Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer (1996), and H. Craig Melchert (1998). Information on Kammenhuber can also be found in Lundström and Sallaberger 2013, 24–25, 25 fig. 6 with a color photograph, 31, 34–36, 44, 54–55, 57, and passim.

9 Huber was a member of the resistance group *Die Weiße Rose* around Sophie Scholl (*1921), Hans Scholl (*1918), Alexander Schmorell (*1917), Willi Graf (*1918), and Christoph Probst (*1918), who were executed in 1943; see Schreiber 2008, 343–46; Junginger 2017b, 930. In the last *Weiße Rose* leaflet, written by Kurt Huber, students of the University of Munich were called, among other things, to resist the politicization of science. The motto "Heraus aus den Hörsälen der SS-, Unter- oder Oberführer und Parteikriecher!" was certainly also aimed at the rector of the university, *SS-Oberführer* Walther Wüst.

10 Friedrich 1964, 13–14: "Sommer ist der eigentliche und mustergültige Begründer der neuen Keilschriftwissenschaft der Hethitologie gewesen. . . . Sommer [hat] der gesamten hethitischen Philologie mustergültiges Gepräge verliehen." See also Oberheid 2007, 37ff., 134ff.

11 Junginger 2017b, 927, provides the ranks of Wüst in the *SS*: *Sturmbannführer* (1937), *Obersturmbannführer* (1938), *Standartenführer* (1940), and *Oberführer* (1942), the latter corresponding to a *Wehrmacht* rank between *Oberst* and *Generalmajor*. On June 29, 1944, Wüst was awarded the *Kriegsverdienstkreuz 2. Klasse mit Schwertern*. As Michael H. Kater (2006, 310 with n80, 525) reports, it was *SS-Sturmbannführer* and member of the *SS-Ahnenerbe* Ernst Schäfer (1910–92) who characterized Wüst in an interview in 1964 as Himmler's *Beichtvater*.

12 Frantz-Szabó 1998, 161. On Wüst, see Losemann 1977, 118ff.; Kater 2006, 28–36, 43–46; Junginger 2008, 2017b; Schreiber 2008; Heiber 1994, 216ff.; Linguisten-Handbuch II, 1044. There does not seem to be a complete bibliography of Walther Wüst; Schreiber 2008, 370–71, lists his publications from the 1920s to the 1940s. For Wüst's writings while a member of the *SS* and the *Persönlicher Stab Reichsführer SS* Heinrich Himmler (1900–45) see, e.g., Wüst 1941, 1942, 1943, and 1944. Wüst dedicated his *Indogermanisches Bekenntnis* "in Dankbarkeit und Treue" to "Reichsführer ϟϟ HEINRICH HIMMLER." As an example of Wüst's writings in the context of "Oriental" studies, see Wüst 1944, 261: "Auf dieses große, tragende Ganze gesehen, erweist sich auch im Rahmen dieser Orientalistentagung wiederum die deutsche Wissenschaft, und damit die Wissenschaft schlechthin, als Daseinsmacht, sozusagen als indogermanischer *Amәša Spәnta*, dessen Wirksamkeit—genau so wie nicht anders Sprache, Kunst, Staatsführung, Technik oder Raumbewältigung—eine der wesentlichsten Leistungen des nordisch bestimmten Indogermanentums ist. Daß unsere deutsche Orientforschung im Rahmen der Daseinsmacht Deutsche Wissenschaft fernab aller Zerklüftung des Tags und aller unnötigen Eifersucht der Macht—unnötig eben deshalb, weil die Wissenschaft selbst eine Daseinsmacht ist und bleibt—blühe und gedeihe, mit diesem Wunsche schließe ich die Berliner Orientalistentagung 1942."

and in Hamburg under Walther Schubring (1881–1969),[13] who, in November 1933, signed the *Bekenntnis der deutschen Professoren . . . zu Adolf Hitler*.[14]

In the summer semester of 1946, Kammenhuber moved to Munich permanently, even though the linguistics department had been destroyed in the war; Sommer's papers and library also did not survive.[15] At that time, only the Hittite library of Sommer's former student Fritz Ose (1909–42), who fell in combat, was available,[16] and Kammenhuber played a decisive role in the reconstruction of the institute's library. Under the direction of Sommer, she earned her PhD in 1950 with a dissertation on the infinitival system of Hittite.[17] Between 1952 and 1957, Kammenhuber published on the Hittite Horse Texts,[18] which led to the *editio princeps* of all the texts (CTH 284–86) known at the time.

Figure 24.1. Annelies Kammenhuber (after Archi 1997).

In the 1950s, Kammenhuber was also cofounder and temporary editor of the series *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, published by the *Münchener Sprachwissenschaftlicher Studienkreis*,[19] which also included the distinguished scholars of Indo-Iranian languages Karl Hoffmann (1915–96)[20] and Helmut Humbach (1921–2017),[21] as well as "the very committed" Munich bookseller R. Kitzinger,[22] who frequently published studies by Wüst *in Kommission*.[23] Despite several important publications on other Hittitological topics and ancient Anatolian languages such as Palaic and Hattic, Kammenhuber received her habilitation in 1958 on a topic in Indo-Iranian linguistics,[24] resulting nevertheless in a *venia legendi* for Indo-European languages of the ancient Near East. In the following decades, "Kammenhuber's abiding interest was the relationship of the Indo-European languages of Anatolia to Proto-Indo-European" (Melchert 1998, 223). In 1959 she was elected a member of the *Société de Linguistique de Paris*, and in 1960 she received a *Diätendozentur* in Munich.

13 On Schubring, see Bruhn 2007.

14 See *Bekenntnis der Professoren . . . zu Adolf Hitler*, 130, which Schubring's colleague Wüst, interestingly, did not sign at the time.

15 Scherer 1962, 844: "In den letzten zwei Dezennien wurde er durch Schicksalsschläge schwer getroffen: im Krieg durch die Zerstörung seiner Wohnung mitsamt seiner ganzen privaten Bibliothek und seinen umfangreichen Materialsammlungen, vor allem über das Hethitische, dann bei Kriegsende überdies noch durch die Vernichtung der nach auswärts verlagerten Seminarbibliothek."

16 See http://www.familie-ose.de/ with photograph.

17 Kammenhuber 1950. For Kammenhuber's publications, see Hagenbuchner and Spägele 1983.

18 Kammenhuber 1952, 1954 (2nd ed.), 1957; see also Kammenhuber 1967a.

19 Cf. https://cris.fau.de/journals/124390816/.

20 On Hoffmann, see Narten 2007.

21 On Humbach, see Schmitt 2011.

22 Frantz-Szabó 1998, 161: "Zu diesem Kreis gehörten auch K. Hoffmann, H. Humbach und der sehr engagierte Münchener Buchhändler R. Kitzinger."

23 Published on a commission basis with Kitzinger: see, e.g., Wüst's linguistic series *PHMA*; see also, e.g., Wüst 1966, 1969.

24 Cf. Kammenhuber 1957.

In 1964—close to the time of her correspondence with Güterbock dealt with in this essay—Kammenhuber was appointed *außerplanmäßige Professorin*, and in 1969 she was appointed *ordentliche Professorin* as well as head of the Hittitology department at the Institute of Assyriology in Munich.[25] Kammenhuber will be remembered mostly for her various studies in the field of Anatolian languages—for example, her contributions to the *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Kammenhuber 1969a, 1969b) and the *Hethitisches Wörterbuch.*[26] Two volumes of her selected writings provide an overview of her broad academic interests (Kammenhuber 1995). She was known as a strong individual in a scientific community dominated by male colleagues[27] and one who did not shy away from controversies,[28] which, as we will see, also applied to her research on Indo-Aryan and Indo-Aryans in Anatolia and the ancient Near East. Annelies Kammenhuber died on December 24, 1995.

## 2.1. KAMMENHUBER'S *HIPPOLOGIA HETHITICA* (1961) AND *DIE ARIER IM VORDEREN ORIENT* (1968): RECEPTION AND CHARIOTRY RESEARCH

After 1945, the topic of Indo-Aryans and their alleged introduction of horses and chariots to the ancient Near East became—for reasons not difficult to imagine—of less interest. It was mainly the aforementioned study by Hančar, *Das Pferd in prähistorischer und früher historischer Zeit* (1956b), that listed sources for horses and chariots predating the earliest written evidence of the Indo-Aryan Near East.[29] Followed by

25 As early as 1967, she had received an offer of a professorship at the Pontificio Istituto Biblico and was appointed full professor in Rome, "where she taught Hittite and Hurrian in the summer semesters of 1967/68 through 1969/70, first as extraordinaria and then as ordinaria" (Archi 1997, 86).

26 See the history of the projects at https://www.assyriologie.uni-muenchen.de/forschung/hethwoerterbuch/index.html and in Lundström and Sallaberger 2013, 54–56.

27 Instead of recognizing her with her academic titles, Albrecht Goetze (1897–1971) addressed her as "Miss Kammenhuber" and "Miss K." throughout his review (1962). Other forms, such as "Fräulein Kammenhuber," were used in contemporaneous publications as well.

28 See, e.g., Frantz-Szabó 1998, 162–63: "Doch all das hinderte sie nicht daran, ganz im Sinne der Münchener Schule F. Sommers ihre wissenschaftlichen Positionen nachhaltig zu begründen und gegenüber Andersdenkenden kompromißlos zu verteidigen. Ihre scharfe und oft gefühlsbetonte Kritik rief in der Hethitologie heftige Auseinandersetzungen hervor, die die Wissenschaft aber insgesamt gesehen belebt und gefördert haben. Damit hat sie sich nicht nur Freunde gemacht. Sie schätzte es höher, ihr wissenschaftliches Urteil unverblümt auszudrücken, als sich diplomatisch aus der Affäre zu ziehen"; Melchert 1998, 223: "Editorship of the dictionary also led to her central participation in a lengthy and bitter controversy over the relative chronology of Hittite texts and manuscripts. This quite legitimate debate over an issue of fundamental importance degenerated too often to polemics and ad hominem attacks on all sides, with unfortunate results for the field and for the rest of Kammenhuber's own career." The controversy regarding the paleographic criteria of dating Hittite texts must be left aside here.

29 Franz Hančar, who learned Russian as a prisoner of war in World War I (Jettmar 1963, 315), became an expert in the prehistory of the Caucasus region, being able also to evaluate studies published in Russian. Hančar's expertise gained the attention of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, for whom he worked in the 1940s—see the *Diensttagebuch* of Wolfram Sievers (1905–48), *Reichsgeschäftsführer* of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*, entries of October 20, 1941: "[the Austrian prehistorian and collaborator of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*] SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Willvonseder: . . . c) Osteinsatz Heranziehung von Dr. Hančar" (see also the entry from October 25, 1941); December 5, 1941: "SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Willvonseder: . . . 4. Dr. Hančar für Zusammenarbeit in Südrußland doch bereit"; July 17, 1942: "Dozent Dr. Hančar und Frau: 1. Seine Mitarbeit gesichert für Forschungen in Südrußland 2. Frage seiner Beurlaubung aus dem Schuldienst und Einsatz für die vorgeschichtlichen Forschungen in Südrußland. 14.30 Uhr [the Austrian ancient Near Eastern archaeologist] SS-Hauptsturmführer Prof. Dr. [Viktor] Christian [1895–1963] (fernmündlich) wegen Beurlaubung und Mitarbeit von Dr. Hančar"; July 21, 1942: "14.00–16.00 Uhr im Reichswissenschaftsministerium: Besprechung mit SS-Obersturmbannführer Prof. Dr. [Heinrich] Harmjanz [1904–94]: . . . 6. Eingabe vom 17.12.41 wegen Dozent Dr. Hančar"; August 19, 1942: "SS-Obersturmbannführer Prof. Dr. Harmjanz: 6. Entscheidung erbeten in Angelegenheit Dozent Dr. Hančar"; September 10, 1942: "SS-Obersturmbannführer Prof. Dr. Harmjanz (fernmündlich): 1. Angelegenheit Dozent Hančar angemahnt"; November 2, 1942: "Ministerialrat Frey: . . . ; 2. Dr. Hančar wird von [Hans] Reinerth [1900–90] [vom Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg] umworben. 3. Besetzung vorgeschichtlicher Lehrstühle; auch Hančar soll berücksichtigt werden"; December 9, 1942: "SS-Sturmbannführer Prof. Dr. Jankuhn: . . . Zu Mittwoch, 9. Dezember . . . 12. Aufnahme der im Kaukasus entdeckten Felsbilder. 13. Einsatz von Dozent Dr. Hančar, Wien"; January 21, 1943: "14.00–16.00 Uhr Dozent Dr. Hančar: 1. Zusammenarbeit mit Prof. Dr. Jankuhn im Kaukasus, insbesondere Bearbeitung der Museumsbestände. 2. Bearbeitung des prähistorischen Teils der aus Südrußland überführten

Kammenhuber's studies (1961, 1968), as well as those of Wolfram Nagel (1966), Franz Hančar[30] and Manfred Mayrhofer (1967), Mary A. Littauer and Joost H. Crouwel (1979), and others, the hypothesis of an ancient Near Eastern development of horses and chariots became the *communis opinio* for several decades, until archaeological finds of spoked two-wheelers in the steppes and adjacent areas dating to the early second millennium BC reopened discussions on the origin of the chariot.[31] However, those discussions are outside the scope of this study. In the following, it seems worthwhile to take a closer look at the reviews of *Hippologia hethitica*[32] in the context of Kammenhuber's correspondence with Güterbock and then summarize her studies on Indo-Aryans in Anatolia and the ancient Near East.

### 2.2. KAMMENHUBER, *HIPPOLOGIA HETHITICA* (1961)

The Hittite Horse Texts (CTH 284–86)[33] manual from the second half of the second millennium BC are named after the "horse trainer Kikkuli from the land of Mittani,"[34] self-introduced right at the beginning of the first cuneiform tablet. Beyond the boundaries of Hittitology and ancient Near Eastern studies, the Kikkuli text is probably best known for its monthslong training program for chariot horses. It was Sommer who pointed out that the purpose of the Kikkuli text is to train horses not for chariot racing but for use in

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Funde; der archäologische Teil soll von Dr. [Joseph] Wiesner [1913–75] bearbeitet werden. 3. Seine [Hančar's] Stellung an der Universität Wien . . . 17.30–18.30 Uhr Orientalisches Institut, SS-Hauptsturmführer Prof. Dr. Christian: 1. Stellung Hančar an der Universität." Sievers's spelling of Hančar's name has been corrected (originally "Hancar"); likewise, all abbreviations have been written in full; the meeting times have been unified. See also Kater 2006, 157 with n114, with a mention of a letter from Sievers to Hančar dated May 1, 1943, in the context of lost loot from southern Russia (on Sievers, see Kater 2006, 28–36; Reitzenstein 2017). Until 1945, Hančar also embedded racially motivated interpretations in his studies on chariots; see, e.g., Hančar 1943, 27: "Durch den Grabbau (unterirdische Steinkisten) und das Wagenbild [a chariot depiction from Berekej near Derbent in present-day Azerbaijan; see Hančar 1942, fig. IV/2] . . . wird die w u r z e l h a f t e V e r b u n d e n h e i t der gesamten Fundgrube Berekej-Kajakent mit dem nordischen Indogermanentum erhärtet. . . . Nicht o b e r f l ä c h l i c h e G e g e n s t a n d s ä h n l i c h k e i t e n, sondern t i e f w u r z e l n d e W e s e n s ü b e r e i n s t i m m u n g e n kennzeichnen somit die Fundgruppe am Kaspischen Meer eindeutig als indogermanische, dem frühen 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. zugehörige Wegspur. Für die völkische Bestimmung dieser Auswandererschar ist die Tatsache, daß inmitten des nordischen Kulturverbandes ihrer Hinterlassenschaften ein Wagenbild aufgedeckt wurde, von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung. Mit demselben Grad der Wahrscheinlichkeit, mit dem die artgleichen und vereinzelt völlig identischen Wagenbilder unter den skandinavischen Feldzeichnungen als Rennwagen bzw. in Übereinstimmung mit dem e c h t i n d o g e r m a n i s c h e n D r a u f g ä n g e r s t r e b e n n a c h r a s c h e r F e i n d b e r ü h r u n g als S t r e i t w a g e n e r k a n n t w e r d e n, ist auch der Wagen von Berekej als solcher aufzufassen und Oberbau sowie Bespannung entsprechend vorzustellen. . . . Ein nordischer Streitwagen am kaspischen Kaukasusübergang! Es erweist sich schon von hervorragender Bedeutung und von ethischem Wert, darin e i n e n n e u e n Z e u g e n f ü r d i e w e l t u m s p a n n e n d e S t o ß k r a f t i n d o g e r m a n i s c h e n L e b e n s w i l l e n s zu erkennen; die große wissenschaftliche Tragweite dieses Fundes wird jedoch erst durch die Frage darnach aufgerollt, welches indogermanische Volk denn mit dem Streitwagenbild von Berekej sich ein Denkmal gesetzt habe. Vor allem können dafür die Mitanni in Betracht gezogen werden" (emphasis mine). See also Hančar 1942, 248: "Es ist i n d o g e r m a n i s c h e G e i s t i g k e i t, die mit solchen Bildgedanken den letzten Weg des streitbaren Mannes umrankt, und es muß zweifellos eine indogermanische Künstlerhand gewesen sein, die das Dolmenbild von Berekej schuf" (emphasis Hančar's). Regarding the Hittites, he writes (on the same page): "Daß in dieser Beziehung von den hettitischen Schriftquellen nicht viel zu erwarten war, liegt an der mehr südöstlich gerichteten Außenpolitik dieses Reiches begründet. H e t t i t i e n h a t t e k e i n e S c h w a r z m e e r r a u m i n t e r e s s e n" (emphasis mine).

30 Hančar 1956b, 502ff., 548–51, table 60, as well as p. 520 and the folding map "Chronologische Zusammenschau der pferdegeschichtlich bedeutsamen Kulturen von den Anfängen der Zucht bis zum Erscheinen der frühen Nomaden (500 BC)"; see columns "Der Alte Orient" with "Equidenbelege" and "Schriftquellenhinweise auf das Pferd." See also Hančar 1956a.

31 See the important study of Maran 2020 and the contributions in Raulwing et al. 2023. Other recent studies are, e.g., Grigoriev 2023; Lindner 2020, 2021; Novozhenov 2024; see also Raulwing 2000.

32 Cf. Friedrich 1962; Goetze 1962; Kronasser 1962; Otten 1962; Hauschild 1963; Neumann 1963; Potratz 1963; Rosenkranz 1963; Werner 1963; Freydank 1964; Güterbock 1964; Josephson 1964; Mayrhofer 1964.

33 See https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/ and CTH 287 for the fragments of Hittite Horse Texts.

34 Kammenhuber 1952 (revised reprint 1957), 1954, 1967a. The autographs were published in KBo III (1919) and KUB I (1921) by Hugo Heinrich Figulla (1885–1969). Cf. the overview on the Hittite Horse Texts in Raulwing 1999, 2006; for the etymology of Kikkuli's professional title $^{LÚ}$*aššuššanni*, see Raulwing and Schmitt 1998; Kloekhorst 2008, 224–25; Lipp 2009, 270–71n17 (and passim) with further bibliography.

chariot warfare;[35] it also provides directions for the feeding and care of the animals between training sessions and gives us direct insight into an interval training concept for chariot horses that seems to have been successfully implemented in the kingdom of Mittani at the time.[36] The tablets of the Kikkuli text (CTH 284) were found by Hugo Winckler and Theodor Makridi (1872–1940) in the 1906/7 excavation campaign at Boğazköy (Winckler 1907) and were later shipped to Berlin, where Emil Forrer (1922, 252ff.) first published parts of them. The Kikkuli text belongs to the so-called "old horse texts" to distinguish them from two other training instructions that came to light after the resumption of excavations at Boğazköy by Kurt Bittel in the 1930s. These tablets are called the second and third training instructions (CTH 285–86), also known as the "new horse texts." The first complete translation of the Kikkuli text was published by Hanns Potratz (1906–92) in 1938 in his doctoral dissertation.[37] However, it was too late for him to include the new horse texts, as in the same year Hans Ehelolf (1881–1939), keeper of the cuneiform tablets in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, published the autography of a second and third series of horse training texts found in the 1930s during Bittel's excavations at Boğazköy.[38]

Ehelolf's unexpected death, the outbreak of World War II, and other events naturally halted further progress regarding the new horse texts. It was therefore only after Kammenhuber's lecture at the *XIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag* in 1952 in Bonn, where she spoke on the Hittite Horse Texts, that Heinrich Otten (1913–2012) and Hanns Potratz encouraged her to edit the entire series of Hittite Horse Texts:[39] the ones found by Winckler in the campaigns before World War I (Winckler 1907, 1910) and those from Bittel's excavations in the 1930s (Bittel 1932; Ehelolf 1932; Güterbock 1933).[40] In the same year, Kammenhuber published her philological studies on the horse texts from the cuneiform archive of Boğazköy,[41] a seventy-one-page typewritten article produced with a spirit duplicator (Kammenhuber 1952); a revised edition appeared in 1957.

Although Kammenhuber immediately started working on a complete edition of the Hittite Horse Texts (CTH 284–86), she had to interrupt her studies between 1954 and 1958 to finish her abovementioned *Habilitationsschrift* (Kammenhuber 1957). Her now-famous book—titled *Hippologia hethitica*, as she named the edition of CTH 284–86, probably emulating Armas Salonen's *Hippologica accadica* (1956)—was ready

35 Sommer 1939, 629–30. On this topic, cf. Burmeister and Raulwing 2023, 15–22.

36 Cf. Raulwing and Schmitt 1998, 679–83, on the reconstruction of the collaboration between Kikkuli and his grooms and their Hittite colleagues.

37 Potratz 1938. See also the next note.

38 KUB XXIX (= Ehelolf 1938). For a brief overview of the history of research, see Kammenhuber 1961, 1ff., and Güterbock 1964, 267–68, who pointed out: "Later on, H. Otten was able to arrange some of these new fragments (which Ehelolf had had to copy from photographs only!) by combining several of them into larger text portions. He subsequently found more fragments and combined them with the Kikkuli text and the newly discovered group, respectively. All this information he generously communicated to Miss Kammenhuber, who has been working on the 'horse texts' for a long time and published a number of papers on the subject"; see also Ebeling 1951, 5.

39 See *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 102 (1952) *8* sub "b) ASSYRIOLOGIE . . . *Referate* . . . Kammenhuber–München: Zu den hethitischen Pferdetexten." Otten and Potratz were speakers in the same section. Kammenhuber's brief summary in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 28 (1954) goes back to her lecture of July 31, 1952, in Bonn; see Kammenhuber 1954, 119n*.

40 Kammenhuber 1961, 1ff.; see also Potratz 1963, 182: "Daß endlich eine abschließende Bearbeitung des Komplexes durch die Verfasserin an der Zeit war, hatte seine guten Gründe. Einmal liegen seit der Untersuchung des Rezensenten eine ganze Zahl von neuen und sprachlich äußerst interessanten Fragmenten in der Edition vor. Zweitens war das Buch des Rezensenten 1941 durch Kriegseinwirkung in der Gesamtauflage vernichtet worden. Die bis dahin ausgegebenen rund 200 Exemplare erwiesen sich in der Folge als von der Bildfläche verschwunden. Der Rezensent selbst verfügte schließlich nur über ein nicht einmal vollständiges Korrekturexemplar. Drittens endlich war an eine Neubearbeitung des Themas durch den Rezensenten nicht zu denken. . . . Daß meine größere Aufmerksamkeit bei meiner Arbeit auf das Hippologische und Althistorische gerichtet war, ergibt sich aus meiner ganzen allgemeinen Einstellung wie auch aus meinem Werdegange. Philologisch habe ich seit meiner Promotion in der Tat auch nie mehr gearbeitet."

41 The copy of Kammenhuber's article in the Regenstein Library at the University of Chicago contains handwritten corrections, most probably in her hand.

in fall 1959 but, for technical reasons, could not be printed until two years later.[42] It presents all Hittite "horse texts" available at the time in full transliteration and translation, with commentary and indexes. In the reviews of *Hippologia hethitica*,[43] all authors acknowledge and praise the overall amount of thorough philological work done by Kammenhuber in publishing transliterations, translations, and an exhaustive index.[44] As expected, philological critique was voiced regarding certain readings and interpretations of specific *termini technici*, and cultural-historical and hippological remarks were shared (see, e.g., Potratz 1963; Rosenkranz 1963; Werner 1963; Güterbock 1964).

The following paragraphs take a closer look at the reviews of Albrecht Goetze and Güterbock, because the archive of the University of Chicago's Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (ISAC) contains three boxes of Güterbock's papers that are not part of Güterbock's *Nachlass* in the *Deutsches Exilarchiv 1933–1945* of the *Deutsche Nationalbibliothek* in Frankfurt.[45] The ISAC archive preserves the correspondence between Güterbock and Kammenhuber in the context of Güterbock's 1964 review of her *Hippologia hethitica*; Güterbock kept his correspondence with authors and/or editors, including additional material, in large recycled envelopes, which puts us in the fortunate situation of being able to access all relevant material with high confidence in its completeness. The Güterbock-Kammenhuber correspondence from May 30, 1965, and a reply from June 2–3 also mentions the reviews of Goetze (1962) and Otten (1962) and provides fascinating insight into the research and interaction of two of the leading Hittitologists of the time. Both letters are reproduced and translated in this chapter's appendix.

Summarizing the main points of Güterbock's review—which is probably the most informative critique, as it is touches on all relevant points of the Hittite Horse Texts, including linguistic, historical, and hippological aspects and conclusions—it can be pointed out that Güterbock did compliment his colleague on her reconstruction and preparation of the cuneiform texts, where especially "the transliteration, including many extensive restorations, is up to the highest standards" (Güterbock 1964, 269).[46] At the same time, Güterbock was not shy in expressing his disagreement with some of Kammenhuber's historical and hippological interpretations and, in some cases, her translation of specific *termini technici*. He wrote that, as a reviewer, he was "less happy about the translation, which leaves much to be desired. The lack of a thorough discussion of some of the basic and crucial terms is badly felt." In the following paragraphs, Güterbock then provides examples supporting his critique. Unexpected, one could say, is his sometimes harsh criticism directed at Kammenhuber—for example, "This is—sit venia verbo—sheer nonsense; neither the small

42 Kammenhuber 1961, *Vorwort*.

43 See n32.

44 See, e.g., Goetze 1962, 31: "The transliteration is done very carefully"; Otten 1962, 283: "Die Darbietung dieses so gegliederten Stoffes in Transkription, Übersetzung mit reichem Anmerkungsapparat (S. 39—229) sowie die vollständige Aufnahme des Wortschatzes in Indices (S. 319—367) entspricht allen Erwartungen, die man an diese philologische Interpretation stellen kann. Mit den jüngst erschienenen Arbeiten von Hančar 'Das Pferd in prähistorischer und früher historischer Zeit' sowie Salonen 'Hippologica accadica' waren die allgemeinen Fragen bereits weitgehend besprochen. Die Verfasserin kann in dem einführenden Abschnitt 'Die Pferdetexte im Rahmen der vorderorientalischen Geschichte' sich also kurz fassen (S. 5—38), indem sie länger lediglich bei den Ariern im Vorderen Orient verweilt, sowie ausführlich in chronologischer Anordnung die Belege für Pferd und (Streit-)Wagen in den althethitischen Texten bespricht"; Freydank 1964, 120: "Nachdem [Potratz 1938] die ihm damals zugänglichen hethitischen Pferdetexte erstmalig zusammenhängend bearbeitet hatte, haben Neufunde . . . , verbliebene Probleme und der rasche Fortschritt der hethitologischen Forschung eine Neubearbeitung des 'Kikkuli-Textes' und die gleichzeitige Behandlung der verwandten Trainingsanweisungen notwendig gemacht. Dass dies durch A. Kammenhuber mit der *Hippologia hethitica* in so vorbildlicher und unübertroffen sorgfältiger Weise geschehen ist, muss um so mehr begrüsst werden, als sich das Material zur Pferdehaltung inzwischen auch auf benachbarten Gebieten (Assur, Ugarit, Nuzi) um einiges bereichert hat und mit A. Salonens *Hippologica accadica* (1955) und F. Hančars *Das Pferd in prähistorischer und früher historischer Zeit* (1955) umfassende Werke zur Pferdefrage vorliegen."

45 https://www.dnb.de/DE/Ueber-uns/DEA/Nachrichten/_content/gueterbock.html.

46 Güterbock 1964, 269, continues: "Especially the reconstruction of the badly broken 'new' texts (Nos. 2–4) shows how much a prolonged and penetrating occupation with the texts can help toward recognition of certain phrases even if only a few scraps survive. The author can be sure of the admiration and gratitude of all readers for this careful work, even if a few details should require changes on the basis of new finds, fresh collations, or continued study."

question mark nor the footnote at the first (restored) occurrence (p. 67 n. a), which calls this translation a 'Provisorium,' can turn this nonsense into sense." He continued:

> The attitude underlying the whole work is that "the philologist" should produce a reliable translation which the specialist in *hippologicis* then could use as basis for his study. It must be said that even on purely philological grounds the present translation is open to serious criticism. Besides, the whole attitude is highly questionable. Without some knowledge of *realia* the philologist is helpless, since language does reflect real life after all.[47]

Güterbock deliberately delayed the publication of his review so as not to affect Kammenhuber's appointment as chair of Hittitology in Munich; the delay allowed him, he thought, to be candid regarding specific translations of hippological *termini technici* provided by Kammenhuber (Güterbock 1964, 270–72). His disappointment about this when studying her *Hippologia hethitica* for his review is mentioned in his letter and clearly influenced his style, despite his acknowledgment of Kammenhuber's Hittitological merits. However, not all readers, including Kammenhuber, may have understood that at the time.

Kammenhuber's letter, on the other hand, focuses on two parts: Güterbock's above-summarized published critique, interwoven with a personal account of difficulties she was currently facing at the University of Munich. She starts by saying she is glad that this review has finally been published—it was in fact one of two reviews to be published last—and that it did not affect their friendship, despite all the critical comments. However, she expresses astonishment about the review to a point that has led her and two other, unnamed readers to the conclusion that Güterbock's critique might contain a subconscious component of which Güterbock himself is unaware.[48] Given that she and other readers interpreted Goetze's review also as rather harsh,[49] Kammenhuber voices concerns about a possible negative impact on her reputation as a scholar in the context of her career at the University of Munich. She then lists her merits regarding the edition of the Hittite Horse Texts. Her letter closes with a rather dark picture of her future, as she is contemplating leaving the field of Hittitology for good.

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47 Güterbock 1964, 272–73. One of the main results in the introduction to this study (1961) was that Kammenhuber postulated the use of horses and chariots already in Neo-Sumerian times, an idea based on Adam Falkenstein's *editio princeps* of the so-called Šulgi Hymn A (Falkenstein 1952), named after the Neo-Sumerian ruler. In this hymn, Šulgi compares himself to equids, mentions them in other parts of the hymn, and describes how he attended the e š - e š festivities in Nippur and Ur—about 100 km apart—the same day, despite being surprised by a severe storm (*ŠA* lines 72–78)—line 16: a n š e - g í r - n u n - n a ; line 17: ANŠE.KUR.RA; line 18: d ù r - $^{d}$ š a k a n ; line 72: a n š e - e d i n - n a . While many of the terms for equids, including hybrids, have been under discussion for many decades, almost all scholars agree that ANŠE.KUR.RA denotes a domesticated horse (still indispensable are Zarins 1976 [also Zarins with Hauser 2014] and Postgate 1986; see also von den Driesch and Raulwing 2004). As Kammenhuber concludes, ANŠE.KUR.RA not only demonstrates the use of domesticated horses in Babylonia at the end of the third millennium BC but also proves the use of chariots, because Šulgi could not have attended both festivities in one day without a horse-drawn chariot (Kammenhuber 1961, 10–12, esp. 12). In their reviews of Kammenhuber's *Hippologia hethitica*, some authors adopted the interpretation that the earliest written evidence for an autochthonous, pre-Indo-Aryan development of the horse and chariot is attested in Šulgi Hymn A (https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/section2/tr24201.htm; see also, e.g., Potratz 1963, 184; Freydank 1964, 121–22; see also Kammenhuber 1961, 10–14; 1968, 19); others have followed (Wiesner 1968, F 78–F 79; 1971; Bollweg 1999, 75–76; on Bollweg critically, Cholidis 1999, 899n15). However, even if we take into consideration that other equids are mentioned by Šulgi, and even considering the occurrence of $^{giš}$g í g i r , the term identified as a two-wheeler (Šulgi Hymn B, line 122: "My teams of asses do not collapse under me" [cf. https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/section2/tr24202.htm]; Šulgi Hymn D, line 30: "You are a 'chariot,' a wagon set on the road" [cf. https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/section2/tr24204.htm])—evidence that was unknown to Kammenhuber at the time—the Šulgi hymns can hardly be considered proof for the existence of a horse-drawn chariot in the ancient Near East at the end of the third millennium, because these terms do not provide any technological or typological information. To determine that a chariot is a horse-drawn chariot would require that it had spoked wheels, as well as a special type of harness and chariot body construction (Littauer and Crouwel 1979). In addition, the assumption that Šulgi must have used a wheeled vehicle to attend the festivities in both Nippur and Ur the same day has been challenged by a different interpretation of the text and Šulgi's self-acclaimed exhibition of physical prowess (Rollinger 1994; Thompson 2023; see already Littauer and Crouwel 1979, 65n74).

48 Chapter appendix, no. 1 [fol. 3]: "Bei Ihrer Kritik habe ich erst zwei Urteile. Beide Leser hatten den Eindruck, daß unterschwellig-psychologisch etwas ganz anderes vorliegt, dessen Sie sich aber nicht bewußt sind."

49 Chapter appendix, no. 1 [fol. 3]: "Was hat denn Goetze gegen Sie?"

Kammenhuber's letter arrived in Chicago within just a few days and prompted an immediate response, written over the course of two days.[50] First, Güterbock confirms their friendship by pointing out that he feels that adults should be able to separate academic and personal matters and that he hopes he has succeeded.[51] While Goetze's review started with a philological comment on the *Hippologia hethitica*, Güterbock did not want to repeat the same points, correct Goetze and Kammenhuber, or add others. He agrees that Goetze has recently seemed irritable, something Güterbock also noticed in Goetze's letters and in person. Precisely because Goetze combines factual and nonfactual elements (e.g., being irritated that the young generation no longer cites all studies published since the 1920s), Güterbock found it necessary to base his criticism on central *termini technici* in the Hittite Horse Texts, such as the verbs *penna-* and *parḫ-* used for paces or speed of the horses (Güterbock 1964, 270), as well as others,[52] which makes his review by far the most valuable from an interdisciplinary perspective. In addition, Güterbock emphasizes that he deliberately delayed the publication of his review and even interrupted their correspondence for about a year to avoid the possibility that his critique might have a negative impact on Kammenhuber's career. However, regarding the lexical problems of the Hittite Horse Texts, he—as a teacher—asks his colleague in Munich not to hold it against him that he had to admonish her in his review: "as a friend and slightly older colleague, you will hopefully grant me that."[53] Trying to put Kammenhuber's situation in Munich in perspective, Güterbock closes with a quite humorous statement regarding his position at the then-named Oriental Institute, given his forced emigration from Germany in the 1930s: "With our discipline, which is still not considered a 'discipline,' it is a crux—the fact that I got to the two places where it counts as a 'discipline,' I owe to the Führer!"[54] We can leave it at that. It is noteworthy, however, that Güterbock did not review Kammenhuber's book on Indo-Aryans in Anatolia and the ancient Near East, on which I focus in the following section.

### 2.3. KAMMENHUBER, *DIE ARIER IM VORDEREN ORIENT* (1968)

Kammenhuber's publications on the Hittite Horse Texts in the 1950s and early 1960s also resulted in her study of the few (but since the early twentieth century often quoted and discussed) Indo-Aryan *termini technici* found in cuneiform texts from Boğazköy and the ancient Near East.[55] She even taught a class at the University of Munich on the Hittite Horse Texts, and we can assume that those Indo-Aryan terms were discussed with her students.[56] From there, it took only a small spark to ignite her interest in linguistic and

50 Chapter appendix, no. 2 [fol. 8]: "Verzeihen Sie die Länge dieses Briefes, aber die Ihrige erheischte eine prompte und ausführliche Antwort."

51 Chapter appendix, no. 2 [fol. 5]: "Mir scheint, dass zwischen reifen Menschen das Sachliche und das Persönliche auseinander gehalten werden kann, und hoffe, dass es mir gelungen ist, es auseinanderzuhalten."

52 Chapter appendix, no. 2 [fol. 6]: "Gerade weil er Sachliches und Unsachliches (Gereiztheit darüber, dass die junge Generation nicht mehr alles von Adam und Eva an, das heisst von Ḫatt. und Madd. an [see Finkelstein 1974, nos. 2 and 5; Güterbock and Kammenhuber refer to Goetze 1962, 34n9] zitiert verbindet, fand ich es nötig, die Kritik auf die zentralen Begriffe zu gründen." On p. 34 Goetze wrote: "The first chapter of Miss K.'s book . . . tries to sketch the historical framework in which the Hittite horse tablets belong. It gives a good survey of the role of horse and chariot in the Ancient Near East and goes, in some respects, beyond the all-inclusive work of F. Hančar, Das Pferd in prähistorischer und früher historischer Zeit (1956). As [a] guide through history the book by A. Scharff and A. Moortgat, Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum (2. Aufl. 1959) is chosen, I suppose because it is the newest." In n. 9 Goetze comments: "It is apparently felt that the solution to the numerous problems of the IInd millennium have been incorporated in these books and that it is no longer worth while quoting older literature, nor for that matter new literature whenever it disagrees with the preferred authors. An old-timer like me feels queer when in a historical treatment of the problem, neither P. Jensen [1919], nor Ed. Meyer [1925] or H. Schäfer [1931] is quoted anymore."

53 Chapter appendix, no. 2 [fol. 7]: "Sie haben doch in anderen Dingen ein selbstständiges Urteil: warum nicht in lexikalischen Fragen? Bitte verübeln Sie es mir nicht, wenn ich ins Ermahnen verfalle: als Freund und etwas älterem Kollegen werden sie mir das hoffentlich gestatten."

54 Chapter appendix, no. 2 [fol. 7]: "Mit unserem immer noch nicht als 'Fach' angesehenen Fach ist es eine Crux—dass ich an die zwei Orte gekommen bin, wo es als 'Fach' zählt, verdanke ich dem Führer!"

55 The Indo-Aryan hippological *termini technici* are mainly used in the Kikkuli text; the Training Instruction 2 (CTH 285) contains the professional title $^{LÚ}$*aššuššanni* of the horse trainer but is not from Kikkuli.

56 Cf. Lundström and Sallaberger 2013, 118, no. 517: "Hethitische Trainingsanweisung für Wagenpferde."

cultural-historical questions related to Indo-Aryans, and to horses and chariots in Anatolia and the ancient Near East, especially as the increasing number of publications on the Indo-Aryans during the 1950s did not meet Kammenhuber's linguistic standards.[57] It was the renowned Indo-Europeanist and scholar of Indo-Aryan languages Manfred Mayrhofer (1926–2011; see Schmitt 2020), who provided, as always, a thorough and linguistically sound research overview on the then current state of research on the traces of Indo-Iranian languages in the Near East.[58] In 1961, he pointed out at the *XV. Deutsche Orientalistentag* in Göttingen that, in the mid-1950s, a lecture on Indo-Aryan in this context may not have been fully justified, because the by then well-known *termini technici* had been discussed, linguistically classified, and evaluated for decades: already in 1884 Friedrich Delitzsch (1850–1922), who held the first chair in Assyriology in Germany, compared the Kassite name *Šur(i)ya* for the sun god *Šamaš* with Vedic *sūrya-*.[59] In 1907, the aforementioned Winckler published the names of gods in a contract between the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma I and Šattiu̯aza of Mittani from the mid-fourteenth century BC that are known from the Rigveda: Hittite $^{dMEŠ}$*Mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il* (*Mi-it-ra°*) and Vedic *Mitrá*; Hittite $^{dMEŠ}$A-*ru-na-aš-ši-il* (*A-ru-na°*) and Vedic *Váruṇa*; Hittite $^{dMEŠ}$*Na-aš-at-ti-ya-an-na* (*Na-ša-at-ti-ya°*) and Vedic *Nāsatyā*; Hittite $^{d}$*In-da-ra* (*Índra-*) and Vedic *Indra.*[60] In 1910, it was the eminent scholar of Iranian languages Friedrich Carl Andreas (1846–1930) who compared the Hurrian-Indo-Aryan term *maryanni* (Akkadian *maryannu*) with Vedic *márya* "young man, man, hero, lover."[61] In 1919, Peter Jensen (1861–1931) linked specific hippological terms for "round" in the Kikkuli text to Vedic: *aika-u̯artanna*, *tēra-u̯artanna*, *panza-u̯artanna*, *šatta-u̯artanna*, and *na-u̯artanna* for "one round," "three rounds," "five rounds," "seven rounds," and "nine rounds";[62] other terms and studies could be added (Mayrhofer 1966, 19; Raulwing 2004, 518, table 1). However, as Mayrhofer observed, in the 1950s at the latest, Indo-Aryan in Anatolia and the ancient Near East was considered by some scholars a "resolved problem."[63]

That changed with the discovery of new Indo-Aryan and Vedic parallels. In 1957, Wolfram von Soden (1908–96) linked Indo-Aryan-Hurrian *p/babru-nnu* with Vedic *babhrú-* "reddish brown, brown," *p/binkara-nnu* with Vedic *piṅgalá-* "reddish brown, reddish, reddish yellow, greenish yellow," and *p/baritta-nnu* with Vedic *palitá-* "gray," which most probably refer to the colors of horses (von Soden 1957, 336–37).[64] Von Soden, at the time a professor at the University of Vienna, encouraged his colleague Heinz Kronasser to join him in a collaborative work, which the latter published in 1957 with the outcome of connecting Indo-Aryan-Hurrian *mak/ga-nni* and Vedic *maghá-* "present, gift" (Kronasser 1957, 184–85) and, the following year, etymologically linking *mani-nnu* "necklace" and Vedic *maṇí-* "jewelry" (Kronasser 1958, 127), a term that was also used in a letter from the Mittani king Tušratta to Amenhotep III, listing inventory gifts using

57 Mayrhofer 1966, 99ff.; the number of studies evaluated by Mayrhofer in which Indo-Aryan *termini technici* are discussed did grow significantly from the second half of the 1950s to the 1970s.

58 Mayrhofer 1961, 451–55 ("Der heutige Forschungsstand zu den indoiranischen Sprachresten in Vorderasien").

59 Delitzsch 1884, 40; Mayrhofer 1961, 451. On the Indo-Aryan terms discussed here, see Mayrhofer 1966, 1974, 1982, 2006, and his EWAIa s.v., index (2001).

60 Mayrhofer 1966, 144 s.v.; see also Raulwing 2013, 255 and n35. Still indispensable is Thieme 1960, which proved that the religious beliefs of the Mitanni Aryans were also distinctively Indo-Aryan, meaning that *Mitra-Varuṇa*, *Indra*, and the *Nāsatyā* in Proto-Aryan times did not all exist in this form and with these names. Thus they can be attributed to a development within only the Indo-Aryan group, not the Avestan tradition. Thieme concluded (1960, 315–17) that there was no Proto-Aryan **Varuna-* (but [**Mitra-*]**Asura-*); that in the Proto-Aryan, as in the Avesta, there was only a single **Nāsatyā-*; and that perhaps *Indra* also replaced **Vṛtraghna-*. Examples of recent studies on Indo-Aryan are Burgin 2017; Fournet 2010; Kosyan 2006; Petrosyan 2018.

61 Winckler 1910, 291: "Ich verdanke meine sanskritische Weisheit F. C. Andreas." See also Raulwing 2013, 256–57; Burmeister and Raulwing 2023, 16 and n17; von Dassow 2018, 239–40.

62 Jensen 1919. Cf. the Vedic numerals *éka-* "one," *trí-* "three," *páñza-* "five," *sápta-* "seven," *náva-* "nine" (the Indo-Aryan form *na-* has been haplologically shortened from *náva-*), and the Vedic term *vartaní-* "way, path, course," etc.

63 Mayrhofer 1961, 452: ". . . und manchen schien das 'Mitanni-Arisch', wie man es oft abkürzend nannte, schon ein 'erledigtes Problem.'"

64 See Mayrhofer 1969, 143: von Soden's "Ergebnis scheint mir weiterhin so sauber und plausibel, wie unter den gegebenen Umständen nur erreichbar ist. Seine Ablehnung aus Furcht vor den Tücken des Zufalls würde ich zwar nicht teilen, aber als Ausfluß redlicher wissenschaftlicher Haltung akzeptieren. Die Verfasserin jedoch geht gegen die arischen Ausgangsformen mit linguistischen Argumenten vor, die nun leider ziemlich entlarvend sind."

*mani-nnu* to refer to a "necklace [as part of the harness (decoration) for chariot horses]."[65] It might be added here that Mayrhofer himself added more etymological parallels: Indo-Aryan-Hurrian *mišta-nnu* "bounty" and Vedic *mīḍhá-* "booty, price for fight"; Indo-Aryan-Hurrian *u̯adura-nni* "bride price" and Vedic *vadhū-* "bride, young woman"; and, together with Hildegard Lewy (1903–67), the hapax legomenon from Nuzi *martia-nni* with Vedic *mártiya-* "man, person, warrior."[66]

"This unexpected influx of Aryan appellatives in Hurrian clothing, from the very last years," as Mayrhofer concluded, "thus gives us the right to speak of a 'new state of research,' which differs significantly from that of 1956." It is, at the latest, in 1961 with the publication of her *Hippologia hethitica* that Kammenhuber got involved in the discussion of Indo-Aryan-Hurrian *termini technici* and possible Vedic parallels of which she was genuinely skeptical. This skepticism can be seen in her objection to von Soden's etymological comparison of the abovementioned terms from Nuzi[67]—a suggestion, so to say, "hidden" in a review on the edition of cuneiform texts from Nuzi, a publication that would most probably not be consulted by Indo-Europeanists and Indologists.[68] In her letter to Güterbock of May 30, 1965, Kammenhuber seems to inform him about her interest in and studies on Indo-Aryan, which would be published three years later as her monograph *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient* (1968): "If I ever finish the Aryan article I started (I did not want to provide 100 individual supplements to Hippologia hethitica as other colleagues like to do)."[69] In fact, her book *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient* does contain a chapter regarding the Indo-Aryans directly connected to her *Hippologia hethitica*.[70] Chapters 1–4 were completed between October 1965 and February 1966 and chapters 7–11 in September and October 1966. Kammenhuber also presented the main results to her students, although her courses at the University of Munich do not seem to reflect it, given the topics published in the course catalog for those years.[71]

In Kammenhuber's obituary, Alfonso Archi praised her as a "woman of great character" who "was not afraid of discussion and sometimes of polemic. In some of her writings there are perhaps some rather severe judgements; but these have at least served to discourage the facile producers of etymologies" (Archi 1997, 88). Archi's estimation describes perfectly a large part of Kammenhuber's academic career and is also particularly characteristic of the discussion of Hurrian-Indo-Aryan *termini technici* from the late 1960s onward, which is distinguished by a certain "minimalism"[72] with regard to the acceptance of proposed etymologies

65 EA 22 I: 12–14; cf. Moran 1992, 51–57 (translation), 57–62 (commentary).

66 For a more detailed overview, see Raulwing 2013, 258.

67 Kammenhuber 1961, 20 with n78; von Soden 1957, 336–37.

68 Emphasized in Kronasser 1957, 181.

69 Chapter appendix, no. 1 [fol. 1]: "Wenn ich je meinen angefangenen Arierartikel zu Ende schreibe (ich wollte nicht 100 Einzelbeiträge zu Hipp. heth. liefern, wie es andere Kollegen so gern tun)."

70 Kammenhuber 1968, 17–22 ("Zur vorderorientalischen Seite der Arier-Frage, anknüpfend an Hippologia hethitica 1961").

71 Kammenhuber 1968, 10–11: "verdanke ich noch so manche Anregung und Klärung den Diskussionen mit meinen Studenten, denen ich meine Untersuchungsergebnisse im Sommersemester 1966 unterbreitete." It is unclear whether this refers to Kammenhuber's classes that year, as the course catalog does not provide clarification on the matter ("1141. Hethitische Mythen, . . . 1142. Einführung ins Luwische, Palaische und Hieroglyphenluwische II . . . , 1143. Texte zur Geschichte Kizzuwatnas/Kilikiens . . . 1144. Übungen zu den 'hethitischen' Ortsnamen").

72 von Soden 1970, 226: "Erschwert wird diese dadurch, daß das Thema hier m. E. ohne Not erneut stark emotional aufgeheizt wurde und daß oft keineswegs sine ira et studio argumentiert wird. Die unverkennbare Tendenz, die Bedeutung der Arier für den alten Orient zu minimalisieren, führt dazu, daß nicht überall die gleichen strengen Maßstäbe an die Argumente angelegt werden. Für alle arischen Etymologien sind sie äußerst streng, und der Grundsatz 'in dubio contra reum' führt bei manchen kontroversen Fragen zu apodiktischen Urteilen, die durch das verfügbare Material nicht gerechtfertigt werden." See also Mayrhofer 1969, 140: "Die neue Monographie über die vorderasiatischen Arier, die hier anzuzeigen ist, folgt dieser Linie einer vorsichtigen und skeptischen Befragung des Materials; durch frühere Arbeiten hat die Verfasserin schon zu der erfreulichen 'Entmythologisierung' des Arier-Themas mit beigetragen, welche vorwiegend die gegenwärtige Fachliteratur bestimmt. Einige Partien des Buches lassen allerdings die Befürchtung aufkeimen, es müsse weiterhin ein Element des Extremen der Arier-Forschung beigemengt bleiben: nur daß dem Extrem der Überschätzung und romanhaften Überzeichnung, das jahrzehntelang dieses Thema belastete, nun ein Extrem im Leugnen und Wegdisputieren folgen müsse, das wieder von der Wahrheit fortzuführen droht"; and Mayrhofer 1969, 141, for horses, chariots, and Indo-Aryans: "Die richtige Erkenntnis, die Hurriter seien schon vor dem Eindringen des arischen Elementes im Besitze der altorientalischen materiellen Kultur und der im Alten Orient entwickelten Wagentechnik gewesen, führt zu der übersteigerten Folgerung, es

to be added to the Indo-Aryan language attested in Anatolia and the ancient Near East. As Kammenhuber's colleague in Munich, the eminent Assyriologist and Sumerologist Dietz Otto Edzard (1931–2004), summarized: "One could almost call this book 'The Two Aryans in the Near East'; because the author does not believe she can recognize much more than two truly Aryan personal names in the second half of the 2nd millennium BC in the Near East."[73] This minimalism can be seen in the reception of her book *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient* (1968), which received a fairly large number of reviews[74] and three review articles by Mayrhofer (1969), Igor Diakonoff (1972), and, surprisingly, a twenty-seven-page critique by Wüst published in 1974 with the title "Indo-Arier im Vorderen Orient: Notizen zu einem unkonventionellen Buch." In the following section I take a closer look at Wüst's review.

### 2.4. WALTHER WÜST'S REVIEW (1974) OF KAMMENHUBER'S *DIE ARIER IM VORDEREN ORIENT* (1968)

After having been dismissed from the University of Munich and denazified, Walther Wüst led, more or less, a *Schattendasein* compared to his stellar career in the 1920s and early 1930s and his prominent position in the "Third Reich." In the summer of 1945, he was arrested as a high-ranking *SS* officer by the American military police and spent three years in the labor camps of Moosburg, Landsberg, and Dachau in Bavaria. With the verdict in the denazification proceedings of November 9, 1949, Wüst was classified as *belastet* (level II: offenders) and sentenced to three years, which he had already served as a result of his internment from 1945 to 1948. Wüst was ordered to pay 500 DM, as well as 1,780 DM in legal costs for the court proceedings. After lodging an appeal against the verdict—and thanks to the skillful arguments of his lawyer Alfred Seidl (1911–93),[75] as Maximilian Schreiber (2008, 11, 347) pointed out—Wüst was convicted in a second trial as *minderbelastet* (level III: lesser offenders). Along with other restrictions, he lost his legal entitlement to a pension and was no longer allowed to vote, be elected, or be a member of a political party. The court justified its ruling by stating that Wüst had contributed significantly to strengthening and maintaining the national socialist dictatorship and had poisoned the minds and souls of young people through Nazi social teaching and education.[76]

In his postwar publications, Wüst continued his studies in Indo-European linguistics, focused mainly on historical comparative linguistics and Indo-Iranian lexicography.[77] In 1955, he founded the linguistic series *PHMA*:[78] *Mitteilungen zur idg., vornehmlich indo-iranischen Wortkunde sowie zur holothetischen*

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sei prinzipiell unwahrscheinlich, daß sich im Hurritischen Lehnwörter für Eigenschaften von Pferden, für Wagenteile oder Schmuckstücke fanden, die aus der Sprache der Arier übernommen seien: alle diese Dinge hätten die Hurriter ja vor deren Ankunft schon besessen. Nach dieser Prämisse dürfte keine Sprache eines hochzivilisierten Volkes Lehnwörter haben; im mitannischen Falle war zudem das Arische einmal die Sprache des Königshauses gewesen, und es sollte bekannt sein, daß auch geläufige Benennungen oft gegen entsprechende Wörter der herrschenden Schicht ausgetauscht werden." See also Kammenhuber 1988, 41–42.

73 Edzard 1970, 310: "Fast könnte man dieses Buch 'Die beiden Arier im Vorderen Orient' nennen; denn viel mehr als zwei wirklich hieb- und stichfest arische Personenamen glaubt die Verfasserin in der zweiten Hälfte des II. Jts. v.Chr. im Vorderen Orient nicht anerkennen zu dürfen."

74 Fohrer 1969; Hawkins 1969; Klengel 1969; Mittelberger 1969; Carruba 1970; Edzard 1970; Kümmel 1970; Laroche 1970; Sternemann 1970; Szemerényi 1970; Villar Liébana 1970; von Soden 1970; Cornelius 1971; Giorgadze 1971; Helck 1971; Klíma 1971; Duchesne-Guillemin 1972; Goetze 1972.

75 Wüst's defense counsellor Dr. Alfred Seidl was, among others, the counsel for the former *Reichsleiter* Hans Frank (1900–46), as well as the second counsel for the *Stellvertreter des Führers* Rudolf Hess (1894–1987) at the International Military Tribunal trial of war criminals at Nuremberg. Seidl later became Bavarian minister of justice (1974–77), Bavarian interior minister (1977–78), and member of the *Landtag* (state parliament) of Bavaria. See also Junginger 2017b, 931–32.

76 Schreiber 2008, 11, 347 with archival sources.

77 Schreiber 2008, 357. Between 1955 and 1972, Wüst also published three entries in the German biographical reference work *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (see Wüst 1955, 1957a, 1972). See also his study on Indo-European *pélek̂u-* "ax" (Wüst 1956), which he published for the Finnish Academy. Furthermore, he wrote articles for established journals such as the *Annali Istituto Universitario Orientale, Sezione linguistica* in Naples, and *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* (Wüst 1960, 1961). We can also add his contribution to the jubilee volume of the eminent British Indologist Ralph L. Turner (1888–1983); see Wüst 1977–78.

78 ῥῆμα, for "that which is said or spoken, word, saying." Wüst laid out the linguistic approach of his "holothetic language theory" in his article "Steinzeitforschung und holothetische Sprachtheorie"; Wüst 1957b, 103ff.). Wüst uses "holothetic" in

*Sprachtheorie*.[79] Wüst dedicated volume 1 to his former *SS-Ahnenerbe* colleague, the abovementioned *SS-Obersturmführer* Viktor Christian, professor of ancient Semitic philology and Oriental archaeology at the University of Vienna until 1945.[80] As already indicated in his article on Stone Age research and holothetic language theory (Wüst 1957b), he also stayed in contact with other former Nazi colleagues, such as the Indologist and scholar of religious studies Jacob Wilhelm Hauer (1881–1962),[81] and *SS-Ahnenerbe* comrades, such as Franz Altheim (1898–1976)[82] and Rudolf Till (1911–79),[83] and he remained connected to his former student, the abovementioned distinguished scholar of Indo-Iranian languages Karl Hoffmann, who advised him regarding linguistic inquires.[84] In addition, Wüst thanked, among others, Annelies Kammenhuber for valuable written information and kind assistance in obtaining scholarly literature.[85]

In the 1960s, Wüst made himself available to Michael H. Kater for interviews in the course of his groundbreaking doctoral dissertation on the *SS-Ahnenerbe* (Kater 2006), which also includes correspondence and

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the sense of the Greek meaning of the two elements as "auf Ganze eingestellt" or, as he preferred, "aufs Ganze gesetzt." Wüst informs the reader that he, the former Heidelberg psychiatrist Carl Schneider (1891–1946), the prehistorian Oswald Menghin (1888–1973), the professor of English philology Friedrich Schubel (1904–91), and others coined the term "holothetisch" in 1945 while discussing "problems of the so-called universal anthropology and, included in this, of course, the fundamental questions of general and especially of Indo-European linguistics" over a period of nine months (1957b, 103–4). What Wüst chose not to tell his readers is that Carl Schneider, former director of the Psychiatric University Hospital in Heidelberg and *Gauamtsleiter* of the *Rassenpolitisches Amt* of the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP) in the *Gau* Baden, committed suicide in custody in Frankfurt am Main after having been arrested for his alleged involvement in crimes in the medical field during the Nazi era (see Teller 1990, 470ff., on Schneider in the Third Reich). Due to his "mediating role between the Christian/Austrofascist and the German National/National Socialist camps," Oswald Menghin is considered "an academic pioneer of National Socialism in Austria," as Robert Obermair (2017, 490) summarized; see also Obermair 2024, 349ff., on Menghin after the *Anschluss* of Austria. Friedrich Schubel was a member of the *SS* and NSDAP. He served as an interpreter from 1939 to 1945 (https://www.gutenberg-biographics.ub.uni-mainz.de/personen/register/eintrag/friedrich-schubel.html). As these few examples demonstrate, Wüst's "holothetic language theory" in the context of *Gestalt* psychology developed by Felix Krueger (1874–1948) is beyond the scope of this article; on Krueger, see Hamann 2017.

79 Abbreviated in the original (*idg.* = *indogermanisch*). See also the detailed review by Regamey (1959) and the brief critique by Tovar (1957). Cf. Wüst's (1959) reply to Regamey.

80 Dedication: "Victori Christian | collegae, magistro, sodali | venerabiliter oblatum." Among other positions, Christian was director of the *SS-Ahnenerbe* department *Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für den Vorderen Orient*. He was dismissed from the University of Vienna on June 6, 1945, due to his "illegal" membership in the NSDAP and his *SS* membership and classified as *belastet* according to the Law on National Socialists in 1947. He was rehabilitated in 1950 as part of the amnesty legislation and transferred to regular retirement with pension benefits; see https://geschichte.univie.ac.at/de/personen/viktor-christian. On Christian, see Leitner 2010.

81 See "Redaktionelle Vorbemerkung," in *PHMA* 4 (1958) and *PHMA* 7 (1961) title back pages. On Hauer, see Junginger 2017a; Poewe and Hexham 2005.

82 See "Redaktionelle Vorbemerkung," in *PHMA* 7 (1961) title back page. On Altheim, see Losemann 1977, 123–32.

83 See "Redaktionelle Vorbemerkung," in *PHMA* 7 (1961) title back page. On Till, see Losemann 1977, 132–38; Schreiber 2006, 216–20 and passim.

84 See "Redaktionelle Vorbemerkung," in *PHMA* 3 (1957) title back page, and Sharma 1959/60, vii–viii (preface by Walther Wüst); this dissertation had been written in 1939 at the University of Munich, and Wüst explains in his preface why he published it in *PHMA* twenty years later: "Da der Verfasser als Head of the Sanskrit-Department der Osmania University-Hyderabad (Dn.) sowie als Director of the Sanskrit Academy seiner Universität infolge der damit verbundenen, ausgedehnten Lehr-, Forschungs- und Verwaltungsverpflichtungen praktisch verhindert war, ist die Vorbereitung der Drucklegung, von einigen wenigen, dankenswerten Einzelauskünften und Hinweisen Aryendra Sharmas abgesehen, dem Herausgeber [Walther Wüst] anheimgefallen, der sich dabei der ebenso verständnisvollen Mithilfe wie der sublim-subtilen Kennerschaft Karl Hoffmanns versicherte und erfreute. Verfasser und Herausgeber danken deshalb dem 'classmate' [Karl Hoffmann] von damals, heute Ordinarius für vergleichende idg. Sprachwissenschaft und indo-iranische Philologie–Universität Erlangen, schon an dieser Stelle für seine gern gewährte, mühe- aber auch wertvolle Mitarbeit auf das herzlichste. Der Kundige sieht unschwer, wie die vereinbarte massvolle Modernisierung gehandhabt worden ist und welchen Anteil an der Herausgabe des Ganzen Karl Hoffmann hat. Während dieser den philologisch besonders schwierigen Findlingen und den mit ihnen belasteten Einzelproblemen innerhalb des Originalschrifttums auf oft heillos verschlungenen Pfaden am Faden einer neukonstituierten Methodologie ergebnisreich nachspürte, habe ich selbst mehr dem Gesamt-Text, namentlich in seinen technischen Einzelzügen wie auch in seiner sprachgeschichtlichen Aussage mich gewidmet. . . . [Further corrections in Sharma's text were made] unter regelmässigem Zugriff der besseren Hand Karl Hoffmanns." See also Sharma 1959/60, v.

85 See "Redaktionelle Vorbemerkung," in *PHMA* 4 (1958) title back page: "Durch wertvolle schriftliche Auskunft bzw. durch freundliche Mithilfe bei der Beschaffung wissenschaftlicher Literatur haben mich in dankenswerter Weise unterstützt: . . . Annelies Kammenhuber–München."

documents from various private collections and other interviewees.[86] Regarding the dissertation's interviews with Wüst, however, Kater's accusations that he was an accomplice in the execution of members of the *Weiße Rose* and the horrific human experiments in Dachau and Natzweiler, effectively accusing him of murder, seemed to have surprised Wüst, who demanded via his lawyer, Alfred Seidl, that all copies of Kater's work be "destroyed nationwide" and called on the University of Heidelberg to "withdraw" Kater's doctorate[87]—as Wüst would probably have done as dean of the University of Munich in the 1940s.[88]

Some information regarding the rather late publication date of Wüst's review article of Kammenhuber's book on Indo-Aryans in the ancient Near East (1968) is provided in the first footnote of his critique: Wüst, it is briefly explained, was asked by the editors of the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* at the end of October 1968 to write a review article. He completed his article a year later. However, it was not until May 1973 that his review was accepted by the editors of *Die Sprache*, for the 1974 issue.[89] From the information provided in Wüst's review, it is not clear what caused the delay or what caused the editors of *Die Sprache* to agree to print a review that, at this point in the discussion of Indo-Aryan in ancient Near Eastern sources, was already slightly outdated,[90] a move that was, at the time, practically beating a dead horse (no pun intended). Although, as we all know, a review can be delayed for all kinds of reasons, in Wüst's case—if one actually values his opinion on this topic—it might have been more helpful for the discussion to publish a study focused on Indo-Aryan instead of a review article in 1974 on a book from 1968, especially since the discussion became more animated. In particular, the publication of an article by Igor Diakonoff (1915–99) in 1972 with the provocative title "Die Arier im Vorderen Orient: Ende eines Mythos (zur Methodik der Erforschung verschollener Sprachen)"[91] put oil on the fire. Most critical of Diakonoff's article was Mayrhofer, who then reviewed all the linguistic material again and issued a sharp rejection of Diakonoff's statement that Kammenhuber's book ended the so-called Aryan Myth.[92] In any case, a note on Wüst's role between 1933 and 1945—ideally from himself and especially for those who were not aware of his commitment to the Third Reich, such as students—would certainly have been appropriate, however far from reality in those days.

86 Kater 2006, 468–70. The interview minutes are archived in the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* in Munich.

87 Kater 2006, 525–26: "Als ich Wüst dann in der Dissertation von 1966 als Mitschuldigen an der Hinrichtung der Geschwister Scholl und den gräßlichen Menschenversuchen in Dachau und Natzweiler gewissermaßen des Mordes beschuldigt hatte, versuchte der zwangsemeritierte Ordinarius mit Hilfe seines Anwalts, des Nürnberger Rudolf Heß-Verteidigers und späteren bayerischen Innenministers Alfred Seidl, die Universität Heidelberg dazu zu zwingen, meine Promotion zu annullieren und die Dissertation bundesweit einstampfen zu lassen. Dieses wurde dann dank der Rechtsautonomie der deutschen Universitäten—meiner Alma mater sei's gedankt—zum Glück verhindert. Aber die Episode wirft ein Schlaglicht auf den langandauernden Einfluß ehemaliger Nationalsozialisten und gewisser, mit ihnen sympathisierender, Stützen der Gesellschaft in der frühen Bundesrepublik, sowie die Gefahren vorsätzlicher Legendenbildung. Selbstverständlich hat Wüst mir gegenüber immer behauptet, von den Menschenversuchen des 'Ahnenerbes' so gut wie keine Ahnung und noch weniger Zuständigkeit darüber gehabt zu haben (er hatte in diesem Zusammenhang immer nur Sievers unterschreiben lassen); die Hinrichtung der Geschwister Scholl habe er bei Himmler zu verhindern gesucht."

88 See Schreiber 2008, 103–4, 343–44, on the mentioned Kurt Huber, whose doctoral degree was revoked as Wüst accused him of having committed an "act of treason against the state" and was therefore now "unworthy" to continue to hold an academic title.

89 Wüst 1974, 136n*: "Übernahme der Besprechung (in Form eines Rezensions-Aufsatzes für WZKM.) Ende Okt. 1968, Niederschrift des Ms. Sept./Anfang Okt. 1971, Einsendung (nach Abruf durch die Redaktion) Ende Mai 1973, Übernahme durch die Redaktion der 'Sprache' November/Anfang Dez. 1973."

90 Wüst 1974, 136n1, lists—next to n. 61 in *Die Sprache* 15: 203, about Kammenhuber 1968—the reviews he consulted: Edzard 1970; Hawkins 1969; Kümmel 1970; Mayrhofer 1969; Mittelberger 1969. Wüst did not consult the other reviews listed in my n74 above.

91 Diakonoff 1972; originally published in 1970 in *Vestnik Drevneij istorii* 114: 39–36.

92 Poliakov 1977, as well as the three theses by Pachler, Pernsteiner, and Summerer all submitted in 1998. This topic is, however, an entirely different one.

Given Kammenhuber's minimalistic view toward Indo-Aryan etymologies and the role of Indo-Aryans in the Near East as such,[93] Wüst noted, as other reviewers did, a "prevailing mood of resignation . . . which stands in a curious relation to the author's combative expression that helps shape the entire book."[94] Wüst's review is, unsurprisingly, devoid of any racial or anti-Semitic content, as well as any references to Nazi ideology; he speaks, for example, of documents belonging to "people whose ethnically and culturally closest tribal relatives we see in the earliest Vedic population,"[95] a comment that would have sounded, we can assume, much different before 1945. As Kammenhuber pointed out to Güterbock in her letter of May 1965, she would refrain from replying in print to the criticism of her *Hippologia hethitica*; at this point it is unknown to me how she reacted to Wüst's review article, published six years after the publication of her book on Indo-Aryans in the Near East (1968) and in the journal *Die Sprache*, so closely associated with one of her main critics, Manfred Mayrhofer.

In summary, Kammenhuber's review of Mayrhofer's 1966 book[96] and her 1968 monograph mark the beginning of a harsh controversy with Mayrhofer;[97] especially after the publication of Diakonoff's article in 1972, Mayrhofer refuted Diakonoff's and Kammenhuber's *Hyperkritik*.[98] At the same time, the discussion

93 See also Kammenhuber 1976–80, 94–95, §3 ("Da keine [Indo-]Arier in Vorderasien nachzuweisen sind . . ."); 1988, 40–44, here 44: "As it turned out in 1961 and 1968, there were still fewer demonstrably (Indo-)Aryan words, personal names, and god names than Mayrhofer presumed."

94 Wüst 1974, 138, also 162. On p. 140 Wüst summerizes in his typical syntax: "Meine Gesamt-Urteilsbildung ist zu einem gewissen Teile dadurch gefördert worden, daß die erschienenen Rezensionen bereits kritisch eine ganze Reihe genereller negativer Aspekte der Kammenhuber'schen Monographie zur Sprache gebracht haben, eine Stellungnahme, welche durch meine eigene Lektüre nur noch bestätigt zu werden brauchte. Hiebei handelt es sich um folgende Fakten, die scheinbar zwar nur Äußerliches betreffen, in Wirklichkeit aber bis in den Kern der Sache hineinreichen: das Werk ist, worauf die Verf. selber verschiedentlich hinweist, nicht aus einem Guß, sondern in exakt abgegrenzten Zeit-Abschnitten erwachsen. Die unvermeidliche Folge davon sind bedauerlich viele Einschübe, Nachträge, Wiederholungen, Zusätze, so daß die wünschenswerte Gliederung des komplizierten Gegenstandes darunter leidet und die Forderung erhoben worden ist, das 'sehr breit gehaltene Buch' 'könnte stark gekürzt werden', zumal die 'Ausführungen in VI–X weitgehend überflüssig, zumindest zu breit' sind."

95 Wüst 1974, 159: "Für mich sind—und waren—diese Sprachreste allein schon vom rein Linguistisch-Philologischen her betrachtet, also ohne Einbezug archäologisch-prähistorischer Details, Dokumente von Menschen, deren ethnisch-kulturell nächststehende Stammesverwandte wir in der frühest-vedischen Bevölkerung voll-historisch—nur eben z. T. zeitlich schon wesentlich früher bezeugt—vor uns sehen."

96 See, e.g., Kammenhuber 1967b, 139: "M[ayrhofer] hat das durch eine fast achtzigjährige Forschungsgeschichte belastete Problem nicht genug durchschaut, was einmal im Interesse der Forschung, deren Aufgabe ja die Ermittlung der Wahrheit ist, ausgesprochen werden muß; allzu lange haben sich nämlich die Indogermanisten auf die orientalistischen Ergebnisse verlassen und die Orientalisten auf die indogermanistischen. Hinzu tritt bei M. auch . . . ein merkwürdiges Unvermögen(?), wichtige Literatur gegenüber unwichtigerer in den Zitaten zu unterscheiden . . . , so daß man sich von Mayrhofers Indo-Arier aus nur mühsam über die Quellenlage und Primäruntersuchungen informieren kann." Any neutral reader of the book by Mayrhofer (1966) would probably have reservations about agreeing with Kammenhuber's judgment.

97 Cf. Mayrhofer 1969, 141n3: "3. Der prinzipielle Einwand gegen die Annahme, Wörter für Schmuckgegenstände, die vorwiegend in Geschenklisten eines Mitanni-Königs mit arischem Namen erscheinen, könnten hurritische Lehnwörter aus dem Arischen sein, ist darum eine arge Zumutung"; 141–42: "Das verfehlte Referat etwa von Thiemes subtilen Gedankengängen . . . zeigt, daß die Verfasserin—was der ausgezeichneten Hethitologin niemand abverlangen wird—kompliziertere indo-iranistische Folgerungen nicht zu erfassen vermag. Da ihr dieser Umstand jedoch verborgen geblieben ist, sieht sie mehrmals ein indoiranistisches Argument nur deshalb als falsch an, weil es sich ihrem Verständnis verschließt.—Ich erlaube mir, einen Musterfall für das unglückliche Zusammenwirken beider Schwächen vorzuführen"; 144: "Und mit dieser peinlichen Probe sprachwissenschaftlicher Beweisführung verbindet sich der Vorwurf an die bisherige Forschung." On the other hand, Kammenhuber did not mince words either; cf. Kammenhuber 1967b, 131: "Da M[ayrhofer] sich von der ziemlich wirren Sekundärliteratur, anstatt von den Primärquellen aus, den Weg bahnen mußte, sind auch ihm ebenso wie den meisten seiner Vorgänger einige wichtige Punkte, die die Formulierung aus §1 nicht mehr rechtfertigen, entgangen"; 137ff.: "M. verfällt hier ebenso wie alle anderen Indogermanisten, die sich mit den vorderasiatischen arischen Sprachresten befaßt haben, in den Kardinalfehler, daß er sämtliche Schreibungen aus sämtlichen zur Diskussion stehenden Keilschriftarchiven nach der hethitischen Graphik beurteilt"; 139: "Er gibt aber hier . . . letztlich ein schiefes Bild, weil er in Bibliographie und Registern (S. 129ff.) in der bewußten Einseitigkeit der Zielsetzung oft nur die indo-iranistischen Deutungen eines Wortes berücksichtigt, hingegen vielfach nicht die gewöhnlich sicheren genuin hethitischen oder genuin hurrischen"; etc.—and those quotations are examples from just two reviews.

98 See the titles of Mayrhofer 1973a, 1973b, 1974; cf. also Maran 2020, 507.

on Indo-Aryan and Indo-Aryans in Anatolia and the ancient Near East shifted into a contemporaneous historical and political sphere. However, Diakonoff's postulated "End of the Aryan Myth"—as deduced from Kammenhuber's book—did not end the discussion of the Indo-Aryan linguistic evidence, nor were Diakonoff and Kammenhuber successful in convincing a majority of their colleagues in the field.[99] The confrontation between Kammenhuber and Mayrhofer reached its peak in the first half of the 1970s, when, as seen above, they discussed the evidence in great detail, often with their gloves off.[100] While Kammenhuber's described tendency to minimalize almost all linguistic traces of Indo-Aryan in the Near East was criticized by many colleagues, it was Mayrhofer who was able to find common ground by offering the most sound and plausible linguistic arguments embedded in a deep understanding of the history of research, as demonstrated in his studies published between 1959 and 2006;[101] this observation was confirmed by almost all reviewers of Mayrhofer's 1966 and 1974 books.[102] It was the combination of Mayrhofer's undisputed merits in Indo-European linguistics and Indo-Iranian languages,[103] and his ability to visualize complicated linguistic problems, that contributed to his reputation as the foremost expert in this matter.

Reflecting on Kammenhuber's research on Indo-Aryan, one cannot help but be reminded of her teacher Ferdinand Sommer's attempt in 1932 to invalidate Forrer's at the time almost sensational hypothesis of Greek names attested in Hittite sources,[104] a dispute known as the "Aḫḫijawa Question."[105] While Sommer (1932) left no linguistic, philological, or historical argument unturned,[106] he ultimately failed to disprove

99 See the title of Diakonoff 1972, and esp. 120: "Und das ist also das Ende des Mythos von der kolossalen Rolle der arischen Kulturträger in Altvorderasien. Das Bewußtsein, daß der Todesstoß gegen diesen Mythos aus Deutschland kommt, gibt dem Gefühl für poetische Gerechtigkeit eine Genugtuung. . . . Jedoch: Leichtsinn und Anpassung an die jeweilige außerwissenschaftliche Konjunktur führen bei der Behandlung von wissenschaftlichen Tatsachen immer zu deren Verfälschung, was nie ungestraft bleibt." See Mayrhofer 1974, 11–12; 1982, 306–7 with n13. This topic certainly needs further attention from the point of the history of research.

100 Mayrhofer 1961, 1966, 1974 with bibliographical references. See also Kammenhuber 1976–80, 1977, 1988. See also Hawkins 1969, 594: "The material of the book, however, is somewhat tiresomely and repetitiously presented, at much greater length than necessary, and with a wealth of confusing divisions and sub-paragraphs. From the series of which this volume forms a part, one might suppose that it was intended as a general handbook on the subject, but one has the feeling at times that Dr. Kammenhuber is more concerned with carrying on a private war with her more optimistic colleagues. Ultimately an evaluation must depend on one's view of her methods of analysis of the material. These provide a valuable corrective to much slack scholarship of the past, but the suspicion remains that she may have overcorrected. Certainly, little remains of 'die Arier im Vorderen Orient' after her treatment of the subject."

101 Mayrhofer 1959, 1960, 1961, 1964, 1965a, 1965b, 1965c, 1965d, 1969, 1973a, 1973b, 1982, 1994, 1996b, 2006.

102 Reviews of Mayrhofer 1966: Dressler 1967; Friedrich 1967; Kammenhuber 1967b; Leumann 1967; von Soden 1967; Zgusta 1967; Brunner 1968; Vermeer 1968; Astour 1969; Słuszkiewicz 1969; Eggermont 1970; Kümmel 1971. Reviews of Mayrhofer 1974: Pisani 1975; Pohl 1975; von Soden 1975; Canard 1975–76; Degen 1976; Hettrich 1976; Schmeja 1976; Schwarzschild 1976; Tischler 1976; Loretz 1977; Burrow 1978; Steiner 1979. See also *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 87: 257 and Kammenhuber's review article of Mayrhofer 1974 (Kammenhuber 1977, 129–31 [review], 131–43 [on the Hurrians]).

103 We should not forget the publication of Mayrhofer's etymological dictionary of Old Indo-Aryan (EWAIa) between 1992 and 1996; the index was published in 2001.

104 Forrer 1924a, 1924b, 1932 (see Fischer 2010, 80–81); Sommer 1932; see Oberheid 2007, 101–52.

105 Fischer 2010. On the feud between Sommer and Forrer, see Fischer 2010, 8–10.

106 If one rereads Sommer's preface to his book *Die Aḫḫijavā-Urkunden* (1932) in the light of what has been elaborated so far, some parallels to his former student Annelies Kammenhuber's concept and approach seem to be recognizable in the preface: "Dies Buch habe ich eigentlich wider Willen geschrieben und nur auf wiederholtes Drängen vonseiten mehrerer Vertreter der althistorischen Disziplin. An sich interessierte mich als Sprachforscher auf hethitischem Gebiet die 'Griechenfrage' nur sekundär, die für sie heranzuziehenden Texte so gut wie gar nicht, da sie eine ersprießliche sprachliche Ausbeute schon großenteils des traurigen Zustandes ihrer Überlieferung wegen nicht erhoffen ließen, von allen weiteren Schwierigkeiten ganz zu schweigen. Ich habe mich längere Zeit gesträubt, die Arbeit auf mich zu nehmen. Nicht aus dem Gefühl heraus, daß mit ihr klärlich nicht das zu erzielen war, was man insgemein einen aufsehenerregenden Erfolg nennt, das Ergebnis mochte dabei sein wie es wollte, Bestätigung oder Widerlegung beziehungsweise Einschränkung einer von andrer Seite aufgestellten Behauptung oder auch, das Unfruchtbarste von allem, ein Non liquet. Das mußte mir, wenn und da ich der Forschung wirklich dienen wollte, gleichgültig sein, und diese Art von Resignation konnte darum nicht schwer auf mir lasten. Die größte Hemmung vielmehr, die ich niederzukämpfen hatte, war die in sicherer Aussicht stehende Notwendigkeit des Kritisierens und Polemisierens, des Korrigierens und Modifizierens, im Großen wie im Kleinen. Und ich wäre nicht an die Arbeit gegangen, hätte ich ihr Ausmaß rechtzeitig erkannt. Wohl wußte ich wie andere, die vom

Forrer's hypothesis, as the studies of Güterbock and others showed, though not until fifty years later.[107] In contrast to the Aḫḫijawa Question, it took only the usual short cycles of published reviews and review articles to demonstrate that Kammenhuber's studies on Indo-Aryans and Indo-Aryan in Anatolia and the ancient Near East applied overly strict linguistic and philological criteria. Ultimately, her methodological approach fell short, as the past fifty years have shown.

In contrast to Kammenhuber's opinion that Mayrhofer's principle of cumulative evidence "proves to be unusable,"[108] it was, overall, Mayrhofer who advanced the study of the Indo-Aryan language corpus, while Kammenhuber is remembered mainly for two achievements in this discussion: (1) laying out strict (often overly restrictive) linguistic boundaries and (2) presenting the complete linguistic material for a given topic, which provides a solid basis for further studies.

In the case of her *Hippologia hethitica* and her *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient*, we are also reminded of Güterbock's critique that—although in some cases expressed in a voice and tone that could have been handled more aptly—her (cultural-)historical interpretations somehow got lost in lengthy discussions of linguistic details. As shown above, this detail came at a price. However, it seems that while standing her ground in a scholarly community of mainly male colleagues in Hittitology and Indo-European linguistics, Kammenhuber did not want it any other way.

From the point of view of the history of scholarship and Indo-Aryan linguistics, I could only scratch the surface in this essay. I hope to have demonstrated, however, that the discussion of Indo-Aryan linguistic traces in Anatolia and the ancient Near East is still fascinating after more than a century, and—as in the case of Kammenhuber and Güterbock—archival material provides more background information on specific topics relevant to those leading scholars of their time. And there may be more correspondence available that will shed light on this thought-provoking phase in the history of the intersection between Hittitology, Indo-European linguistics, and historical scholarship.

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Hethitischen genügend verstehen, aus früheren Veröffentlichungen E. Forrer's um die Schwächen seiner Arbeitsweise, die sich denn auch schon bei einer ersten Lektüre seiner 'Forschungen I 2' wieder verrieten. Daß sie aber unter dem Impuls vorgefaßter Ideen so vielfach zu Ungenauigkeiten, Absurditäten und nicht minder zu den schwerwiegendsten Irrtümern der Interpretation führen würden, hatte ich nicht geahnt. Diese Methode in ihrer Unzulänglichkeit aufzuzeigen, wurde leider gerade angesichts der von ihr nach außen hin erzielten Wirkung zur Pflicht denen gegenüber, für die ich schrieb, mochte mich auch der Überdruß an dieser unerfreulichen Art eigner Produktion mehr als einmal zu übermannen drohen. Aber es war notwendig besonders deshalb, weil das zweifelnde, ja zumteil direkt ablehnende Urteil gerade derer, die auf Grund hethitologischer Spezialkenntnisse am meisten Anspruch darauf hatten gehört zu werden, in Gefahr war, durch die Beifallskundgebungen anderer übertönt zu werden. Meine Kritik ist oft hart ausgefallen, aber—die Arbeit dabei war noch härter. Ich möchte indessen vorweg betonen, daß ich das Positive, das Forrer geleistet hat, unumwunden anerkenne, in glücklichen Einzelheiten sowohl wie in der Erschließung des Textverständnisses; und es bedeutete für mich stets eine Annehmlichkeit, wenn ich die mir aufgezwungene kritische Einstellung schweigen lassen durfte, um ihm beizutreten. Ich bekenne auch gerne, daß er mir in manchen Punkten durch das von ihm Gebrachte eigne Arbeit erspart hat. Das wäre in noch viel weitgehenderem Maße der Fall gewesen, wenn er seine Begabung zum Kombinieren durch straffe Selbstzucht im Zaume gehalten hätte. Die Einschätzung des Wertes von Kombinationen ist bis zu einem gewissen Grade subjektiv, das Urteil über die Qualität der wissenschaftlichen Arbeitsweise und über deren Ergebnisse ist es leider nicht. Es gilt nun, anstelle des bis jetzt herrschenden Höhenrauchs eine klare Atmosphäre zu schaffen." Further studies by Sommer on this topic are listed in Fischer 2010, 115–16.

107 See Güterbock 1983, 1984, 1986, 1992.

108 Kammenhuber 1967b, 135: "daß sich M.'s Prinzip der sogenannten 'kumulativen Evidenz' (S. 19ff., §7.3) als unbrauchbar erweist (Details 'Arier' Kap. VII)."

## CHAPTER 24 APPENDIX

# KAMMENHUBER-GÜTERBOCK CORRESPONDENCE OF MAY 30, 1965, AND JUNE 2–3, 1965

## NO. 1. LETTER FROM ANNELIES KAMMENHUBER TO HANS GUSTAV GÜTERBOCK

Munich, May 30, 1965

Dear Mr. Güterbock!

Thank you very much for your letter of May 25th and the announced offprints![1] Although I personally regret it, I understand very well why you are skipping the time-consuming stay in Europe this year.

In your letter you touch on something that I would have said in the fall during our brief meeting in Munich if I had not had the impression that it was not opportune, since you had been through a lot. Your criticism, if I may say so, does not detract from our friendship. I will and shall never forget all the beautiful things, all the highlights (1957 in Munich, 1959 in Ankara, etc.).[2] I am infinitely grateful, and I still admire completely how you have gone your way and endured without resentment. Therefore, I am mainly glad that *dieser Kelch*[3] of the aforementioned review has finally passed.

As far as the criticism itself is concerned, I took it as usual in a composed manner. The reaction came afterward, also as usual, and it was quite massive. There are three sides to this, but I don't want to go into them exhaustively here. I don't want to bore anyone too much with me.

The first side: You have of course seen various things very correctly. If I ever finish the Aryan article I started[4] (I did not want to provide 100 individual supplements to *Hippologia hethitica* as other colleagues like to do), I will say, for example, that you were the only one to recognize the annoying error in the Aryan-Hurrian dating in your review.[5] But I will also mention that I had already corrected it in the aforementioned manuscript. The other corrections will, if I live to see it, only be considered in a new edition. (I would write historical introductions differently today; with cuneiform source references only in the notes section, like Goetze, Kleinasien.[6] But I only realized this since generally understandable Hittite historical descriptions—almost without literature—have been appearing, in which one can usually still recognize the exact seams[7] where one section[8] merges into the next.)

München, den 30. Mai 1965.

Lieber Herr Güterbock!

Herzlichen Dank für Ihren frdl. Brief vom 25. 5. und die angekündigten Separata! Obgleich ich es persönlich bedauere, verstehe ich sehr gut, warum Sie in diesem Jahr den ja doch zeitraubenden Europa-Aufenthalt einsparen.

Sie schneiden in Ihrem Brief etwas an, was ich im Herbst bei der kurzen Begegnung in München gesagt hätte, wenn ich nicht den Eindruck gehabt hätte, daß es nicht opportun war, da Sie viele Strapazen hinter sich hatten. Ihre Kritik tut unserer Freundschaft, wenn ich so sagen darf, von meiner Seite aus keinen Abbruch. Ich will und werde all das Schöne, all die Höhepunkte (1957 in München, 1959 in Ankara usw.) nie vergessen. Ich bin unendlich dankbar, und ich bewundere nach wie vor restlos, wie Sie Ihren Weg gehen und ertragen haben. Daher bin ich zunächst hauptsächlich froh, daß "dieser Kelch" der besagten Rezension nun endlich am Vorübergehen ist.

Lohne Ressentiments

Was die Kritik selbst betrifft, so habe ich sie wie üblich gefaßt aufgenommen. Die Reaktion kam, ebenfalls wie üblich, nachher, und zwar einigermaßen massiv. Es gibt dabei drei Seiten, die ich allerdings hier durchaus nicht erschöpfend ausführen will. Ich möchte niemanden mit mir allzu sehr langweilen.

Die eine Seite: Sie haben natürlich Verschiedenes sehr richtig gesehen. Wenn ich je meinen angefangenen Arierartikel zuende schreibe (ich wollte nicht 100 Einzelnachträge zu Hipp. heth. liefern, wie es andere Kollegen so gern tun), werde ich z.B sagen, daß Sie als einziger den leidigen Fehler bei der Arier-Hurriter-Datierung in Ihrer Rezension erkannt haben. Aber ich werde auch erwähnen, daß ich ihn bereits in besagtem Ms. auskorrigiert hatte. Das andere wird, so ich es erlebe, erst in einer Neuauflage berücksichtigt werden. (Historische Einleitungen würde ich heute anders schreiben; nur mit Keilschriftquellen-belegen in den Anm., so wie Goetze, Kleinasien. Das habe ich aber auch erst kapiert, seitdem dauernd allgemein verständliche heth. Geschichtsdarstellungen - fast ohne Literatur - erscheinen, in denen man meistens noch genau die Flicknähte erkennt, wo eine Vorlage in die nächste übergeht.)

Folio 1.

The second side you could only partly guess beforehand. Your criticism is very untimely for me at the moment. I only hope that it will have little effect, since no one can make any sense of the reviews of my *Hippologia hethitica* anyway,[9] and at most they will be encouraged to look at the book itself.—At the moment I feel like a whipping boy in Hittitology and in my position as a woman in scholarship at the same time. That's a bit much all at once. I only know that I won't be able to leave at the height of all this monkey business (dilemmas of the German university, etc.) with a brain hemorrhage or something similar, as fate granted Margrit Falkner.[10] (It happened to her after she had done all the lectures and various other jobs for Weidner for years—with DM 300 payment per month, but then conspicuously only a two-person proposal[11] for Weidner's successor was submitted, so that he didn't have to put Ms. F[alkner]. on the list.)—My situation is so fabulously tricky because I am not allowed to examine doctoral candidates myself and am completely dependent on the linguist at the time, so that I will give up Hittitology as soon as the successor of Prof. Wissmann[12] in 1½ years shows his true character, which is to pull the rug out from under my feet.[13] The chances of such a successor are 95:5![14]—Last fall, I finally buried my hopes of getting my own chair in Munich. Since Wissmann, one of the noblest (but also naivest) people I know, insists that my venia legendi still states unclearly "for the Indo-European languages of the ancient Near East," which means that I will not get a chair in linguistics or any other chair, I have given up. With the Handbuch der Orientalistik (500 pages on Hittite, Palaic, Luwian, Hieroglyphic-Luwian, with a large comparative linguistic classification; Hattic) I would have had my venia legendi extended to Indo-European Studies on my own authority; but the manuscript is taking its sweet time at Brill[15]—so the situation in Munich—despite the good will of some colleagues who don't have enough power—can only be summarized in a "bon mot," which I no longer say to Wissmann myself. (I barely visit any of my colleagues anymore, but I don't make a secret of my mood either.)—"Why not create a chair for Celtic Studies or African Studies or something else in Munich first? That would have the undeniable advantage that the professor in question would not have spent 7 years reading in Munich for nothing, as I did, and then voluntarily cleaned up the completely messed-up linguistics department for another ½ year."

Die zweite Seite konnten Sie nur z.T. vorher erahnen. Ihre Kritik kommt mir im Moment denkbar ungelegen. Ich hoffe nur, daß ihre Wirkung gering bleibt, da aus den Rezensionen zu meiner Hipp. heth. sowieso niemand klug werden kann und höchstens angeregt wird, das Ø Buch selbst anzusehen. - Ich empfinde mich im Moment gleichzeitig als Prügelknabe in der Hethitologie und in der Stellung als Frau in der Wissenschaft. Das ist etwas viel auf einmal. Ich weiß lediglich, daß es mir jetzt noch nicht vergönnt sein wird, auf dem Höhepunkt dieses ganzen Affenthea-ters (Dilemmas der deutschen Universität usw.) mit einer Gehirnblutung o. ä. abzutreten, wie es Margrit Falkner vergönnt war. (Es geschah bei ihr, nachdem sie jahrelang sämtliche Vorlesungen und diverse andere Arbeiten für Weidner gemacht hatte - mit DM 300 Bezahlung monatlich, dann aber bei der Nachfolgefrage Weidner ostensativ nur einen Zweiervorschlag einreichte, damit er Frau F. nicht auf die Liste zu setzen brauchte.) - Meine Lage ist so fabelhaft verzwickt, weil ich Doktorarbeiten nicht selbst prüfen darf und völlig von dem jeweiligen Sprachwissenschaftler abhängig bin, so daß ich die Hethitologie aufgeben werde, sobald der Nachfolger Prof. Wissmanns in 1 1/2 Jahren in einer Persönlichkeit besteht, die mir das Wasser abzugraben gedenkt. Die Chancen für einen solchen Nachfolger stehen 95 : 5! - Im Herbst habe ich endgültig die Hoffnung begraben, in München einen eigenen Lehrstuhl zu bekommen. Da Wissmann, einer der edelsten (aber auch naivsten) Menschen, die ich kenne, darauf besteht, daß meine Venia nach wie vor unklar lautet "für die indogermanischen Sprachen des Alten Orients", womit ich weder einen sprachwiss. noch einen sonstigen Lehrstuhl erhalte, habe ich resigniert. Mit dem Handbuch der Orientalistik (500 Seiten zu Heth., Pal., Luw., H.-Luw. mit großer sprachvergleichender Einordnung; Hatt.) hätte ich mir eigenmächtig die Venia auf Indogermanistik erweitern lassen; aber das Ms. ruht gut bei Brill. - So läßt sich die Situation in München - trotz des sehr guten Willens mancher Kollegen, die aber nicht genug Macht haben -, nur noch in einem "bon mot" zusammenfassen, das ich Wissmann selbst aber auch nicht mehr sage. (Ich gehe zu fast keinem Kollegen mehr, mache allerdings auch aus meiner Stimmung keinen Hehl mehr.) "Man solle doch in München jetzt erst einmal den Lehrstuhl für Keltologie oder Afrikanistik oder sonst etwas schaffen. Das hätte den unbestreitbaren Vorteil, daß der betr. Prof. nicht wie ich erst 7 Jahre umsonst in Mü. gelesen und dann noch 1/2 Jahr lang freiwillig das völlig verkorxte Sprachwiss. Seminar aufgeräumt hätte!"

Folio 2.

## II

The third side of the criticism is more difficult. In order to remain objective, I prefer to wait for the judgment of my colleagues. In the case of Goetze's criticism, the verdict was astounding; three times in a row from professors: "What does Goetze have against you?" I have only two verdicts on your criticism. Both readers had the impression that something quite different was going on subliminally and psychologically, of which however you are not aware. (This is why I asked a question about this in Munich in the fall.) This page is now closed for me—for the sake of friendship. First of all, I am simply glad that the long silence following the Berlin appeal dilemma has come to an end.[16]

But the following objective component remains: the scholarly reviews are so different in standards that it may be necessary to announce the standard one applies beforehand. What is better about Otten's Totenritualen?[17] (not even the references to *Leerstellen* or Otten's publications outside the book). Since TR[18] lacks a complete index, it is merely less open to attack. In his review of *Hippologia hethitica* in which the unpublished, meanwhile published and of course unproductive katkattimma reference[19] was first inserted in the proof, Otten had taken offense because I was the only one who had dared to cautiously suggest in a note to the review of TR (Kratylos),[20] that the text could have been grouped somewhat better according to internal criteria. I am confirmed by KUB XXXIX 1 ff.,[21] and briefly Laroche, BiOr 21. 320f.[22] has now indicated the same by adding the page numbers from TR.

For *Hippologia hethitica* no one thought it necessary to mention that I first determined the two new versions[23] and produced the 3rd according to purely content-related criteria despite huge gaps in the text, and all of this on the editions, not on the original cuneiform tablets.

Of course, I am also not happy about the literature you cite. Among other things, the katkattiạ problem is dealt with exhaustively by me,[24] not by Otten. Balkan's[25] rejection of the Aryan influence on the Kassites is correct, but not the way in which he rejects it, nor anything from his positive linguistic contributions to the Kassite glosses etc. Goetze's criticism of the graphic "inconsistencies" -kat- instead of -kát- is very nice. But 1) he himself also writes the unfortunate ke, de etc. without diacritical signs (which completely confuses the Indo-Europeanists) and 2) I am too decent to now public-

- II -

Die dritte Seite der Kritik ist diffiziler. Am liebsten warte ich, um objektiv zu bleiben, das Urteil der Kollegen ab. Bei Goetzes Kritik war das Urteil verblüffend; dreimal nacheinander von Professoren: "Was hat denn Goetze gegen Sie?". - Bei Ihrer Kritik habe ich erst zwei Urteile. Beide Leser hatten den Eindruck, daß unterschwellig-psychologisch etwas ganz anderes vorliegt, dessen Sie sich aber nicht bewußt sind. (Ich hatte deshalb im Herbst in München eine diesbezügliche Frage gestellt.) Diese Seite ist nun für mich erledigt - um der Freundschaft willen. Ich bin einfach zunächst einmal froh, daß das lange Schweigen im Anschluß an das Berliner Berufungsdilemma beendet ist.

Aber es bleibt folgende objektive Komponente: die wiss. Rezensionen sind so unterschiedlich im Maßstab, daß man vielleicht den Maßstab, den man anlegt, vorher bekannt geben muß. Was ist denn an Ottens Totenritualen besser? (nicht einmal die Verweise auf "Leerstellen" oder Literatur Ottens außerhalb des Buches). Da bei TR ein vollständiger Index fehlt, ist es lediglich weniger angreifbar. In seiner Rez. zu Hipp. heth., in der der unveröffentlichte, inzwischen publizierte und natürlich unergiebige katkattimma-Beleg erst in die Korrekturfahne eingefügt wurde, hatte Otten sich deshalb abreagiert, weil ich als einzige gewagt hatte, vorsichtig in einer Anm. Rez. TR (Kratylos) anzudeuten, daß man den Text doch wohl nach inhaltlichen Kriterien etwas besser hätte gruppieren können. Ich bin bestätigt durch KUB XXXIX 1 ff., und kurz hat Laroche, BiOr 21. 320f. jetzt dasselbe angedeutet durch den Zusatz der Seitenzahlen aus TR.

Bei Hipp. heth. hielt es niemand für nötig zu erwähnen, daß ich überhaupt erst die beiden neuen Redaktionen ermittelt und die 3. nach rein inhaltlichen Kriterien trotz riesiger Textlücken hergestellt habe, und zwar alles an den Editionen, nicht an den Originalen.

Natürlich bin ich auch nicht glücklich über die bei Ihnen zitierte Literatur. U.a. findet sich eben doch bei mir das katkattia-Problem in erschöpfender Behandlung, nicht bei Otten. Balkans Ablehnung des arischen Einflusses auf die Kassiten stimmt aber nicht die Art, wie er ihn ablehnt, noch irgend etwas aus seinen positiven sprachwiss. Beiträgen zu den kassit. Glossen usw. Goetzes Kritik an den graph. "Inkonsequenzen" -kat- statt -kát- ist sehr schön. Aber 1) schreibt er selbst auch das unglückselige ke, de usw. ohne diakrit. Zeichen (was die Indogermanisten endgültig verwirrt) und 2) bin ich zu anständig, um nun öffent-

Folio 3.

ly announce, that I have corrected -kát- to -kat in 200 pages based on Otten's explicit request.

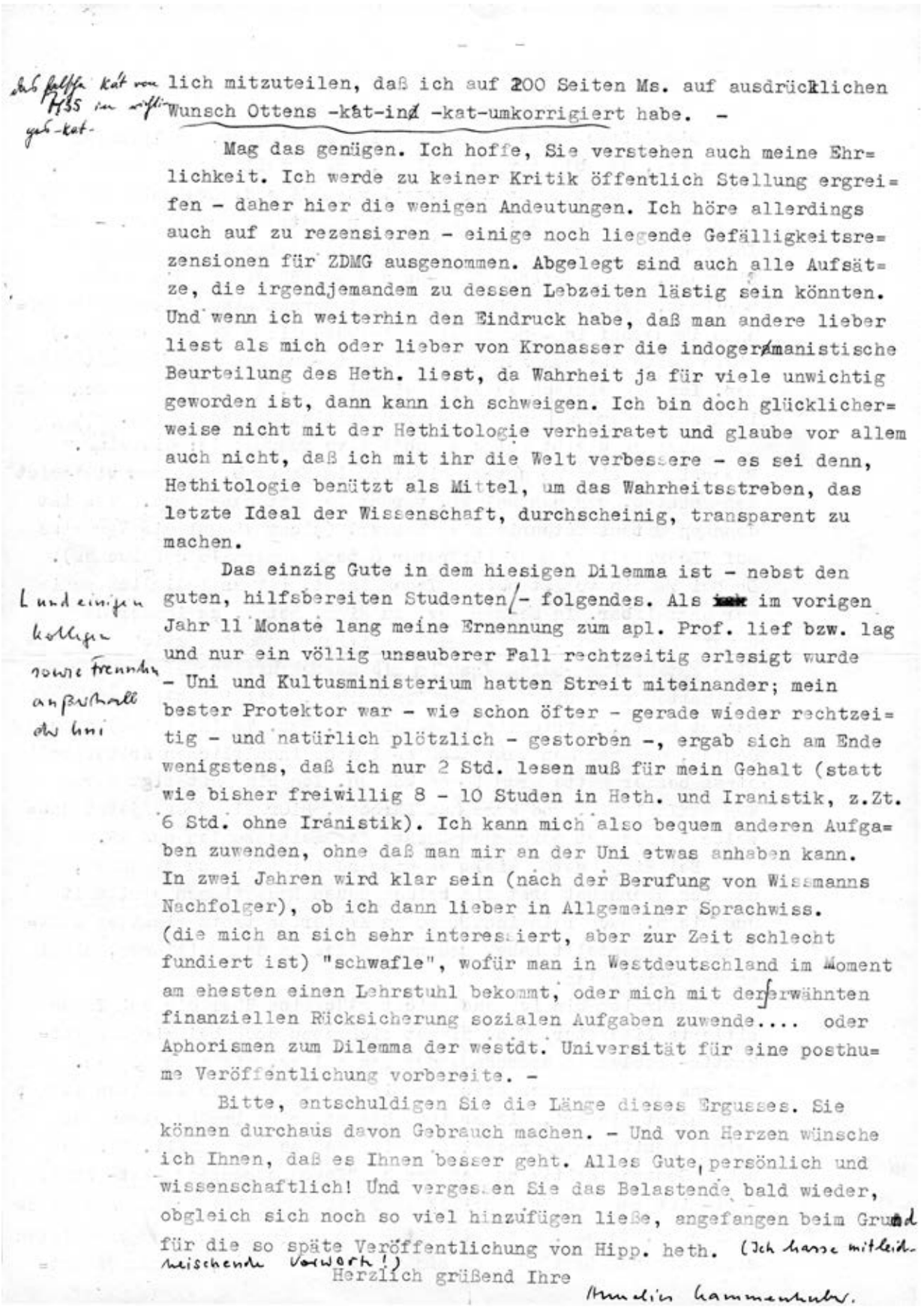
That may suffice. I hope you also understand my honesty. I will not comment publicly on any criticism—hence the few hints here. However, I will stop writing reviews—with the exception of a few courtesy reviews for ZDMG.[26] All essays that could be annoying to anyone during their lifetime have also been filed away. And if I continue to have the impression that people prefer to read others rather than me or prefer to read the Indo-European assessment of Hittite by Kronasser,[27] since truth has become unimportant for many, then I can remain silent. Fortunately, I am not married to Hittitology, and, above all, I do not believe that I am improving the world with it—unless Hittitology is used as a means to make the pursuit of truth, the ultimate ideal of science,[28] transparent.[29]

The only good thing in the dilemma here—apart from the good, helpful students and some colleagues and friends outside the university—is the following. Last year, when my appointment as an Adjunct Professor[30] was delayed for 11 months and only one completely messy case was settled in time—the university and the Ministry of Education had a dispute with each other; my best protector had died[31]—as has often happened—just in time and suddenly, of course—in the end at least I only had to read for 2 hours for my salary (instead of the previous voluntary 8–10 hours in Hittite and Iranian Studies, currently 6 hours, without Iranian Studies). So, I can comfortably turn my attention to other tasks without anyone being able to do me any harm at the university. In two years, it will be clear (after the appointment of Wissmann's successor) whether I will then prefer to "waffle" in general linguistics (which interests me very much in itself, but is currently poorly funded), for which one is most likely to get a chair in West Germany at the moment or turn to social tasks with the aforementioned financial security . . . or prepare aphorisms on the dilemma of the West German university for a posthumous publication.

Please excuse the length of this effusion. You can certainly make use of it—and I sincerely hope that you feel better. All the best, personally and scholarly! And forget the incriminating things soon, although so much could be added, starting with the reason for the late publication of *Hippologia hethitica* (I hate pitying prefaces!)

Yours sincerely

Annelies Kammenhuber



lich mitzuteilen, daß ich auf 200 Seiten Ms. auf ausdrücklichen Wunsch Ottens -kât-ind -kat-umkorrigiert habe. -

Mag das genügen. Ich hoffe, Sie verstehen auch meine Ehrlichkeit. Ich werde zu keiner Kritik öffentlich Stellung ergreifen - daher hier die wenigen Andeutungen. Ich höre allerdings auch auf zu rezensieren - einige noch liegende Gefälligkeitsrezensionen für ZDMG ausgenommen. Abgelegt sind auch alle Aufsätze, die irgendjemandem zu dessen Lebzeiten lästig sein könnten. Und wenn ich weiterhin den Eindruck habe, daß man andere lieber liest als mich oder lieber von Kronasser die indogermanistische Beurteilung des Heth. liest, da Wahrheit ja für viele unwichtig geworden ist, dann kann ich schweigen. Ich bin doch glücklicherweise nicht mit der Hethitologie verheiratet und glaube vor allem auch nicht, daß ich mit ihr die Welt verbessere - es sei denn, Hethitologie benützt als Mittel, um das Wahrheitsstreben, das letzte Ideal der Wissenschaft, durchscheinig, transparent zu machen.

Das einzig Gute in dem hiesigen Dilemma ist - nebst den guten, hilfsbereiten Studenten - folgendes. Als im vorigen Jahr 11 Monate lang meine Ernennung zum apl. Prof. lief bzw. lag und nur ein völlig unsauberer Fall rechtzeitig erlesigt wurde - Uni und Kultusministerium hatten Streit miteinander; mein bester Protektor war - wie schon öfter - gerade wieder rechtzeitig - und natürlich plötzlich - gestorben -, ergab sich am Ende wenigstens, daß ich nur 2 Std. lesen muß für mein Gehalt (statt wie bisher freiwillig 8 - 10 Studen in Heth. und Iranistik, z.Zt. 6 Std. ohne Iranistik). Ich kann mich also bequem anderen Aufgaben zuwenden, ohne daß man mir an der Uni etwas anhaben kann. In zwei Jahren wird klar sein (nach der Berufung von Wissmanns Nachfolger), ob ich dann lieber in Allgemeiner Sprachwiss. (die mich an sich sehr interessiert, aber zur Zeit schlecht fundiert ist) "schwafle", wofür man in Westdeutschland im Moment am ehesten einen Lehrstuhl bekommt, oder mich mit der erwähnten finanziellen Rücksicherung sozialen Aufgaben zuwende.... oder Aphorismen zum Dilemma der westdt. Universität für eine posthume Veröffentlichung vorbereite. -

Bitte, entschuldigen Sie die Länge dieses Ergusses. Sie können durchaus davon Gebrauch machen. - Und von Herzen wünsche ich Ihnen, daß es Ihnen besser geht. Alles Gute, persönlich und wissenschaftlich! Und vergessen Sie das Belastende bald wieder, obgleich sich noch so viel hinzufügen ließe, angefangen beim Grund für die so späte Veröffentlichung von Hipp. heth. (Ich hasse mitleidheischende Vorwort!)

Herzlich grüßend Ihre

Manfred Hammenhelm.

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## NO. 2. LETTER FROM HANS GUSTAV GÜTERBOCK TO ANNELIES KAMMENHUBER

Chicago, June 2, 1965

Dear Fräulein Kammenhuber!

Thank you very much for your detailed letter of May 30, which arrived already today. I would like to emphasize as positive, and for me the main thing, the sentence that my criticism on your part has not damaged our friendship. I would like to add: neither from my side! It seems to me that between mature people it is possible to distinguish between the factual and the personal, and I hope that I have succeeded in doing so.

As you go into details in the course of your letter, please allow me to start with these.

The fact that I did not mention that you first identified the two new editions[32] is an omission that I regret. But perhaps it can be excused by the fact that this distinction had already been worked out since Ehelolf's foreword to KUB XXIX[33] : "Ein Kuriosum . . ." = Bericht, "Ganz ungewöhnliches . . ." = rituell eingel. Anl.[34]

But that your achievement in the restoration of the texts, especially the 3rd instruction, is not duly appreciated is an accusation that does not apply to my review: p. 269 b, 2nd paragraph, and 273 b, last paragraph, middle "are here for the first time . . ."—perhaps I should have emphasized it more, but it is said.

"Not happy about the literature cited": I would have liked to see that explained a little. If you refer to my notes 11 and 21,[35] I would like to remind you that, unfortunately, even in your careful preparation of the text, there are a few oversights, as well as parts where collation can lead to a better understanding: of course, not <u>every</u> point on Goetze's list is correct, but I did not want to start again and improve readings. Otten's note 3 (ZA 55, 282)[36] could have been mentioned in my note 11; similarly with my note 21: the mistranslations I discussed in detail are unfortunately not the only ones; in my overall judgment, the others were just as decisive, but I did not want to repeat them again—which again does not mean that <u>all</u> of Goetze's points are as he wants them to be! I don't see how I could have avoided that without my criticism (if based only on the few cases discussed) looking unfair or exaggerated.—With regard to the <u>one</u> example you mention, however, I would ask you to take a closer look at the end of my note 18: I explicitly say there that the announcement of new passages for katkattima- "trembling"[37] (although "gratifying", i.e., favorable to my meaning restored in Kumarbi[38]) are "only incidental to this discussion," i.e., as something that came afterwards, cannot be brought into the discussion of your *Hippologia hethitica*. Does nobody understand that?—I don't see how Otten's evidence is "unproductive": is "trembles out of fear" and the list—like arrangement between "fear" and "horror," with an Akkadian equivalent that can be supplemented to [šu-ḫar]-ru-ru, really unproductive?—Unfortunately, I cannot regard your treatment of the katkattiya problem as "exhaustive" as long as it has led you to such translations as the one criticized, or has not dissuaded you from doing so.

Chicago, den 2. Juni 1965.

Liebes Fräulein Kammenhuber!

Haben Sie herzlichen Dank für Ihren ausführlichen Brief vom 30. Mai, der heute schon eintraf. Als positiv, und für mich die Hauptsache, möchte ich daraus den Satz herausheben, dass meine Kritik unserer Freundschaft, von Ihrer Seite aus, keinen Abbruch getan hat. Dem möchte ich hinzufügen: von meiner Seite auch nicht! Mir scheint, dass zwischen reifen Menschen das Sachliche und das Persönliche auseinander gehalten werden kann, und hoffe, dass es mir gelungen ist, es auseinanderzuhalten.

Da Sie im Verlauf Ihres Briefes auf Einzelheiten eingehen, erlauben Sie mir, mit diesen anzufangen.

Dass ich nicht erwähnt habe, dass Sie überhaupt zuerst die beiden neuen Redaktionen ermittelt haben, ist allerdings eine Unterlassung, die ich bedaure. Entschuldbar aber vielleicht dadurch, dass dieser Unterscheidung schon seit Ehelolfs Vorwort zu KUB XXIX vorgearbeitet war: "Ein Kuriosum ..." = Bericht, "Ganz Ungewöhnliches ..." = rituell eingel. Anl.

Dass aber Ihre Leistung in der Wiederherstellung der Texte, bes. der 3. Anleitung, nicht gebührend gewürdigt sei, ist ein Vorwurf, der meine Besprechung nicht trifft: S. 269 b, 2. Absatz, und273 b, letzter Abs. Mitte "are here for the first time ..." -- vielleicht hätte ich es mehr herausstreichen sollen, aber gesagt ist es.

"Nicht glücklich über die zitierte Literatur." Das hätte ich gern etwas erklärt gesehen. Wenn Sie meine Anm. 11 und 21 meinen, so möchte ich daran erinnern, dass es leider selbst bei Ihrer so sorgfältigen Textherstellung ein paar Versehen gibt sowie Stellen, wo Kollation weiterführen kann: natürlich ist nicht jeder Punkt an Goetze's Liste richtig, aber ich wollte nicht noch einmal anfangen und Lesungen verbessern. Otten's Anm. 3 (ZA 55,282) hätte in Anm. 11 noch erwähnt werden können. -- Ähnlich steht es mit Anm. 21: die von mir ausführlich besprochenen Fehlübersetzungen sind eben leider nicht die einzigen, bei meinem Gesamturteil waren die anderen ebenso maassgebend, ich wollte sie aber nicht noch einmal wiederholen-- was wieder nicht heisst, dass alle Punkte bei Goetze so sind wie er will! Ich sehe nicht, wie ich das hätte vermeiden können, ohne dass meine Kritik (wenn nur auf den paar besprochenen Fällen basierend) ungerecht oder übertrieben ausgesehen hätte. -- Bei dem einen Beispiel, das Sie erwähnen, möchte ich Sie aber doch bitten, das Ende meiner Anm. 18 noch einmal genau anzusehen: ich sage dort ausdrücklich, dass die Bekanntgabe neuer Stellen für katkattiya- "zittern" (obwohl "gratifying", d.h. für meine in Kum. angesetzte Bed. günstig) "only incidental to this discussion" sind, d.h. als etwas, was erst nachher kam, kann man sie in der Diskussion Ihrer Hipp. nicht ins Feld führen. Versteht man das nicht? -- Inwiefern übrigens Otten's Belege "unergiebig" sein sollen, sehe ich nicht: ist "zittert vor Furcht" und die listenmässige Anordnung zwischen "Furcht" und "Schrecken", mit einer akkadischen Entsprechung, die zu [šu-ha]-ru-ru ergänzt werden kann, wirklich unergiebig? - Ihre Behandlung des katkattiya-Problems kann ich eben leider nicht als "erschöpfend" auffassen, solange sie zu solchen Übersetzungen wie der monierten geführt, resp. Sie selbst nicht davon abgebracht hat.

Folio 5.

II

What you write about kat (sign) is based on a confusion that you must have made in the heat of the moment. Goetze, JCS XVI 31[39] speaks of the sign ták, in which the acute is consistently missing—and is indeed missing, as a glance at the passages cited under takšan shows. You are here writing about kat. By chance, when I was looking up something in MSS II,[40] I came across your transcription kát, which is indeed wrong. Look at our Hittite kat in a character list and then at the Neo-Assyrian form in an Akkadian Sign list, and you will see that ours is indeed kat no. 1. So: Otten was right to drop your accent over kat, and Goetze was right to miss it over ták.—What you mean by ke and de, I don't understand at all. Whether one writes ki-e or ke-e is debatable, a matter of taste, whatever you want; but according to the transcription system, ki and de are both correct, as are di and de, neither with a diacritical mark. dé is quite different, I know it in Boğ. on the one hand only in ideograms, on the other in such historical spellings as A-ga-dé. [The fact that Otten in the "Unterirdische"[41] misspells the last character of Annunage[42] with constant malice[43] is another matter.]

So much for the details. I don't find the tone and standard of Otten's reviews in ZA 55 sharp. I have the feeling that, on the contrary, he wanted to avoid criticism, so he wrote briefly and meaninglessly.[44] You can sense a certain irritation in Goetze, which incidentally has also been evident in his letters and verbal statements of late. Precisely because he combines factual and nonfactual (irritation that the younger generation no longer quotes everything from Adam and Eve onward,[45] i.e., from Ḫattušili and Madduwatta onward), I found it necessary to base the criticism on the central concepts. It goes without saying that one has to give detailed reasons when being critical and one can be brief when praising. JAOS[46] is the journal here, compatible to the ZDMG, so a detailed review was in order, and in this case expressly requested by the editor.[47] I am sorry that you, and others, also sense an (unconscious) undertone in my review, and it was really not intentional. If anything played a part, it was the unease that was inherent in the situation:[48] that I unfortunately had to criticize very strongly and was so reluctant to do so, precisely because we are friends and also because I had expected more after your other works and was really disappointed. A comparison with HTR[49] is not up for discussion. If you are referring to my review of HTR in Oriens,[50] it has to be said that Oriens is a journal of a different kind, where the aim was to inform a circle of mainly Arabists about new publications; at least that is how I arranged this collective review at the time. Incidentally, a mild criticism of [Otten's] arrangement is preserved in the last sentence under (3).

Regarding the Kassites it is not about whether Balkan is right or wrong, or about his analysis of the Kassite language,[51] but about the fact that the "Aryan" material in *Hippologia hethitica* consists only of two names of gods,[52] which can also be and have been explained differently, and one word, which on p. 15 note 60 is provided with two question marks,[53] and about the fact that even if these elements testify to Aryan influence ("even if correct") it is difficult to give a date for this. What is there "not to be happy" about?

II

Was Sie über kat (Zeichen) schreiben, beruht auf einer Verwechslung, die Ihnen wohl jetzt in der Hitze unterlaufen ist. Goetze, JCS XVI 31 spricht von dem Zeichen ták, bei dem der Akut consistently missing sei -- und in der Tat fehlt, wie ein Blick auf die unter takšan- angeführten Stellen zeigt. Sie schreiben jetzt über kat. Zufällig stiess ich jetzt eben, als ich etwas in MSS II nachlas, auf Ihre dortige Umschrift KÁK kát, die in der Tat falsch ist. Schauen Sie sich unser heth. kat in einer Zeichenliste und dann die neuassyrische Form in einer akk. Zeichenliste an, und Sie werden sehen, dass unseres in der Tat kat Nr. 1 ist. Also: Otten hatte recht, Ihren Akzent über kat zu streichen, und Goetze hatte recht, ihn über ták zu vermissen.--Was Sie mit ke und de meinen, verstehe ich überhaupt nicht. Ob man ki-e oder ke-e schreibt, ist diskutabel, Geschmacksache, was Sie wollen; aber nach dem Umschriftsystem sind ki und ke beide richtig, ebenso di und de, und keines mit diakritischem Zeichen. dé ist ganz was anderes, ich kenne es in Boğ. einerseits nur in Ideogrammen, andererseits in solchen historischen Schreibungen wie A-ga-dé. [Dass ~~Otten~~ Otten in den "Unterirdischen" das letzte Zeichen von Ammunage mit konstanter Bosheit falsch umschreibt, steht auf einem anderen Blatt.]

Soviel zu denEinzelheiten. Zu Ton und Maasstab der Rezensionen Otten's in ZA 55 finde ich nicht scharf. Ich habe das Gefühl, dass er im Gegenteil Kritik vermeiden wollte, daher so kurz und nichtssagend schrieb. Bei Goetze kann man eine gewisse Gereiztheit spüren, die sich übrigens in letzter Zeit auch in seinen Briefen und mündlichen Äusserungen zeigt. Gerade weil er Sachliches und Unsachliches (Gereiztheit darüber, dass die junge Generation nicht mehr alles von Adam und Eva an, d.h. von Hatt. und Madd. an, zitiert verbindet, fand ich es nötig, die Kritik auf die zentralen Begriffe zu gründen. Dass man ausführlich begründen muss, wenn man kritisch ist, und kurz sein kann, wenn man lobt, ist selbstverständlich. JAOS ist das Organ hier, der ZDMG entsprechend, da war eine ausführliche Besprechung am Platze, ausserdem in diesem Falle ausdrücklich vom Herausgeber verlangt. Dass Sie auch in meiner Rez. einen (unbewussten) Unterton herausfühlen, und andere auch, tut mir leid und war wirklich nicht beabsichtigt. Wenn etwas mitgespielt hat, so war das das Unbehagen, das in der Sachlage gegeben war: dass ich leider sehr xxx starke Kritik üben musste und das so ungern tat, eben weil wir befreundet sind und auch weil ich nach Ihren anderen Arbeiten mehr erwartet hatte und wirklich enttäuscht war. Vergleich mit HTR steht nicht zur Diskussion. Wenn Sie meine Rez. von HTR in Oriens meinen, so ist eben zu sagen, dass Oriens ein Organ von anderer Art ist, wo es sich darum handelte, einem Kreis von hauptsächlich Arabisten über Neuerscheinungen zu informieren; wenigstens legte ich damals diese Sammelbesprechung so an. Eine leise Kritik an der Anordnung ist übrigens in dem letzten Satz unter (3) dort enthalten.

Bei den Kassiten handelt es sich nicht darum, ob Balkan recht hat oder nicht, oder um seine Analyse der Kassitensprache, sondern darum, dass das "arische" Material bei Hipp. nur aus zwei Götternamen besteht, die man auch anders erklären kann und erklärt hat, und einem Wort, das S.15 Anm. 60 mit zwei Fragezeichen versehen ist, sowie darum, dass selbst wenn diese Elemente arischen Einfluss bezeugen ("even if correct") es schwer ist, ein Datum dafür anzugeben. Was ist daran, worüber man "nicht glücklich" zu sein hat?

III June 3

I couldn't finish writing the letter all at once. Enough about individual points. Today I would like to go into what you call "the second side."

Unfortunately, I realize that such a printed review can cause difficulties for the person concerned in terms of promotion, appointment, etc. That is precisely why I found it difficult to write, and that was also the reason for the late completion of the manuscript (exactly one year ago) and the long pause in my letters (not the Berlin matter!).[54] When you wrote to me recently that you had received the Adjunct Professor title,[55] I was pleased that it was finalized before the review came out. Of course, there is always a next step, so it is always a bit inconvenient.

As far as appointments, chairs, etc. were concerned, the rule at German universities used to be that you could only be appointed "from outside" and could not be promoted at your "home university." Even Landsberger[56] was only able to obtain Zimmern's[57] chair in Leipzig after and because he had been appointed to and accepted the chair at the University of Marburg![58] Here in America, where "promote from within"[59] is widely practiced, we see the terrible consequences of such "inbreeding" every day. So, the old German rule was a good one; whether it still applies I don't know; if it applies, it should of course apply generally and be observed, not applied at will only against one or the other—that goes without saying!

These are all truisms.[60] What I'm getting at is that I am concerned about the basic tone of your letter. The resignation or even bitterness that speaks from it! It can't be that bad after all! You have done very well in your linguistically focused work, and I am certainly not the only one who hopes for more of the same and is by no means satisfied with Kronasser's stuff.[61] As far as the [Brill] handbook is concerned, you are not the only one to complain about the inexplicable and unforgivable delays; but we are still waiting "dört gözle"[62] for it! And even the criticism of *Hippologia hethitica* basically says only this: a careful presentation of the text, admirable in what has been made of the fragments, and thorough analysis, unfortunately combined with a lack of thinking-through the meanings of the words demanded by the text itself. Good, one can learn that! In my note 20, I deliberately left out the sentence that logically belongs there: namely, that if one has recognized something as "hardly correct," one should not write it anyway; not even with question marks, but rather make dots (. . . .) (Whether you could have gone for "stuffing"[63] back then, with fewer references, is another question.) You do have independent judgment in other matters: why not in lexical matters? Please forgive me if I lapse into admonishment: as a friend and somewhat older colleague, I hope you will allow me to do so. If my review has at least shown you a little of the way to try to understand the situation and determine the meanings from the factual—always taking into account evidence from other texts, of course—then it has at least had one good thing about it. There is no doubt that you are capable of doing this; it is just a matter of approaching texts in this way.

It's a crux with our discipline, which is still not considered a "discipline"—the fact that I got to the two places where it counts as a "discipline," I owe to the Führer! It is clear that this has to be changed in the long term,

III den 3. Juni.

Ich konnte den Brief nicht auf einmal fertigschreiben. Genug zu Einzelpunkten. Heute möchte ich noch auf das eingehen, was Sie "die zweite Seite" nennen.

Dass so eine gedruckte Rezension dem Betroffenen Schwierigkeiten bei Beförderung, Berufung etc. bereiten kann, ist mir leider klar. Eben deshalb ist mir das Schreiben schwer gefallen, und das war der Grund für die späte Fertigstellung des Manuskripts (genau vor einem Jahr) wie auch für die lange Pause in meinen Briefen (nicht die Berlin-Angelegenheit!). Als Sie mir kürzlich schrieben, dass Sie den "apl." Titel erhalten hatten, freute ich mich, dass dieser unter Dach war bevor die Rez. herauskam. Natürlich gibt es immer einen nächsten Schritt, und insofern ist so etwas immer ungelegen.

Was Berufung, Lehrstuhl, usw. angeht, so bestand früher an deutschen Universitäten die Regel, dass man nur "von aussen" berufen werden, nicht an der "Heimatuniversität" aufrücken konnte. Selsbt Landsberger konnte den Zimmern'schen Lehrstuhl in Leipzig erst erhalten, nachdem und weil er den Marburger erhalten und eingenommen hatte! Hier in Amerika, wo das "Daheim-Aufrücken" weitgehend praktiziert wird, sieht man die schrecklichen Folgen solcher "Inzucht" täglich vor Augen. Also die alte deutsche Regel war gut; ob sie noch gilt, weiss ich nicht; wenn sie gilt, sollte sie natürlich allgemein gelten und eingehalten, nicht etwa nach Belieben nur gegen den einen oder anderen angewandt werden—das ist selbstverständlich!

Das alles sind Binsenwahrheiten. Worauf ich hinaus will, ist, dass ich über den Grundton Ihres Briefes besorgt bin. Die Resignation oder auch Verbitterung, die daraus spricht! Sooo schlimm kann es denn doch nicht sein! Sie haben in Ihren mehr sprachwissenschaftlichen Arbeiten sehr Gutes geleistet, und ich bin bestimmt nicht der einzige, der auf Weiteres dort hofft und mit Kronasser's Zeug keineswegs zufrieden ist. Was das Handbuch betrifft, so sind Sie nicht die einzige, die über die unerklärten und unverzeihlichen Verzögerungen zu klagen hat; aber wir warten weiter "dört gözle" darauf! Und selbst die Kritik an der Hipp. besagt doch im Grunde nur dies: eine sorgfältige, in dem, was aus den Fragmenten gemacht wurde, bewunderungswürdige Textherstellung und gründliche xxx Analyse, leider verbunden mit einem Mangel im Durchdenken der vom Text selbst verlangten Wortbedeutungen. Schön, das kann man doch lernen! In meiner Anm. 20 habe ich absichtlich den Satz ausgelassen, der logisch hingehört: nämlich dass man, wenn man etwas selbst als "kaum richtig" erkannt hat, xxx es dann nicht trotzdem schreiben sollte; auch nicht mit Fragezeichen, sondern lieber Punkte (....) machen. (Ob Sie damals, mit weniger Stellen, schon auf "stopfen" hätten verfallen können, ist eine andere Frage). Sie haben doch in anderen Dingen ein selbständiges Urteil: warum nicht in lexikalischen Fragen? Bitte verübeln Sie es mir nicht, wenn ich ins Ermahnen verfalle: als Freund und etwas älterem Kollegen werden Sie mir das hoffentlich gestatten. Wenn meine Rez. Ihnen wenigstens ein bisschen den Weg gezeigt haben sollte, dass man versuchen muss, die Situation zu verstehen und die Bedeutung, natürlich immer unter Berücksichtigung von Belegen aus anderen Texten, aus dem Sachlichen heraus zu bestimmen, so hat sie wenigstens ein Gutes gehabt. Dass Sie dazu imstande sind, daran besteht kein Zweifel; es handelt sich nur darum, in dieser Weise an Texte heranzugehen.

Mit unserem immer noch nicht als "Fach" angesehenen Fach ist es eine Crux--dass ich an die zwei Orte gekommen bin, wo es als "Fach" zählt, verdanke ich dem Führer! Dass das auf die Dauer geändert

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but unfortunately it is also clear that the universities will not give up their traditional classifications of chairs and disciplines so quickly. In this situation, a venia legendi for Indo-European languages of the ancient Near East with the title of Adjunct Professor[64] is already a step forward compared to the past and elsewhere, where all the cuneiform studies and Semitic studies have to be doctored as well. And Indo-European studies—it's the other way round, a venerable subject that is no longer taken seriously by the newfangled "linguists." Whether your salvation (as far as obtaining a professorship is concerned) lies more in the field of Indo-European studies or general linguistics, I cannot judge from here, as I don't know the situation in Germany. But a professorship is worth a few linguistic comparative works or even "morphophonemes"! With all that said, you don't need to give up Hittitology (with neighboring languages), and you shouldn't, because your cooperation is still needed!

I would like to close with this. I apologize for the length of this letter, but yours required a prompt and detailed reply. With best wishes and warm regards

always your old
[Hans Gustav Güterbock]

IV

werden muss, ist klar, aber leider ist es ebenso klar, dass die Universitäten ihre alten hergebrachten Lehrstuhl- und Fächer-Einteilungen nicht so schnell aufgeben werden. In dieser Situation ist eine Venia legendi für idg. Sprachen des A.O. mit dem Titel eines apl. ao. Prof. doch schon ein Fortschritt gegen früher und anderswo, wo man die ganze Keilschriftkunde und Semitistik mit verarzten muss. Und Indogermanistik -- da ist es umgekehrt, ein ehrwürdiges Fach, das aber von den neumodischen "Linguists" nicht mehr voll genommen wird. Ob das Heil für Sie (was Erlangung einer Professur betrifft) mehr auf indogermanistischem oder allgemein-sprachwiss. Gebiet liegt, kann ich von hier aus nicht beurteilen, da ich die Lage in Deutschland nicht kenne. Aber ein Lehrstuhl ist schon ein paar sprachvergl. Arbeiten oder sogar ein paar "Morphophoneme" wert! Bei alledem brauchen sie aber das Heth. (mit Nachbarsprachen) nicht aufzugeben, und Sie sollen es nicht; denn Ihre Mitarbeit wird weiter gebraucht!

Damit möchte ich schliessen. Verzeihen Sie die Länge dieses Briefes, aber der Ihrige erheischte eine prompte und ausführliche Antwort. Mit den besten Wünschen und herzlichen Grüssen

stets Ihr alter

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## ANNOTATIONS TO THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN ANNELIES KAMMENHUBER AND HANS GUSTAV GÜTERBOCK

1. This letter is not part of the correspondence at ISAC kept by Güterbock in the envelope with the correspondence and papers labeled "Hippologia hethitica."
2. Güterbock lectured in Munich in 1957 and collated cuneiform texts in Ankara with Heinrich Otten and Annelies Kammenhuber in 1959.
3. The German expression *Möge dieser Kelch an mir vorübergehen* articulates the wish that a difficult situation may pass by someone.
4. Kammenhuber seems to refer to her project that turned into a book published in 1968 on the Indo-Aryans in Anatolia and the ancient Near East.
5. See Güterbock 1964, 269 left column.
6. Goetze 1957.
7. Kammenhuber: *Flicknähte.*
8. Kammenhuber: *Vorlage.*
9. See n32 in the main text.
10. Margarete Falkner (1922–62), associate professor of Oriental archaeology and art history of the ancient Near East at the University of Graz.
11. To the university.
12. Wilhelm Wissmann (1899–1966), since 1953 professor of historical comparative linguistics at the University of Munich.
13. Kammenhuber: *mir das Wasser abzugraben gedenkt.*
14. Meinrad Scheller (1921–91), professor of general linguistics and Indo-European linguistics.
15. Kammenhuber 1969a, 1969b.
16. This may refer to the appointment of Einar von Schular (1930–90) to the Freie Universität in Berlin in 1963.
17. Otten 1958.
18. Otten's *Totenrituale.*
19. Kammenhuber 1961, 45, 306, index 333.
20. Kammenhuber 1960.
21. Ehelolf 1938.
22. Laroche 1961.
23. Kammenhuber: *Redaktionen.*
24. Kammenhuber 1961, 45–51, index 333.
25. Balkan 1954.
26. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
27. Heinz Kronasser (1913–68), professor of historical comparative linguistics at the University of Vienna.
28. The word *durchscheinig* used by Kammenhuber does not exist in modern colloquial German, but it is an archaic word attested in earlier phases of the language. A modern equivalent would probably be *durchsichtig.*
29. Recte: *translucent.*
30. Kammenhuber: *Außerplanmäßige Professorin.*
31. Kammenhuber might be referring here to the ancient historian Alexander Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg (1905–64), the younger brother of Claus Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg (1903–44), who was executed after the failed assassination attempt on Hitler in July 1944. In winter semester 1962/63, Kammenhuber and von Stauffenberg taught three-hour classes per week titled "Geschichte des Alten Orients bis zum Untergang des hethitischen Großreichs um 1200 v. Chr." and "Historische Probleme des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr."
32. See n18 in the main text.
33. Ehelolf 1938.

34. Training Instruction 2 (CTH 285).
35. Both referring to the reviews of Goetze (1962) and Neumann (1963).
36. Otten 1962.
37. Kammenhuber 1961, 45, 306, index 333.
38. Güterbock 1948.
39. Goetze 1962.
40. Kammenhuber 1952.
41. Otten 1961.
42. The gods *Annunaki*. Otten 1961, 126–27 rendered $^{D}$A.NU$^{!}$.NA.GE$_{4}$.
43. Güterbock: *mit konstanter Boshaftigkeit*.
44. Güterbock: *nichtssagend*.
45. From the beginning.
46. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
47. Ernest Bender (1919–96), professor of Indo-Aryan languages and literature at the University of Pennsylvania.
48. Güterbock: *in der Sachlage gegeben war*.
49. Otten 1958.
50. Güterbock 1959.
51. Balkan 1954.
52. Kammenhuber 1961, 8n13: Kassite *Šuriyaš* and *Marut(t)aš*. There are also hippological terms (Balkan 1954, 111ff.).
53. Kammenhuber 1961, 15n60, on Kassite *akkanšaš* "axle," "an Aryan loanword(??)" (after Salonen 1951, 98–99).
54. For *Berlin-Angelegenheit*, see annotation 16 above.
55. Güterbock: *Außerplanmäßigen Titel*.
56. Benno Landsberger (1890–1968), professor of Assyriology at the University of Leipzig (1929–35) until his dismissal by the Nazis.
57. Heinrich Zimmern (1862–1931), professor of Assyriology at the University of Leipzig (from 1893 as regular associate professor, from 1900 as full professor until 1929).
58. Landsberger was appointed professor of Assyriology (personal professorship) at the University of Marburg, succeeding Peter Jensen (1861–1936).
59. *Daheim-Aufrücken*.
60. *Binsenwahrheiten*.
61. Güterbock is most probably referring to Kronasser's *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache* (1962–66).
62. Turkish for "looking forward."
63. Güterbock: *stopfen*.
64. Güterbock: *Außerplanmäßige außerordentliche Professorin*.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter other than the following ones are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ahnenerbe/SS-Ahnenerbe* | *Forschungsgemeinschaft Deutsches Ahnenerbe e.V.* |
| *Bekenntnis der Professoren . . . zu Adolf Hitler* | *Bekenntnis der Professoren an den deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen zu Adolf Hitler und dem nationalsozialistischen Staat* (Vow of Allegiance of the Professors of German Universities and High Schools to Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist State). Dresden: Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund Deutschland, 1933 |
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# 25 HIDDEN PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN LUWIAN TEXTS

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## 1. INTRODUCING THE PROBLEM

An important innovation of the Luwic subgroup of the Anatolian languages vis-à-vis Hittite concerns the clitic personal pronoun *a-*.[1] Hittite, as well as Lydian and Palaic, displays the nominative-accusative singular neuter clitic pronoun *=ad* "it," which in New Hittite is also extended to the nominative and accusative plural.[2] In Luwian, on the other hand, we usually encounter /=ada/ "it, they, them," which is lexically cognate with the synonymous Lycian A *=ede*. The direct case forms of the third-person clitic pronouns in the best-attested Anatolian languages are summarized in table 25.1, where the two relevant types are marked by different shades of gray.[3]

Table 25.1. Anatolian pronominal clitics of the third person (nom./acc.).

| **Language** | **nom.sg.c.** | **acc.sg.c.** | **nom.-acc.sg.n.** | **nom.pl.c.** | **acc.pl.c.** | **nom.-acc.pl.n.** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Old Hittite | =as | =an | =ad | =e | =us | =e |
| New Hittite | =as | =an | =ad | =ad | =as | =ad |
| Palaic | =as | =an | =(a)d | ? | ? | =e |
| Lydian | =as | =aν | =ad | ? | =as | ? |
| Early Luwian | =as | =an | =ada | =ada | =as | =ada |
| Late Luwian | =as | =an | =ada | =ada | =ada | =ada |
| Lycian | =e | =ẽ, =ene | =ede | ? | =ede | =ede |

1 This essay is subject to the usual disclaimers. The research of Elisabeth Rieken on this paper was conducted within the framework of the project "Digitales philologisch-etymologisches Wörterbuch der altanatolischen Kleinkorpussprachen" (RI 1730/7-1), funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Ilya Yakubovich worked under the auspices of the international project "Luwili: Luwian Religious Discourse between Anatolia and Syria," codirected with Alice Mouton (Paris) and funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (YA 472/2–1) and the Agence nationale de la recherche (ANR-17-FRAL-0007-01). We are obliged to Susanne Görke (Marburg–Mainz) for her helpful feedback on some anthropological aspects of the texts treated.

2 The emergence *=ad* as a plural clitic in Middle and New Hittite represents a result of secondary, contact-driven convergence with Luwian, as argued in Rieken 2006, 275–78.

3 For the Hittite forms, see Hoffner and Melchert 2008, 135; for Luwian, see, e.g., Melchert 2003, 190; for Palaic, the reliable forms have been selected from the information available in Carruba 1970, 44. The Lydian clitics are discussed in Gérard 2005, but cf. also Heubeck 1963. The latest grammatical survey of Lycian is Kloekhorst 2013. The best available example for the acc.pl.c. *=ede* in Lycian seems to be N 324.15–16 *s=ede=ñte* : *muha*[*is kum*]*ezidi* : *ebeis* "and he will celebrate these gods," but cf. also Kloekhorst 2008, 132.

The archaic character of the Hittite, Palaic, and Lydian forms is vindicated not only by the configurations of Anatolian phylogeny but also by the fact that [-d] represents the standard nominative-accusative singular neuter ending of the pronouns in all three languages (cf. Hittite, Palaic *kuit*; Lydian *qid* "what, which," to be understood as [k$^{w}$id] in these three cases). The final vowel of /=ada/ and /=ede/ must be secondary, although its precise source remains a matter of debate.[4] What is clear is that it must have been conditioned at least in part by phonetic pressure. A common innovation of the Luwic languages is the loss of final *-d*: thus Proto-Anatolian **k$^{w}$id* "which, what" yielded Bronze Age Luwian /k$^{w}$i/ and Lycian (A) *ti*. According to the same rule, the clitic pronoun would simply have become **/=a/ in Luwian and **=*e* in Lycian, but such forms could hardly have been recognizable in a clitic chain. The ambiguity of the form /k$^{w}$i/ "what, which" must have contributed to its replacement with /k$^{w}$antsa/ in Late Luwian, where the ending /-antsa/ is borrowed from the nominal paradigm. But in the instance of the Luwic pronominal clitics, the ambiguity of bare vowels would have been much more salient, so the extension of the pronominal clitic was probably implemented in a preventive fashion.

There is, however, one environment in which the Luwian languages appear to have preserved or restored the pronominal clitic /=ad/, a situation that gave rise to the phenomenon of hidden pronominal clitics. This environment is the position before adverbial particles, most frequently the particle /=tta/, which appears on the right-hand edge of a Wackernagel clitic chain and is usually left untranslated.[5] While the variant /=ada=tta/ does occur in Luwian texts, in both cuneiform and hieroglyphic transmission, there are other instances where the shorter form [=at=ta], a phonetic outcome of /ad=tta/, is deployed in the same function. This observation was made for the first time in Rieken 2008, 640–41, with reference to hieroglyphic texts. It represented an important by-product of recognizing the graphic difference between the signs <ta> / <tá> used for the fortis coronal stop and the sign <tà> deployed for its lenis counterpart in the Anatolian hieroglyphic script, at least in the first millennium BC. The fortis/lenis properties of Luwian clitics had previously been established based on the evidence of cuneiform texts. As expected, the pronominal clitic /=ada/ is usually rendered as *°a-tà*, and the adverbial particle /=tta/ is usually rendered as *-ta* or *-tá* in hieroglyphic transmission. But in those cases where one expects *°a-tà-ta/á* corresponding to /=ada=tta/ on syntactic grounds but finds only *-°a-ta* or *-°a-tá* in the hieroglyphic record, reconstructing the shorter sequence [=at=ta], corresponding to the phonological representation /ad=tta/, was the only available option.[6]

In what follows, we intend to present the representative dossier of the Luwian data that can be used to illustrate the semitransparent and hidden allomorphs of /=ada/. Sections 2–3 are devoted to the discussion of the hieroglyphic and cuneiform evidence, respectively. While the number of known examples is not large, they are important from the perspective of textual-interpretation practice. The last point is well known to the honorand of this volume, who had a chance to treat one of the problematic passages arguably featuring the "hidden /=ada/" in the recently found PANCARLI inscription.[7] We hope the systematic presentation of this phenomenon will enable Theo van den Hout and other scholars to identify additional instances in the known Luwian texts, as well as those yet to come to light. In the concluding section 4, we discuss whether

4 According to a proposal of Frank van de Kasteelen (2015, 28), it reflects the clitic reduplication *=*od*=*od*. This hypothesis is used as a parallel for the formation of the Lycian pronoun *ebñnẽ* "this here" (acc.), reconstructed as **eben-en*. For a different etymology of *ebñnẽ*, cf. Kloekhorst 2008, 132–37.

5 The corpus-based study of the function of the particle /=tta/ in Luwian texts remains an urgent desideratum. Here one can only state in a very general way that, more frequently than not, it appears to be deployed for the head-marking of indirect and oblique objects.

6 A note on the transcription practice adopted in the present essay is in order. The narrow transliteration of cuneiform and hieroglyphic texts is given in italics, the angular brackets < > being reserved for the rendering of individual signs. The phonetic and phonological transcriptions are marked by [ ] and / /, respectively, "phonology" being understood here in terms of the synthetic approach of the American generative tradition rather than the analytic approach of the Prague school. The bound transcription of the numbered examples places in parentheses the deletions and insertions occurring on clitic boundaries, e.g., =*mi(y)*=, and uses the zero morph ∅.

7 PANCARLI §2; Herrmann, van den Hout, and Beyazlar 2016, 62. We do not reproduce this passage in the present essay because we have nothing to add to the expert discussion of the *editio princeps*.

the allomorph /=ad/ represents an archaism or innovation and address the nature of linguistic processes that could have triggered its emergence.

## 2. HIEROGLYPHIC EVIDENCE

The Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Iron Age contain a number of cases where the sequence /=ada=tta/ can be recognized unambiguously. Curiously, all three of the fully preserved clauses belonging to this group are attested in the protases of curse formulae and feature the verb /la-$^{(i)}$/ "to take." But the linguistic significance of this fact need not be exaggerated, because examples (2) and (3) contain identical clauses and may merely represent products of the same workshop. The context suggests that /=ada/ functions as the plural object clitic in (1) and the singular neuter object clitic in (2), while the antecedent of (3) is unclear. In addition, the sequence /=ada=tta/ is attested in the fragmentary passages TÜNP 2 §4 *wa/i-mi-i*[*a*$^{?}$]-*tà-t*[*á*$^{?}$ . . . and GAZİANTEP line 3 (CAPERE+SCALPRUM)*kwa/i-za-tà-pa-wa/i-tà-ta li*$^{?}$- x x [. . . (the latter apparently belonging to a scribal signature).

| (1) | KARKAMIŠ A3 §20; cf. Hawkins 2000, 1:110 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *a-wa/i-tà-tá | \|za-a-ti-i | (DEUS)TONITRUS-ti-i | *ARHA* | \|CAPERE-i |
| | a=wa=ada=tta | zatti | tarhunti | ahha | lai |
| | PTCL=PTCL==they.ACC=PTCL | this.DAT.SG | Storm-god.DAT.SG | away | take.3SG.PRS |
| | "(*If someone rules after me*) and takes them (= *these artisans*) away from this Storm-god. . . ."[8] | | | | |

| (2) | ALEPPO 2 §18; cf. Hawkins 2000, 1:236 | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | \|*ARHA*-pa-wa/i-tú-wa/i-tà-ta | \|kwa/i-sa | \|CAPERE-i |
| | ahha=ba=wa=du(w)=ada=ta | kwis | lai |
| | away=but=PTCL=he.DAT=it.ACC=PTCL | who.NOM | take.3SG.PRS |
| | "(*What I will give to my brother*), who(ever) takes it away from him. . . ." | | |

| (3) | ASMACIK lines 1–2; cf. Hawkins 2000, 1:565 | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *ARHA*‖-pa-wa/i-tu-wa/i-tà-ta$^{?}$ | kwa/i-sa | ⌜\|CAPERE$^{?}$-i⌝ |
| | ahha=ba=wa=du(w)=ada=ta | kwis | lai |
| | away=but=PTCL=he.DAT=it.ACC=PTCL | who.NOM | take.3SG.PRS |
| | "Who(ever) takes it/them away from him. . . ." | | |

The instances where the variant [=at=ta] is deployed appear to be rather more numerous. Here it seems important to distinguish between two groups: the clitic complexes, where the pronominal clitic is partially visible, and their counterparts, where it is completely hidden. The instances of "semitransparent /=ad/" comprise the contexts where the preceding clitics end in *-i* or *-u* in the underlying representation. Even in such cases, one has to exercise judgment to distinguish between the sequences [=an=ta] and [at=ta], which inevitably yield the identical outcome *-°a-ta* or *-°a-tá* in the hieroglyphic graphic system. Since the function

8 The basic principles adopted in this essay for transcribing Luwian hieroglyphic texts are laid out in Yakubovich 2015, §4. The official licensed copy of this study is available at the Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts website (web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/) under the heading "Grammar." For the reading of the verb hidden under the logogram <CAPERE> as /la-$^{(i)}$/, see Yakubovich 2008, 20–24. For the interpretation of the dative case of /tsa-/ as /tsatti/ (without lenition), see Goedegebuure 2010b. The reading of the logogram <*ARHA*> is discussed in Yakubovich 2012.

of the clitic /=an/ is clearly defined as the common-gender accusative singular marker (cf. table 25.1 above), this task is relatively easy if the contexts are fully preserved.[9]

In the analysis of the second group, which comprises the instances of hidden /=ad/, one must rule out the possibility that the clitic personal pronoun is simply absent from the underlying representation of the Wackernagel chain, even before its phonetic spelling-out. What helps here is the Watkins-Garrett rule, which prescribes the use of subject clitics, as opposed to the zero representation of the argument, in Anatolian intransitive clauses with low agentivity of the subjects. The general applicability of this rule to Luwian has been demonstrated in Melchert 2011. Likewise, it is normally assumed that the object clitics required by the verbal frame are overtly present in Luwian on the morphosyntactic level (i.e., before the spelling-out). Although some hieroglyphic contexts are conducive to questioning these principles (cf. example 12 below), we assume that they generally hold at least in those cases where the pronominal clitics stand for the established referents.

We begin by presenting the evidence of the first group. The highlights of the relevant discussion in Rieken 2008 are the clitic chains in KARKAMIŠ A11b §10–11, a passage from a tenth-century BC inscription of Katuwa, where one observes the minimal pair **a-wa/i-ma-tá* in (4) versus **a-wa/i-ma-tà* in (5). The latter example, analyzable as /a=wa=mu=ada/, clearly shows that the subject of both intransitive clauses is the pronoun /=ada/ "they," referring back to the gods. In the former example, a variant of this pronoun must be reconstructed in a clitic chain before the adverbial particle /=tta/, which is normally appended to clauses featuring the verb /asa-/ "to sit" and its complement denoting place. The particle /=tta/ is expressed in (4) by *-tá*, as expected, but the only exponent of the preceding clitic pronoun is the use of the sign <ma> in lieu of <mu>. The only viable solution under these circumstances is reconstructing the clitic complex [a=wa=m=at=ta] ~ /a=wa=mu=ad=tta/. The reconstruction of the same phonetic sequence [a=wa=m=at=ta] also imposes itself in clause (6), which occurs later in the same inscription KARKAMIŠ A11b. But here the clitic [=at=], while having the same referent "gods," displays a different function, marking the direct object. Accordingly, the segment /=m=/ must be analyzed in this case as an allomorph of /=mi=/ rather than accusative /=mu=/ and interpreted as a reflexive ethical dative.

| (4) | KARKAMIŠ A11b §10; cf. Hawkins 2000, 1:103 | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *a-wa/i-ma-tá | ("LIGNUM")hu-hú+ra/i-pa-li | \|(SOLIUM)á-sa-tá |
| | a=wa=m(u)=at=ta | huhurpalli | asanta |
| | PTCL=PTCL=me.DAT=they.NOM=PTCL | h.DAT. | sit.3PL.PRT |
| | (*The gods loved me*.) "They sat on my *huhurpalli*-weapon."[10] | | |

| (5) | KARKAMIŠ A11b §11; cf. Hawkins 2000, 1:103 | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *a-wa/i-ma-tà | \|PRAE-na | ($PES_2$)hwa/i-ia-ta |
| | a=wa=m(u)=ada | parran | hwiyanta |
| | PTCL=PTCL=me.DAT=they.NOM | before | run.3PL.PRT |
| | "They ran in front of me." | | |

9 The ambiguity remains if the context is fragmentary. One case in point is *wa/i-ma-t*[*á* . . . in TELL TAYINAT 2 line 1, 9 §ii, which can be interpreted as [wa=m=an=ta] or [wa=m=at=ta]. In a similar fashion, the sequence *í-sà-tara/i-la-ti-pa-wá/í-tu-wa/i-t*[*a* . . . in KAYSERİ §10 can be interpreted as [istraladi=ba=wa=duw=at=ta] or [istraladi=ba=wa=duw=an=ta].

10 The noun /xuɣurpall(i)-/ was interpreted as "cymbal" in Melchert 1988, 229–36, on the strength of its comparison with Hittite *ḫuḫubal* "cymbal, clapper," but the match is phonetically imprecise. A much more satisfactory comparandum is Luwian /xuɣurpa-/ "to hunt" in example (16) below. From a semantic viewpoint, the formulaic example (5) indicates that the gods assisted Katuwa in battle, so the interpretation that the gods directed Katuwa's weapon, metaphorically sitting on it, appears inherently plausible. The possible etymological connection between Luwian /xuɣurpall(i)-/ and /warp(i)-/ "weapon" is addressed in Yakubovich 2019, 556–57.

| (6) | KARKAMIŠ A11b §17; cf. Hawkins 2000, 1:103 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *a-wa/i-ma-tá | \|za-ti-i | \|("PODIUM")hu-ma-ti | \|(SOLIUM)i-sà-nú-wa/i-ha |
| | a=wa=m(i)=at=ta | zatti | hummadi | isanuwahha |
| | PTCL=PTCL=me.DAT=they.ACC=PTCL | this.DAT.SG | precinct.DAT.SG | set.up.1SG.PRT |
| | "I set them up in this precinct."[11] | | | |

Examples (7) and (8) feature /=ad/ as a variant of a neuter singular object pronoun. Halparuntiya, ruler of Gurgum, boasts of his military exploits and then embarks on the common topos of comparing himself with his ancestors. He concedes that his father and grandfather possessed /tabarixid-/ "authority" (*vel sim.*) but then makes the point of stating that they never "released it in their own interest"—unlike Halparuntiya, who did precisely that. Presumably a military conquest was conceived of as an act of "releasing authority in one's own interest," or simply exercising authority. What is important for our purposes is the status of the neuter noun /tabarixid-/ as the most plausible antecedent for the direct object "authority" in (7) and (8). Therefore, the clause-initial clitic sequences in both clauses are to be analyzed as [wa=dij=at=ta] and [wa=mij=at=ta], respectively, which would correspond to /wa=di=ad=tta/ and /wa=mi=ad=tta/ on the phonological level.[12] This interpretation does not change even if one accepts the earlier translations of Hawkins, "allowed it to themselves" and "allowed it to myself," respectively, where "it" presumably refers to the act of conquest.

| (7) | MARAŞ 4, §9; cf. Hawkins 2000, 1:256 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | \|wa/i-ti-ia-ta | $NEG_2$-a-ha | \|tá-ti-i-sa | \|$NEG_2$-a-ha |
| | wa=di(y)=at=ta | naha | tadis | naha |
| | PTCL=he.REFL=it.ACC=PTCL | nor | father.NOM.SG | nor |
| | AVUS-ha-sá | \|sá-ta | | |
| | huhas | satta | | |
| | grandfather.NOM.SG | release.3SG.PRT | | |
| | "(*My ancestors had authority.*) Neither (my) father nor (my) grandfather exercised it." | | | |

| (8) | MARAŞ 4 §10; cf. Hawkins 2000, 1:256 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | \|wa/i-mi-ia-tá | \|EGO | ITONITRUS.HALPA-pa-$CERVUS_3$-ti-ia-sa | \|sá-a-ha |
| | wa=mi(y)=at=ta | amu | halparuntiyas | sahha |
| | PTCL=me.REFL=it.ACC=PTCL | I.NOM | Halparuntiya.NOM.SG | release.1SG.PRT |
| | "(But) I, Halparuntiya, exercised it." | | | |

11 The interpretation of Luwian /xummad(i)-/ as "precinct" rather than "podium," as preferred by Hawkins, is not absolutely assured but is supported by two independent considerations. On the one hand, this noun cannot be separated from Hittite *ḫumma-* "pigsty," which sometimes appears with a *Glossenkeil* and is thus likely to represent a Luwian foreign word (cf. HED 3, 373). Both "pigsty" and "precinct" represent fenced areas, despite their quite different connotations. On the other hand, the theonym /xummadass(i)- kubaba-/ (KARKAMIŠ A20a1 §2) is easier to interpret as "Kubaba of the precinct" rather than "Kubaba of the podium." The main argument for the interpretation "podium" appears to be the determinative L264 = <PODIUM>, which graphically resembles some sort of pedestal. This graphic argument, however, is not conclusive because a very similar sign, L201 = <LOCUS/TERRA>, is employed to designate various open spaces. In cuneiform Luwian texts, /hum(ma)d(i)-/ refers to a part of the house that can, in principle, be either elevated or fenced. The translation "pediment" adopted for it in Melchert 1993, 73, appears to be transferred from the hieroglyphic texts. For the interpretation of dat.sg. *za-ti-i* "to this" as /tsatti/, see Goedegebuure 2010b.

12 Note the difference in sandhi between (6) and (8), where the vowel of the 1sg. reflexive clitic /=mi/ disappears and stays, respectively. It is likely that the special sandhi in (8) is prompted by analogy with the preceding sentence (7), where the glide formation after the 2/3sg. reflexive clitic /=di/ reflects a regular pattern.

The final example of the partially visible /=ad/ in a hieroglyphic text occurs in the recently published inscription İSTANBUL 2. The editors of the text interpret the sequence *wa/i-ma-ta* as [wa=m=an=ta] ~ /wa=mu=an=tta/, which would imply that we are dealing with a transitive clause. They do not, however, fail to observe that other occurrences of ($PES_2$)*wa/i-si-* suggest an intransitive verb of motion (Taş and Weeden 2011, 59b). One can add that further instances of this Luwian verb have been identified in cuneiform texts and that the intransitive semantics ("to come" or "to appear") are suitable for all of them (Melchert 2003, 193). This apparent contradiction is eliminated if one accepts the interpretation [wa=m=at=ta] ~ /wa=mu=ad=tta/ in example (9). The subject pronoun /=ad/, presumably in agreement with the numeral "one hundred and one," can here stand for either neuter singular "it" or, less likely, neuter plural "they." Its overt expression is predicted by the Watkins-Garrett rule.

| (9) | İSTANBUL 2 A 2; cf. Taş and Weeden 2011, 56b | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | wa/i-ma-ta | 101 | \|CUM-ni | *ARHA* | ("$PES_2$")wa/i-si-tà |
| | wa=m(u)=at=ta | 101 | anni | ahha | wisida |
| | PTCL=me.DAT=it.NOM=PTCL | 101 | PREV | away | appear.3SG.PRT |
| | "One hundred and one of them disappeared[?] from me." | | | | |

Moving to the instances of /=ad/ that are fully hidden in writing, and presumably on the phonetic level as well, the most reliable one seems to be the passage from the KARATEPE 1 bilingual. The hidden /=ad/ meaning "them" can be reconstructed in (10) not only on the basis of the preceding clause, where its allomorph /=ara/ is overtly expressed,[13] but also in view of the sequence *yrd-m ʾnk* "I moved them down" in the Phoenician original of the same passage. The same sequence INFRA-*ta-ha-wa/i-ta* is found in the parallel version KARATEPE 1 (Ho.) §29.

| (10) | KARATEPE 1 (Hu.) §29; cf. Hawkins 2000, 1:52 | |
|---|---|---|
| | INFRA-ta-ha-wa/i-ta | \|("PES")u-sá-ha |
| | zanta=ha=wa=at=ta | usahha |
| | down=and=PTCL=they.ACC=PTCL | lead.1SG.PRT |
| | "(*As for mountain raiders, I, Azatiwada, smote them.*) I led them down."[14] | |

Once the presence of the allophone /=ad/ is established for KARATEPE 1, one can wonder whether the same allophone is also underlyingly present in (11). In this case, the syntax of the Phoenician original deviates from the Luwian translation: "I removed(?) all the evil that was in the land." Given the fact that the verb /parxa-/ "to drive" is syntactically transitive in its other occurrences (Melchert 2016, 205), one would rather expect the object clitic in (11).

Sometimes, however, a direct object clitic can be omitted if its antecedent is overtly present in the same sentence, as in (12). One can, of course, say that this is the kind of exception confirming the rule, because the same clause is soon repeated with the direct object clitic /=an/ (ASSUR letter f+g §25). On the other hand, the indefinite character of the antecedent in (12) may have constituted an additional licensing condition for the omission of the anaphoric pronoun, while in ASSUR letter f+g §25 the mule acquires the status of an etablished referent. But in (11) the antecedent is definite but nonspecific, which may or may

13 The precise phonetic nature of "rhotacism" in Late Luwian is beyond the scope of this study. We argue in Rieken and Yakubovich 2010, 214–15, that the most likely result of the merger between the intervocalic /r/, /l/, and /d/ in Luwian in the first millennium BC is the flap [ɾ], but whatever the precise phonetic realization of this sound was, synchronically it was no doubt an allophone of /r/.

14 For the interpretation of INFRA-*ta* as /tsanta/, see Goedegebuure 2010a.

not have licensed the same sort of ellipsis. The interplay between reference type and the use of anaphors in Luwian is obviously a topic for a separate study. For our present purposes, we have to content ourselves with stating that (11) represents an intermediate case between (10) and (12), so the hidden /=ad/ remains a mere probability there.

| (11) | KARATEPE 1 (Ho.) §13; cf. Hawkins 2000, 1:50 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | \|wa/i-ta | ("TERRA")ta-sà-kwa/i+ra/i-ri+i | \|*ARHA* | L501-ha-há |
| | wa=at[?]=ta | taskwarari | ahha | parhah(h)a |
| | PTCL=they.ACC=PTCL | land.ABL | away | drive.1SG.PRT |
| | "(*The evils that were in the land,*) I drove them from the land." | | | |

| (12) | ASSUR letter f+g §22–23; cf. Hawkins 2000, 2:537 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | \|u-nu-pa-wa/i-tu-u | \|(ASINUS$_2$.ANIMAL)tara/i-ka-sa-ni-sa | \|kwa/i-ri+i | \|a-sa-ti |
| | unun=pa=wa=du | tarkasnis | kwari | asti |
| | now=but=PTCL=thee.DAT | mule.NOM.SG | if | be.3SG.PRS |
| | wa/i-mu-u | \|VIA-wa/i-ni | | |
| | wa=mu | harwanni | | |
| | PTCL=me.DAT | send.2SG.IMPV | | |
| | "Now, if there is a mule at your disposal, send (it) to me." | | | |

But the ASSUR letter f+g features a highly suggestive instance of the hidden /=ad/ as well. After finishing the request for mules, its author states in §28 that certain other commodities, *ka-mara/i-zi*, were bought for him.[15] Grammatically, this form is a plural noun of common gender. There follow clauses (13) and (14), which constitute the focus of the present discussion, and finally an elaborate request for a replacement *ka-mara/i-ra+a-* (§§31–35). The predicate of (13) is problematic, but in (14) we must be dealing with a transitive verb *wazzassa-* "to conduct" (Yakubovich 2016, 82–87). While the interpretation of (13) and (14) proposed here is rather different from the analysis in Hawkins 2000, both translations concur in the assumption that the direct objects of both clauses must refer to *ka-mara/i-zi*. Given that the *ka-mara/i-zi* can be regarded as established referents in (13) and (14) and the anaphoric clitic /=an/ is deployed with reference to the replacement *ka-mara/i-ra+a-* in the same passage (§§34–35), the default solution would be postulating hidden /=ad/ in (13) and (14).

| (13) | ASSUR letter f+g §29; cf. Hawkins 2000, 2:537 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | \|wa/i-za-ta | \|("COR")ta-ni | \|POST-na-´ | L480-ia |
| | wa=anz=at=ta | tani | appan | L480-ia |
| | PTCL=we.DAT= they.ACC=PTCL | self.DAT.SG | behind | ?.3SG.PRS |
| | "One holds[?] them (= *ka-mara/i-zi commodities*) behind from us for himself."[16] | | | |

15 For the possibility of translating *ka-mara/i-zi* as "camels," see Giusfredi 2020.

16 For the identification of Luwian /tan(i)-/ "self" as a lexeme that is synchronically distinct from Luwian /atr(i)-/ "soul, image," see van den Hout 2002. The objections to this hypothesis expressed in Hawkins 2015, 53, do not go to the heart of the matter, as they fail to address the nature of the alleged alternation between /n/ and /r/ in the word for "soul." Note in particular the juxtaposition of COR-*tara/i-i-na* and COR-*ni-i-na* in JISR EL HADID 4 D1. Also see van den Hout 2002 for the logographic value <COR>, as opposed to the earlier <VAS>.

| (14) | ASSUR letter f+g §30; cf. Hawkins 2000, 2:537 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | \|PRAE-pa-wa/i-za-ta | \|$NEG_2$-a | \|kwa/i-sà-ha | \|("$PES_2$")wa/i-[a]-za-sa-ti |
| | pari=ba=wa=anz=at=ta | na | kwisha | wazzassatti |
| | forth=but=PTCL=we.DAT=they.ACC=PTCL | not | anyone.NOM.SG | conduct.3SG.PRS |
| | "None conducts them forth to us." | | | |

Although example (15) has been subject to much discussion in recent years, everyone agrees that the passage in which it occurs addresses the favors that Yarri, an eighth-century regent of Carchemish, bestowed on the brothers of the heir apparent Kamani. The brothers (FRATER.*LA-zi-i*) are mentioned as such in the preceding clause (KARKAMIŠ A15b §15) and referred to by the anaphoric clitic /=(m)mants=/ in the following clause (KARKAMIŠ A15b §17). Accordingly, one expects that they should somehow be mentioned in the clause under discussion. For Hawkins (2000, 2:537), the clause meant "I ANTA SASA-ed to the brothers(?)," because he analyzed |"INFANS.*NI*" as a determinative of *á-lá/í-la-za* meaning "brothers." Such a solution, however, became no longer tenable once the difference between INFANS.*NI* as the determinative for "son" or "child" and INFANS.*LA* as the determinative for "brother" was identified. An additional problem with this solution was the transitive character of /sasa-/ in its remaining attestations. Therefore, a different translation, "I admitted (lit., 'threw') them to *aralla/i-*," was attempted in Rieken and Yakubovich 2010, 214, on the assumption of hidden /=ad/ meaning "them." The updated translation given in example (15) is based on the analysis of Luwian /arla-/ "place, position" in Yakubovich 2017. Whether one embraces the interpretation in Rieken and Yakubovich 2010 or the most recent solution should not affect the reconstruction of the hidden /=ad/.

| (15) | KARKAMIŠ A15b §16; cf. Hawkins 2000, 1:131 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | \|wa/i-ta | \|"INFANS.*NI*" | á-lá/í-la-za | \|a-ta | sa-sa-ha |
| | wa=at=ta | niwaranniy-anz | allanz | anta | sasahha |
| | PTCL=they.ACC=PTCL | child.POSS-DAT.PL | place.DAT.PL | PREV | release.1SG.PRT |
| | "(*I exalted his brothers*.) I promoted them to (my/his) children's places." | | | | |

The elliptical interpretation is rather more plausible in (16). The passage introduces the recurrent topos of the gods helping the king hunt wild beasts (for a parallel, cf. BOHÇA §§4–5). The transitive stem /xuɣurpa-/ ostensibly provides the derivational base for the weapon /xuɣurpall(i)-/, discussed above in connection with (4). But the preceding clause ALEPPO 2 §5, where beasts are introduced as brand-new referents, appears to contain the relative pronoun or adverb *kwa/i-ia* and thus likely forms a syntactic unit with (16), which enhances the likelihood of ellipsis. Furthermore, the combination /=ada=tta/ is attested in ALEPPO 2 §18 (example 2 above), and its coexistence with /=ad=tta/ in the same inscription, although possible, is perhaps not the most straightforward solution. Thus, example (16) constitutes another case, alongside (11), where the reconstruction of hidden /=ad/ remains a mere possibility.

| (16) | ALEPPO 2 §6; cf. Hawkins 2000, 1:236 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | wa/i-ta | \|PRAE-na | *ARHA* | \|(PUGNUS+PUGNUS)hu-hu+ra/i-pa-ti-i |
| | wa=at[?]=ta | parran | ahha | huhurpanti |
| | PTCL=they.ACC=PTCL | before | away | hunt.3PL.PRS |
| | "(*As for beasts*), they hunt them in front (of me[?])." | | | |

Finally, one must address a case where the reconstruction of hidden /=ad/ is likely on semantic grounds but faces formal difficulties. Our translation of (17) essentially follows Melchert 2016, 108. We assume that this curse formula mentions certain *kiharni*-objects, which the gods will release as projectiles into a perpetrator and not remove until he dies. The necessity of a direct object in (17) is implied by the transitive character

of the Luwian verb /pu-$^{(di)}$/ "to lift, exalt," which was recently identified in several inscriptions, including the one published by the honorand of this volume (Herrmann, van de Hout, and Beyazlar 2016, 61). Furthermore, the *kiharni*-objects clearly represent established referents in (17) and thus are both definite and specific.

The main problem with identifying hidden /=ada/ in this clause lies in the necessity of accounting for an additional syncope, which yielded SUPER+*ra/i-pa-wa/i-tu-ta*, as opposed to the arguably more regular *SUPER+*ra/i-pa-wa/i-tu-wa/i-ta*. A parallel for such a sound change in a clitic chain occurs, however, in BABYLON 1 §9, where we find **a-wa/i-tu-tà* as a realization of /a=wa=du=ada/. Furthermore, the syncope *uwa* > *u* can generally be observed more frequently in the Tabal inscriptions than elsewhere in the Luwian corpus. For example, only the texts from this region (ERKİLET 2 §1; BOR §§3, 9; KULULU 4 §4) display /tu-/ as the contracted allomorph of /tuwa-$^{(i)}$/ "to put, place." Since the KARABURUN inscription also comes from Tabal, one could claim that it offers an additional manifestation of the same phonetic tendency. This possibility is, however, not the only one—an analogical explanation for the same type of syncope in a clitic chain is discussed at the end of the following section.

| (17) | KARABURUN §13; cf. Hawkins 2000, 2:481 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | SUPER+ra/i-pa-wa/i-tu-ta | ni-i | ma-nu-ha | pu-tu |
| | sarra=ba=wa=du=∅/at=tta | ni | manuhha | pudu |
| | up=but=PTCL=he.DAT=they.ACC=PTCL | PROHIB | anyhow | lift.3SG.IMPV |
| | "(*Let the Storm-god of Harran release the kiharni-objects down into his heart*), and let him not at all lift them up." | | | |

## 3. CUNEIFORM EVIDENCE

An important peculiarity of Anatolian cuneiform vis-à-vis the Anatolian hieroglyphic script is the relatively consistent rendering of [n] before another consonant. This phenomenon means, in practice, that one can usually distinguish between the instances of [=an=ta] and [at=ta] in cuneiform transmission, so the difficulties of identifying semitransparent /=ad/ simply disappear. This specific advantage of Luwian cuneiform texts is offset by their more fragmentary state of preservation and less stereotypical character, which make it more difficult to interpret their general content. It is also important to keep in mind that Luwian texts of the second millennium BC feature the archaic clitic pronoun /=as/ for the common-gender accusative plural, which removes the relevant cases from the purview of this paper.

Just like the hieroglyphic record, the Luwian cuneiform texts, too, feature several passages where the sequence /=ada=tta/ is unequivocally present. Examples (18), (19), and (20) belong, respectively, to the Puriyanni ritual, an incantation for a sick child emanating from the Taurisa tradition, and an Istanuwa song. In addition, one encounters KBo 29.38 rev. 2 *a-*[*d*]*a-ad-da* in a Luwian letter and KBo 29.53:3 *a-ta-at-ta* in an unidentified fragment.

| (18) | KUB 35.54 iii 9, CTH 758; cf. Yakubovich and Mouton 2023, 2:8–9 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | a-ta-at-ta | ⌜pa-ri⌝ | pát-za-du | MÁŠ.GAL-iš |
| | a=ada=tta | pari | pazzadu | MÁŠ.GAL-is |
| | PTCL=it.ACC=PTCL | forth | carry.3SG.IMPV | male.goat.NOM.SG |
| | ma-a-u-wa-a-ti | pa[-a-a]r-ta-a-ti | | |
| | mawadi | partadi | | |
| | four.INSTR | leg.INSTR | | |
| | "Let the billy goat carry it (= *curse*) away with four legs (*and other body parts*)."[17] | | | |

17 For a more detailed discussion of this clause, cf. Yakubovich 2016, 75–76. Note also the resumption of the same formula *a-ta-a*[*t-t*]*a pa-ri pát-za-du* "let him carry it away" in KUB 35.54 iii 11. For the proposal regarding /part(a/i)-/ "leg," see Oettinger 2015, 270 and passim.

| (19) | KUB 35.88 iii 7, CTH 765; cf. Starke 1985, 227 | |
|---|---|---|
| | [z]i-la-pa-wa-ta-at-ta | pa-ra-an-du |
| | zila=ba=wa=ada=tta | parantu |
| | henceforth=but=PTCL=it.ACC=PTCL | carry.3PL.IMPV |
| | "Henceforth let them carry it."[18] | |

| (20) | KBo 4.11 rev. 46, CTH 772; cf. Starke 1985, 341 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ah-ha-ta-<at>-ta | a-la-ti | a-ú-i-en-ta | ú-i-lu-ša-ti |
| | ahha=ada=tta | aladi | awinta | wilusadi |
| | back=they.NOM=PTCL | remote.ABL | come.3PL.PRT | Wilusa.ABL |
| | "They came back from remote Wilusa."[19] | | | |

At the same time, there is enough evidence for the presence of the shorter variant /=ad=tta/ in the cuneiform corpus. To begin with instances of semitransparent /=ad/, one can mention the fragmentary sequence KUB 35.55:8 [*ka*]*r-aš-<<wa>>-du-wa-at-ta* ~ /karsdu=ad=tta/, which likewise happens to belong to the Puriyanni ritual. The proposed emendation reflects the fact that /kars-/ "to cut off, sever" (*vel sim.*) occurs two lines earlier in the same fragment. The general sense of the passage is that the ritual's patron is encouraged to symbolically cut off the impurity that came to be attached to him.[20]

Another, better-preserved piece of the same sort is example (21), which comes from the Kuwattalla tradition and is restored based on the later parallel version KUB 35.48 iii 12–13. The intransitive (unaccusative) verb /wi-$^{(ttari)}$/ "to appear" requires the presence of a clitic subject pronoun. While KUB 35.48 contains the clitic complex [*ni-iš-d*]*u-wa-ta* ~ /nis=du=ada/, the sequence *ni-iš-du-wa-at-ta* in (21) must be taken as the *scriptio difficilior*. Unless one assumes that this variant is a simple error, the interpretation /nis=du=ad=tta/ has no real alternatives. Presumably the appearance of the sentential particle /=tta/ in the earlier version is connected with the presence of the local adverb /appa/ "back, again."

| (21) | KUB 35.45 iii 11–12, CTH 760; cf. Mouton and Yakubovich 2023, 1:152–53 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | [ni-iš-du-wa-at-ta | a-ap-pa | ku-wa-an-zu | G]UN-an |
| | nis=du(w)=at=ta | appa | kuwanzu | GUN-an |
| | PROHIB=he.DAT=it.NOM=PTCL | again | heavy.NOM.SG.N | (weight unit).NOM.SG |
| | ni-iš-du-wa-at-ta | [a-ap-pa | ka-al-du-ni-i-ya | ú-i-i]t-ta<-ri> |
| | nis=du(w)=at=ta | appa | kaltuniya | wittari |
| | PROHIB=he.DAT=it.NOM.SG=PTCL | again | thrashing.NOM.PL.N | occur.3SG.PRS |
| | "[Let it (= *curse*) not become again a heavy lo]ad [for him (= *patient*)], let it not [be]come [again a (matter of) thrashing] for him."[21] | | | |

18 For the verb *para-* meaning "to carry," a likely cognate of Proto-Indo-European **bhere/o-* with the same meaning, see Melchert 2016, 203–6. The precise difference in meaning between *pazza-* and *para-* remains unclear at present, although both verbs can be used for the actions of substitute animals (scapegoats) carrying away curses.

19 The interpretation of this sentence presented here follows Rieken and Yakubovich 2021. While other modern treatments of this much-debated line feature divergent lexical interpretations, they do not affect the analysis of the initial clitic complex.

20 The proposed interpretation derives support from the parallel version of the Puriyanni ritual (KUB 35.54 ii 11). In both instances, we are dealing with modal clauses following the presentation of the *taluppi*-object (a clod of dough?), which features the verbal stems /kars-/ and /talku-/. The modal clause in KUB 35.54 ii 11 begins with *a-at-ta ta-al-ku-du*, displaying the same resumptive rhetorical strategy.

21 The form [*ka-*]*al-du-ni-i-ya*, attested in KUB 35.48 iii 13, is restored based on the assumption that it is related to Luwian /kaltun(i)-/ "club, shank." Our hypothesis implies that the possessive form **kalduni(ya/i)-* was substantivized as *plurale*

To these examples one can add a slightly different case, one where semitransparent /=ad/ can be spotted in front of the sentential particle /=dar/. This particle does not occur in hieroglyphic texts and was therefore not addressed in section 2, but in the cuneiform corpus it appears rather frequently at the end of the clitic chain, in the same syntactic slot as the particle /=tta/. Now, the same curse formula, threatening the perpetrator with plucking out his heart and nailing it with a bronze peg, contains *a-ta-tar* in KUB 32.8+5 iv 23 and *a-at-tar* in KBo 29.9 obv. 11 in identical structural positions (cf. Melchert 2016, 209–10).[22] Since the initial lenis stop of the particle /=dar/ can be reliably established on the basis of its numerous attestations, the only plausible phonological analysis of *a-at-tar* is /a=ad=dar/. The proposed analysis derives additional confirmation from the variant *a-ta-tar* ~ /a=da=dar/ in another instantiation of the same curse formula.

The most straightforward example of hidden /=ad/ in the cuneiform corpus is arguably another incantantion belonging to the Kuwattalla tradition. The first and second clauses of (22) contain the same subject, likely to be identified with the *KUKUB*-vessel mentioned in the Hittite matrix text of the same passage. Therefore, although the sequence *ša-p*[*í-*]*ya-ti-pa-at-ta* could formally be interpreted as /sabiyadi=ba=tta/, since we are dealing with an intransitive clause, the only analysis that is syntactically possible would be /sabiyadi=ba=ad=tta/, featuring the clitic anaphoric pronoun of the neuter gender. Compare the passage KUB 35.71 (+) 30 ii 4–7, recently joined by Alice Mouton, where a common gender noun UTUL-*iš* "pot" appears in a parallel context, and line 6 in particular: *ša-pí-ya-ti-pa-a*[*š-ta a-ú-i-<im>-mi-i*]*š*.

| (22) | KBo 29.6 obv. 19–21, CTH 762; cf. Mouton and Yakubovich 2023, 1:352–53 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | wa-ar-ra-an[- . . . | ku-wa-a-ti] | ha-a-ša-ti | a-ú-i-im-ma-an |
| | warran[- . . . | kuwadi | hasadi | awimm-an |
| | ?.NOM.SG.N | as | ashes.INSTR | come.PTCP-NOM.SG.N |
| | ša-p[í-]ya-ti-pa-at-ta | | a-ú[-i-im-ma-an] | |
| | spiyadi=ba=at=ta | | aw[imm-an] | |
| | purification.INSTR=but=it.NOM=PTCP | | come.PTCP-NOM.SG.N | |
| | a-ú-i-du-wa-aš-ta | | ma-al-ha-aš-ša-aš-ši[-i]š | EN-aš |
| | awidu(w)=as=ta | | malhassass-is | niyas |
| | come.3SG.IMPV=he.NOM=PTCL | | ritual.POSS-NOM.SG.C | lord.NOM.SG |
| | ha-ra-at-na[-ti | | wa-aš-ku-li-im-ma-a-ti] | |
| | haratna[di | | waskulimmadi] | |
| | offense.INSTR | | transgression.INSTR | |
| | "[As] *w.* has come from the ashes, and it [has] co[me] through purification, (so) let the ritual's patron come [from] offense [(and) transgression]."[23] | | | |

*tantum* with the meaning "battery, thrashing." Since one is dealing with a partially restored hapax legomenon, the proposed interpretation must naturally be considered provisional.

22 The only difference between the proposed outline of the curse and its analysis by Melchert consists in the reconstruction of the evildoer's heart as the removed object. This reconstruction is based mainly on the additional fragmentary version of the same curse formula (KUB 32.7:9–12), although traces of <ŠÀ> can also be seen in KUB 32.8+5 iv 22.

23 The form *ha-a-ša-ti* is listed as part of the paradigm of Luwian /has-/ "bone" in Melchert 1993, 62, but it would make no sense in the context of the present passage. The proposed interpretation "ashes" is based on comparison with Hittite *ḫašš(a)-* "ashes, soap" and Luwian /xassanitt(i)-/ "hearth" and implies a simile involving a dirty object that undergoes cleaning and a sinful person who undergoes purification. The ashes may have been perceived as both a source of impurity and a means of purification, since on the one hand they accumulate on vessels as soot but on the other hand they constitute the main ingredient of soap. In any case, this passage should be compared with an incantation from the ritual of Samuha (CTH 480.1), where a female ritual practitioner makes soap of the *ḫašuwai-*plant with the intention of turning hostile curses into soap via sympathetic magic (Görke and Melzer 2016, §§16–17). The last clause of the passage under discussion features the phenomenon of clitic doubling, consisting in the insertion of a redundant proleptic pronoun /=as/ into the clitic chain. For a detailed discussion of this syntactic phenomenon, see Yakubovich and Mouton 2023, 2:313–29.

Almost equally probative are the two consecutive sentences featuring the verb /arlanuwa-/ "to replace, relocate," which was recently addressed in detail in Yakubovich 2017, 10–14 (for their earlier interpretation, cf. Poetto 1997). The immediately preceding context consists of a list of various curses to be removed magically. What is important for our present purposes is that /arlanuwa-/ is a transitive verb, as follows from its morphological structure, and that curses must constitute its direct object to ensure textual cohesion. In examples (23) and (24), the direct object clitics appear to be hidden in the sequences [*a*]*n-ta-at-ta* and *a-an-ta-pa-at-ta*, respectively. The former sequence could formally be interpreted as /x-ta=tta/ or /x-ta=ad=tta/; the latter one is compatible with the formal interpretations /anta=ba=tta/ and /anta=ba=ad=tta/. The syntactic considerations force the second solution in each of the two cases.

| (23) | KUB 35.45 ii 5, CTH 760; cf. Mouton and Yakubovich 2023, 1:150–51 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | [x]-ta-at-ta | a-ar-la-nu-wa-at-ta | pár-ra-ya-an-za | HUR.SAG.MEŠ-za |
| | x-ta=at=tta | arlanuwatta | parrayanz | wattanz |
| | ?=they.ACC.N=PTCL | relocate.3SG.PRT | high.DAT.PL | mountain.DAT.PL |
| | "It (= *sheep*) relocated them (= *curses*) to the high mountains (*and other remote locations*)." | | | |

| (24) | KUB 35.45 ii 7–8, CTH 760; cf. Mouton and Yakubovich 2023, 1:150–51 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | a-an-ta-pa-at-ta | a-ar-la-nu-wa-at-ta | SÍSKUR-aš-ša-an-za-<an> | EN-ya |
| | anta=ba=at=ta | arlanuwatta | malhassassanz-an | niya |
| | in=but=they.ACC.N=PTCL | replace.3SG.PRT | ritual.POSS.PL-DAT.SG | lord.DAT.SG |
| | hu-i-it-wa-la-hi<-ta>-ti | | | |
| | hwitwalahidadi | | | |
| | life.INSTR | | | |
| | "It (= *sheep*) replaced them (= *curses*) for the patron of the rituals with vitality (*and other good things*)." | | | |

Finally, we must turn to the situation where the assumption of a hidden /=ad/ contradicts the simplest formal solution and requires the assumption of an additional analogical change. Thus in example (25) below, restored after KUB 35.24+ obv. 19, the segmentation /lalai=du=tta/ and /paprai=du=tta/ involves no formal hurdles, whereas the alternatives /lalai=du=ad=tta/ and /paprai=du=ad=tta/ would be better compatible with the graphic sequences ***la-la-i-du-wa-at-ta* and ***pa-ap-ra-i-du-wa-at-ta*, respectively. On the other hand, a very similar formula, likewise describing the desirable actions of a scapegoat, features an overt direct object pronoun in example (18) above. In this case, we are essentially facing a mismatch between morphophonemic and morphosyntactic optimality.

| (25) | KUB 32.14+ iii 6, CTH 761; cf. Mouton and Yakubovich 2023, 1:254–55 | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | [la-la-i-]du-ut-ta | | pa-ap[-ra-i-du-ut-ta] |
| | lalai=du=∅=tta | | paprai=du=∅=tta |
| | take.3SG.IMPV=he.DAT=it.ACC=PTCL | | carry.away.3SG.IMPV=he.DAT=it.ACC=PTCL |
| | 4-ti | pa-ar-ta[-ti] | |
| | mawadi | partadi | |
| | four.INSTR | leg.INSTR | |
| | "It will [take] them (= *curses*) from him (and) car[ry them away from him with] (his) four legs (*and other body parts*)." | | |

To resolve this conundrum, one must remember that hidden /=ad/ has a zero phonetic expression in cases such as (22)–(24), as well as, presumably, in the hieroglyphic passages (10) and (13)–(15), which were

discussed in section 2. Although, from a historical viewpoint, this state of affairs was clearly due to phonetic reasons, as suggested by the intermediate cases (4), (6)–(9), and (21), some Luwian speakers may have interpreted it as being due to an optional spelling-out rule that licensed the full suppression of underlying /=ada/ before /=tta/. This assumption, in turn, could be conducive to the analogical extension of hidden /=ad/ to those cases where one would otherwise expect the semitransparent /=ad/. The outcome of this secondary process is presumably reflected in example (25).

The irregular application of the proposed analogy on top of the irregular morphophonemic alternation could only enhance variation in the structure of Luwian Wackernagel clitic chains. Contrary to what one might expect, the resulting convoluted system appears to have endured for a considerable period of time. The same explanation that is available for (25), an incantation going back to at least the fourteenth century BC, is also available for example (17), although the relevant inscription was probably made in the eighth century BC. The significance of this parallel need not be exaggerated, because there is an alternative phonetic explanation for the development in (17), as argued at the end of section 2. But given robust independent evidence of the enduring character of the variant /=ad=tta/ alongside /=ada=tta/, it is at least conceivable that this free variation could periodically trigger the same optional analogical change, which yielded /=∅=tta/.

We have attempted to demonstrate in this section that although the reconstruction of hidden pronominal clitics in cuneiform texts is fraught with philological difficulties, the endeavor is not beyond human power. It is very likely that ongoing philological study of Luwian incantations will reveal additional passages featuring the same phenomenon.

## 4. CONCLUSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

In the two preceding sections, we presented cumulative evidence for allomorphic variation of the Luwian pronominal clitic /=ada/ in the position before the adverbial clitic /=tta/. While in some cases involving this combination one observes the basic allomorph /=ada/, in other cases the only available formal solution is reconstructing the shorter allomorph /=ad/, the initial vowel of which remains visible in both the cuneiform and hieroglyphic record. The instances of semitransparent /=ad/ are conducive to the reconstruction of hidden /=ad/. This allomorph has left no traces in writing, nor presumably in the sound form of the respective clitic chains, but its presence is required by syntactic constraints and its absence from the surface realization is phonetically predictable. Such cases, in turn, provide a bridge to possible instances of the zero allomorph of /=ada/, the existence of which must be inferred on the basis of syntactic considerations alone, while the phonetic realization of /=ada=/ or /=ad/ would have been different.

It is clear that the farther down the slope one goes, the slimmer the material evidence becomes. But if one makes the standard assumption that the syntactic behavior of /=ada/ was essentially similar to that of other pronominal clitics, such as /=as/ “(s)he” and /=an/ “him, her” (acc.), then one must go all the way down the slope. On the other hand, each of the preceding elements in this sequence is conducive to interpreting the following one in conformity with the notional apparatus of historical linguistics. In particular, the formation of hidden /=ad/ can be explained by context-independent phonological rules, while the zero allomorph of /=ada/ is presumably due to a trivial reanalysis of hidden /=ad/.

A separate question is the historical origin of the allomorph /=ad/. As should be clear from the discussion in section 1, phonetically it is closer to the Proto-Anatolian form of the clitic pronoun “it” than the allomorph /=ada/. Therefore, one could advance a hypothesis that the archaic form of the pronominal clitic was retained in the position before /=tta/, resisting widespread analogical change. The rationale for such a behavior could be the principle of inalterability, according to whose classical formulation “long segments often resist the application of rules that a-priori would be expected to apply to them” (Hayes 1986, 321). Although this principle was initially formulated with reference to the application of phonological rules, its extension to analogical changes appears warranted. If the inherited sequence /=ad=tta/ had the phonetic realization [=at(=)ta], then the clitic boundary would split the resulting long (fortis) consonant [tt] into two parts. Under such conditions, one can argue that the presence of this boundary was no longer felt or only

weakly felt, so the changes that were normally applicable to the morpheme /=ad/ could occasionally be blocked in this environment.

On the other hand, one could suggest that the replacement of */=ad/ with /=ada/ occurred in Luwian regardless of the environment, and only then the sequence /=ada=tta/ underwent an occasional syncope to /=ad=tta/. The licensing condition for such a sound change would be the articulatory similarity between the consonants on both sides of the syncopated vowel. The rules restricting vowel syncope to the position between identical consonants are typologically well known (Blevins 2004, 172), and in many such cases the computation of identity ignores minor differences in consonant articulation, such as laryngeal features (see, e.g., Odden 1988, 463–64). A potential objection to this alternative could be the necessity of assuming two changes in opposite directions—that is, *=*od*= > /=ada=/ > /=ad=/. But the principle of economy, important as it is in discriminating between the competing models of synchronic description, does not necessarily constitute a valid consideration in historical reconstruction. Since the addition of the final vowel to the clitic under discussion is thought to represent a common Luwic sound change, the evidence of other Luwic languages may prove to be crucial for choosing the correct scenario.

It is known that the Luwian pronominal clitic /=ada/ is cognate with Lycian (A) =*ede*, while the Luwian adverbial particle /=tta/ corresponds to Lycian (A) =*te*. The combination of the two clitics is attested in the complex *m=ede=t=ewẽ* (TL 84.5, N 320.26, and N 324.20). Here the final vowel of =*te* merges with the initial vowel of the additional particle =*ewẽ*, a likely cognate of the Hittite local adverb *awan*, but the final vowel of =*ede* is not syncopated. The presumable outcome of syncope in =*ede=te* would be **=*et=te*, but such a sequence is nowhere to be found. The objection that **=*et=te* would be automatically simplified to **=*ete* appears to be invalid given the structure of the frequent Lycian form *ebette* "to these." On the other hand, one finds the Lycian clitic chain *s=ed=de* (TL 44b.47,51). The easiest explanation for the origin of this complex is the syncope in **s=ede=de*, where =*de* is yet another Lycian adverbial particle, a presumable cognate of Luwian /=dar/. One can compare the variation between KUB 32.8+5 iv 23 /a=ada=dar/ and KBo 29.9 obv. 11 /a=ad=dar/, addressed in §3.

The scarcity of relevant Lycian data precludes definite conclusions, but the simplest hypothesis to make would be the independent character of syncope in Luwian and Lycian clitic complexes.[24] Perhaps the general principle of vowel syncope between identical consonants was implemented in both languages, but the computation of identity in Lycian was stricter, to the effect of excluding the sequence =*ede=te* as a valid input for this process. While new data may prompt us to modify the licensing conditions of syncope in Lycian, it is unlikely that they will tip the scales in favor of treating =*ede=te* < **=et=te* as a product of analogical change and the sequence =*ed=de* as reflecting the original state of affairs, since such a distribution could not be motivated. But if the scenario of a secondary syncope is to be preferred for Lycian, it is also to be preferred for Luwian. Among the attested Luwian allomorphs /=ada/, /=ad/, and /=∅/, the first one emerges as the most archaic.

We can conclude that the changes that affected the Luwian clitic pronoun under discussion progressively increased its opacity. Since they did not represent historical developments occurring in a sequence—the most transparent and the most opaque variants coexisted for several hundred years—this variation can best be described as stylistic in nature. One can hypothesize that the frequency of allegro forms with syncope increased in the colloquial pronunciation of clitic chains. It is, however, remarkable that such variation is attested not only in cuneiform incantations recorded by Hattusa literati but also in monumental hieroglyphic inscriptions. One can observe here a sharp contrast with the habits of Hittite cuneiform scribes, who rigidly followed the conventions for rendering clitic chains, presumably as they had been learned at school. This contrast cues the resilience of Luwian as a colloquial language even in those environments where it otherwise cannot be taken for granted, such as Early Iron Age Syria.

24 It must be clarified that the discussion of this paragraph concerns a very specific case of syncope across a clitic boundary. Since this process was likely to lead to the loss of morphosyntactic information, its licensing conditions may have been stricter than those of other kinds of syncope. On syncope in Lycian in general, cf. van de Kasteelen 2015.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter other than the following ones are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

| | |
|---|---|
| c. | common |
| N | Günter Neumann, *Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979 |
| n. | neuter |
| TL | Ernst Kalinka, *Tituli Lyciae: Lingua lycia conscripti*. Vienna: Hoelder, 1901 |

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# 26 RETHINKING THE SIZE AND ROLE OF ḪATTUŠA

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The city of Ḫattuša, within its circuit of defensive walls, covered an area of approximately 180 hectares.[1] It was thus one of the largest ancient Near Eastern cities of the second millennium BC. Kurt Bittel initally estimated its population to be 15,000–20,000 (Bittel and Naumann 1952, 26n16), later reducing the number to 9,000–15,000 (Bittel 1983, 85). Clelia Mora (1977, 216) conjectured 9,000–11,000 inhabitants for just the Lower City district of Ḫattuša. Andreas Schachner (2017b, 42) calculated a maximum population of 10,000–12,000 inhabitants based on the possible crop yield within a radius of not more than approximately 10 km around the city. And Trevor Bryce (2002, 250) has even suggested 40,000 or more inhabitants at the city's fullest expansion. The area covered by Ḫattuša was, of course, not the only factor used in estimating its population. There was also the city's function—as capital of the empire, royal seat, and major cult center—which must have required a population of a certain size to maintain its status.

Many decades of excavation work have produced a great deal of data and observations on how various areas both within and outside the city walls were used. This Festschrift in honor of Theo van den Hout, who knows Ḫattuša so well from the texts, seems to be a good place to bring together, in a few pages, all of this disparate information, which has been published in diverse sources. What do we know today about the different parts of the city? What was to be found there, and what was certainly not present? Where do we still lack information? A surprise awaits us at the end: Ḫattuša was without question smaller than previously supposed.

In the following summary, I first consider the area inside the city walls and then turn to the area immediately surrounding it. To make the description of the city easier, I have divided it into zones (fig. 26.1). The boundaries of these zones correspond, by and large, to the "natural" boundaries visible in the terrain—defensive walls, steep slopes, rocky spurs and outcrops, river valley. In some cases the demarcations are artificial, especially in areas that have not yet been investigated. As regards terrain, it needs to be borne in mind that, over the past 3,000 years, substantial geomorphological modification has taken place in this rugged and craggy landscape. On slopes, settlement remains may have been obliterated by erosion, while in hollows and valleys the former surface may now be covered by thick sediment layers. The absence of archaeological evidence therefore does not automatically mean a particular spot was never occupied. It seems certain, however, that steep slopes were not used—not, at any rate, for ordinary housing. Hittite builders were certainly capable of building on steep slopes—as the West Building near Nişantepe, for instance, shows—but doing so was technically complex and so far has not been attested for residential structures. It would have made sense if there had been an acute shortage of space, but that was plainly not the case. In

1 I thank Andreas Schachner and Trevor Bryce for their comments on an earlier version of this study and Giles Shephard for translating the text.

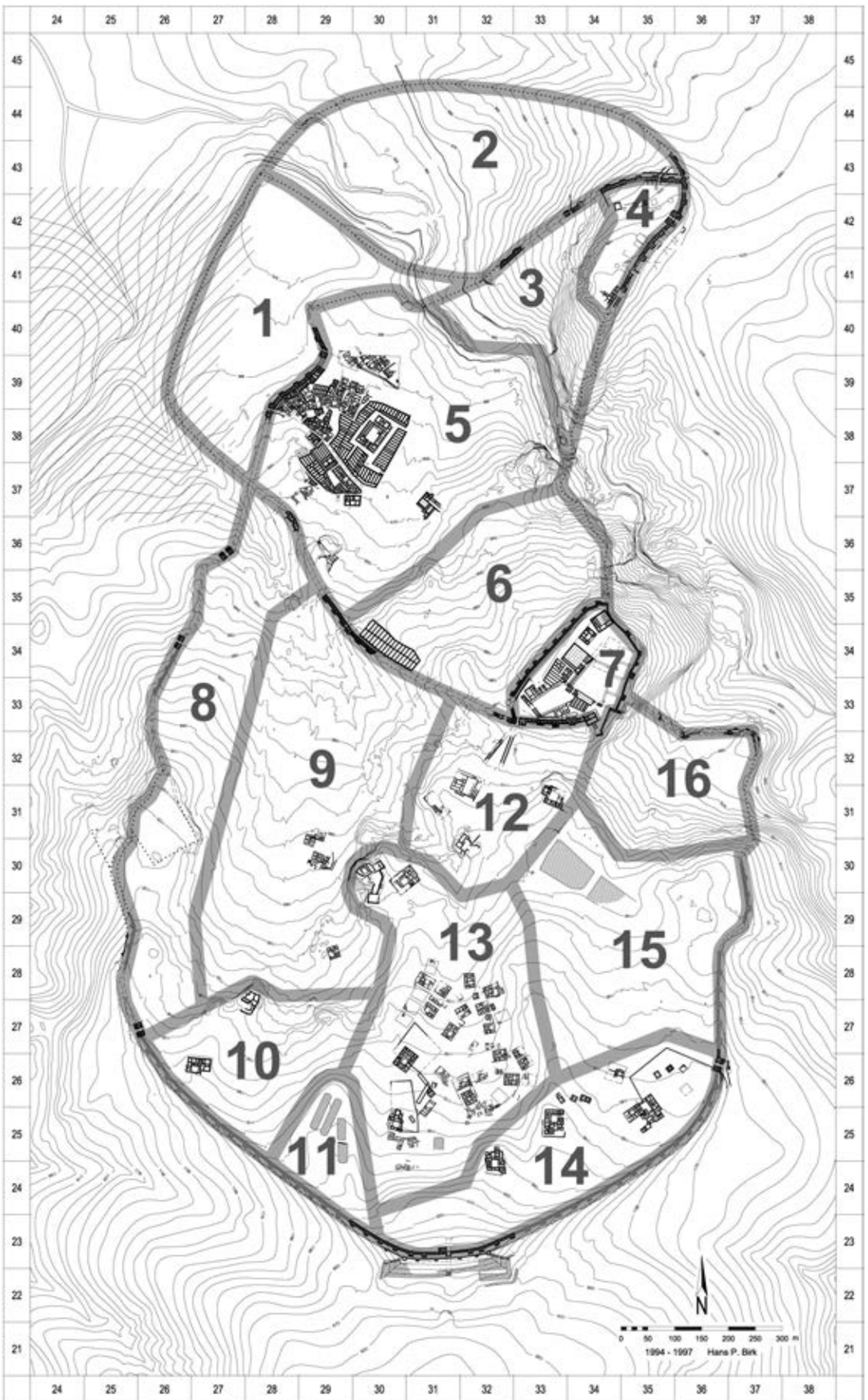


Figure 26.1. Plan of Ḫattuša showing the zones mentioned in the text. Contour lines are at 5 m intervals.

other locations, there may have been cult sites—sacred groves, springs, or rocks—and even gardens or fields that are no longer identifiable today. Supposedly empty zones could thus have possessed real significance.

## 2. THE LOWER CITY

The Lower City (or ancient city) of Ḫattuša comprises Zones 1–6, that is, the area lying to the north of the royal residence on Büyükkale. This entire area, together with the residence itself (= Zone 7), was enclosed by a defensive wall, the so-called Postern Wall (*Poternenmauer*), in the Old Hittite period, by the turn of the sixteenth century BC at the latest (Seeher 2006c, 200–201).

### ZONE 1—OUTER LOWER CITY

This area lies between the Postern Wall to the west and the Sectional Wall (*Abschnittsmauer*) to the east. The northern part of it was probably always used as a pond and water reservoir (Seeher 2010). In the central section, a small test trench revealed a Hittite wall foundation and a canal dated to the fourteenth/thirteenth century BC under erosion sediments more than 3 m thick (Bittel 1957b). No further investigations have been carried out in this zone.

### ZONE 2—NORTHERN URBAN AREA

This area is delimited in the north by the northern circuit of the Postern Wall, in the southeast by the north wall of Büyükkaya, and in the southwest by the valley of the Büyükkaya brook. Excavations have not been carried out here. Survey finds from this zone belong predominantly to the Old Hittite period. It is possible that this zone was little used subsequently. Probably in the sixteenth century BC, on the north side of Zones 3–4, a new defensive wall (i.e., the north wall of Büyükkaya) was built that may have served as a replacement for the northern section of the Postern Wall (Seeher 2018, 82–83).

### ZONE 3—BÜYÜKKAYA WEST SLOPE

The southern part of this area consists of a steep rock face up to 100 m high, while the northern part consists of a steep slope that falls away on the west side to the Büyükkaya brook. Excavations here have so far been restricted to exposure of the fortification wall (Neve 1994, 298–301; Seeher 2018, 50–51). On the upper reaches of the slope, a gate in the wall affords access to Zone 2. On the slope there was doubtless also a road linking Büyükkaya (= Zone 4) with the Inner Lower City (= Zone 5). The terrain was too steep to build on extensively. Whether there were areas suitable for building down by the brook cannot be determined—no more than it can in Zones 2 and 5—as a result of the erosion caused by frequent flooding.

### ZONE 4—BÜYÜKKAYA

This rocky spur was part of the fortified urban area from the beginning (Seeher 2018). It was further protected by the abovementioned building of a second defensive wall along its northern side in the sixteenth century BC. In the Old Hittite period, a large official building stood on the highest point of the spur, possibly even before the first defensive wall was built. In the early sixteenth century BC, large pits were dug on Büyükkaya for the storage of grain. These silos may have been the main reason for the elaborate fortifications. Evidence of occupancy from this period is sparse. In the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries BC, the spur appears to have been largely abandoned; archaeological material indicating occupancy is absent. Toward the end of the fourteenth century BC, the fortifications underwent renovation. Subsequently, numerous new grain pits were dug and some buildings erected. Then, from the second half of the thirteenth century, there is virtually no evidence of occupancy.

## ZONE 5—INNER LOWER CITY

This zone is the center of the Lower City and the most comprehensively investigated residential area (Bittel and Naumann 1952, 99–110; Neve 1978). Zone 5 is bounded on the northwestern side by the Sectional Wall, on the southwestern side by the Postern Wall, and on the northeastern side by the Büyükkaya brook. On the southeastern side, the boundary lies behind the House on the Slope (*Haus am Hang*)—that is, at the start of the steep slope (= Zone 6) leading up to Büyükkale. The northern part of this zone was already inhabited in the Karum period, and in the Old Hittite period the area was densely built up. In the center stands the city's biggest temple, the Great Temple; to judge from its architectural form and various other aspects, it was probably already built in the Old Hittite period, perhaps as early as the (early?) sixteenth century BC (Müller-Karpe 2003, 388; Schachner 2020c). The housing that has been excavated here is to the east and north of the temple, though a Hittite vestibule house was found not long ago to the southwest (Schachner 2010, 167–68, fig. 8). The built-up area here therefore probably extended as far as the Postern Wall, at least until the fifteenth century BC (see, in general, Schachner 2015).

Houses have also been exposed farther north of the Great Temple (Bittel and Naumann 1952, 99–103). They were separated from the temple complex by an empty space. During new investigations in the areas to the north and west of these excavation trenches, various structures of the Old Hittite period were uncovered, including a large representative building that has been tentatively identified as the House of the Bronze Cup Bearers (Soysal 2019). According to the excavator, these buildings were abandoned at the latest in the Early Empire period (Schachner 2020b, 20–26). This conclusion agrees with the results of a study on the dating of the abovementioned settlement areas surrounding the Great Temple and to the north of it; the author states that only a few structures were still in use here in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC, although the temple remained in operation (Strupler 2023). This result is surprising and, in my opinion, requires further investigation. It shows, however, that the development of the various areas of the Lower Town was not necessarily parallel and continuous, as previously assumed, but followed different trajectories. And it provides a perfect explanation for the puzzling fact that the Great Temple was destroyed by fire, while the directly adjacent dwellings were not—simply because they had already ceased to exist!

On the southeastern side of the temple complex, there was apparently no Hittite-era settlement (Neve 1969, 152). There, at a distance of 80 m, stood the House on the Slope. This building was presumably an administrative center that was closely connected with the temple (van den Hout 2006, 95–97). Excavations there have revealed a sequence of construction layers going back to the Old Hittite period (Schirmer 1969a, 18–29, insert nos. 8–11). Immediately to the south of the House on the Slope, Theodor Makridi reportedly excavated (in 1911?) the remnants of walls of a fairly substantial Hittite building (Bittel and Naumann 1952, 113). Peter Neve also presumed (personal communication) the existence of a large Hittite building at this location, where the first dig house was built by Makridi in 1907. The two statue bases with relief decoration unearthed when foundation shafts were sunk for that house (Bittel 1937, 12–13, pl. 9) further indicate the significance of the site. Another large official building has recently been examined on the eastern side of Kesikkaya at the southwestern edge of Zone 5 (Schachner 2014, 103–9).

## ZONE 6—BÜYÜKKALE NORTHWEST SLOPE

This zone of uneven and in places sharply rising terrain adjoins Zone 5 in the southeast and extends uphill as far as the Büyükkale fortification wall. Excavations alongside the Postern Wall led to the identification of a gigantic Old Hittite grain silo, built at the same time as the wall (Schirmer 1969a, 37–41; Seeher 2006a). Geoelectric investigations on the terrace next to the silo on the northern side have yielded possible indications of further structures in this area, albeit without datings (Schachner 2012a, 100–103). Test trenches were dug on flatter terrain east of the House on the Slope and south of Ambarlıkaya, but no Hittite structural remains were discovered there (Beran 1961, 13). Otherwise, no excavations have been conducted on this slope. In view of the steep gradient, we do not anticipate a densely built-up district here but at most a few isolated structures on flatter terrain.

### ZONE 7—BÜYÜKKALE

Construction of the Postern Wall incorporated Büyükkale into the urban area. The residence of the Hittite kings had certainly been sited on this hill from the beginning. The early phases are preserved only fragmentarily on account of subsequent terracing and new structures. At the end, the residence consisted of multiple buildings grouped around three large, colonnaded courtyards (Neve 1982). The residence was protected by a defensive wall that now also ran along the northwestern side, securing it against the Lower City too. The long-held view that the entire ensemble was built toward the end of the Hittite Empire under Tudhaliya IV is no longer tenable for lack of evidence. Gradual growth over several generations seems more likely (Orthmann 2008, 19–20).

## 3. THE UPPER CITY

This designation refers to that part of the urban area to the south of the Lower City. The long-held theory that this extension to the south was basically commissioned by Tudhaliya IV in the Empire period has become obsolete (Seeher 2006c, 2008). The buildings excavated and the finds recovered in the Upper City indicate that this area of Ḫattuša was enclosed by a defensive wall at the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century BC. It is unclear whether this wall was the one whose remains are still visible today or an earlier structure that was later replaced. The construction date of the existing city gates has not been ascertained either. Formerly, because they were adorned with relief sculpture, a late date was assigned to them, but Hittite architectural sculpture is now thought to have originated considerably earlier (Müller-Karpe et al. 2009, 176–80; Schachner 2012b, 139–41).

Zones 8–11 constitute the Western Upper City, where archaeological investigations have been carried out only in the past few years.

### ZONE 8—TAANIKKAYA SLOPE

An elongated slope forms the western fringe of the Upper City. It begins in the south above Taanıkkaya, a rocky plateau that is surrounded by a defensive wall of its own. Geoelectric measurements indicate the presence of scattered buildings here (Schachner 2007, 80). To the north, the slope descends into the Kızlar Kayası valley, which runs in a northwesterly direction in front of the Postern Wall. There, the Lower West Gate once controlled access to the Upper City from the valley area outside the city. A second gate—the Upper West Gate—was built just 200 m to the south of it, higher up on the slope, showing that the slope must have had a certain significance. Excavations have not been conducted here, but two fairly substantial buildings have been detected by geoelectric surveying (Seeher 2005, 63–65). Ceramic finds from one of them suggest utilization around 1400 BC.

### ZONE 9—VALLEY BENEATH SARIKALE

The valley is dominated by the sheer rock face of the Sarıkale massif on the eastern side. To the west and south it is bounded by steep slopes, and to the north it falls away toward the Postern Wall. Excavations have been conducted so far only in the middle of the valley at the foot of Sarıkale and also at a site 150 m farther south. The oldest Hittite remains in the first-mentioned locality are buildings from about 1500 BC, which have been interpreted as housing for soldiers. Later it was the site of a multiphase, residential complex that survived until the early thirteenth century BC (Seeher 2006b, 176–78; Schachner 2008, 121–29). The complex is probably only part of a larger settlement in this valley. Moreover, the alluvial layers as thick as 4 m that cover the settlement remains at this site contained ceramic sherds suggesting that settlement began still earlier on the adjoining slope to the south. The layers also contained a number of Middle and New Hittite cuneiform tablet fragments. Consequently, there must have been at least one official building on the slope (Wilhelm 2015). On a more elevated plateau 150 m south of Sarıkale, a large building from the fifteenth

century BC has been excavated. On the basis of a textual find, this building has been identified as the house of the commander of the *MEŠEDI* guard (Schachner 2010, 161–64; 2017a, 17–48).

Only isolated buildings, if any, are expected to be found on the other slopes around the valley. The northern reaches of the valley have been strongly eroded; virtually no traces of occupation remain. The remnants of walls "of a fairly extensive Hittite residential district" that were observed here earlier (Bittel and Naumann 1952, 112, insert no. 1) are no longer preserved. Nor has geophysical prospection revealed any recognizable traces here (Jansen 2002, 72, fig. 14). To the northeast of this spot, in the vicinity of the Postern Wall, Old Hittite sherds and solid structural remains have been found (Seeher 2002, 77).

### ZONE 10—SOUTHWESTERN UPPER CITY

This zone extends south to the Upper City wall and east to the elevation where the South Ponds are located (= Zone 11). In the north, it passes into the slope of Zone 9 but is visually demarcated by various rock formations. The middle one of them carries the monumental structure of Yenicekale, whose period of use potentially lay between the late sixteenth and early thirteenth century BC, according to Schachner, but more probably in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries BC (Schachner 2016, 103–7). Other excavations in this zone have taken place only on a plateau east of the Lion Gate, where Temple 30 and the House by the Lion Gate have been exposed (Neve 2001, 84–89). Chronologically, the plan of this temple can be ascribed to the middle group of Hittite temples (Müller-Karpe 2003, 389–90). This early dating is substantiated by Middle Hittite cuneiform tablet finds (Seeher 2006c, 204–5). In the second half of the thirteenth century BC, a few small houses with a potter's workshop were built on the ruins of the temple.

### ZONE 11—SOUTH PONDS

This elevation is a very prominent one lying between Zones 10 and 13. A sizable grain storage pit was dug here in the sixteenth century BC. Then, in the fifteenth century BC, five large water basins as deep as 8 m were dug here (Seeher 2002, 59–70). A large ceramic assemblage in the backfill of South Pond 1—approximately 1.1 tons of sherds, primarily from ritual vessels—dates from the end of the fifteenth century BC. It is still unclear whether all five ponds were abandoned at this time or some remained in use.

### ZONE 12—NIŞANTEPE AND SÜDBURG

This area lies to the south of the royal citadel of Büyükkale (Neve 2018). To the west, it is bounded by the slope leading down to Zone 9, to the east by the downward slope to Zone 16 and by the rock massif of the Südburg. Two viaducts that once formed the access route to Büyükkale have been exposed here. An Old Hittite wall under the western viaduct appears to show that an approach to the citadel existed here already at a very early date. In addition, four large building complexes with an official function have been investigated in Zone 12. Of them, one building sits on top of the rock cone known as Nişantepe in the south of the zone. A hieroglyphic inscription of Šuppiluliuma II on the rock face beneath the building is seen as a foundation inscription. However, the building could be older in origin, as suggested by a parabolic entrance gate with large sphinx reliefs and by lion sculptures erected in a different spot and for which there are parallels in Temple 2.

The West Building (*Westbau*) to the northwest of Nişantepe is, at any rate, certainly older than the inscription. Land donation tablets and several thousand clay bullae with seal impressions spanning a period of at least 250 years prove it was in use for a long time (Herbordt, Bawanypeck, and Hawkins 2011, 1; Rüster and Wilhelm 2012, 38–39). To the northeast of it lay the North Building complex (*Nordbaukomplex*), furnished with a large inner courtyard. Its east wing (*Ostbau*) is similar to a structure at Kuşaklı/Sarissa that has been identified as a stable (Mielke 2011, 171). In view of its location right at the foot of the royal citadel, this building could well have been used to stable the king's horses. The fourth building complex is composed of two buildings that stood side by side on the Südburg rock massif that faces Büyükkale from the

south. The better-preserved western structure has been identified as a temple (= Temple 31). The construction period of the two buildings cannot be established by finds, but the very solid manner of construction is reminiscent of the early temples in the Upper City.

### ZONE 13—CENTRAL TEMPLE DISTRICT

This zone encompasses the depression fringed by steep slopes on the eastern, southern, and southwestern sides, in the middle of the Upper City (Neve 1999, 2001). In the north it extends as far as Sarıkale and Temple 7. Zone 13 contains twenty-five of the thirty-one temple buildings so far identified at Ḫattuša. They do not all date from the Hittite Empire, as once supposed, but were constructed gradually over a period of at least 300 years (Müller-Karpe 2003), as confirmed by the observation that as many as 95 percent of the cuneiform finds from Temples 8, 12, 15, and 16 are in Middle Hittite script, and at least one-third of all inscribed tablet finds from the Central Temple District belong to the same period (Klinger 2006, 15–17). The same conclusion was reached in the recently published study of the small finds (Herbordt and von Wickede 2021, 476–78). In the thirteenth century BC, a secularization of the quarter took place through the establishment or enlargement of various workshop areas and the permanent abandonment of numerous temples. An obvious explanation for this decline, which was not reversed later, is the temporary relocation of the capital to Tarhuntašša by Muwatalli II (Schachner 2020a, 388; Herbordt and von Wickede 2021, 471).

### ZONE 14—SOUTHERN UPPER CITY

To the south of the Central Temple District are three terrace-like spurs. On the two easternmost spurs stood Temples 2 and 3. On the third terrace, immediately north of the Yerkapı rampart, extensive stone packing resembling paving is all that has been detected (Neve 1988, 383–84, fig. 32). Farther east lies the precinct of Temple 5, with its annexes (Neve 2001, 20–47). The construction period of this temple is unclear, but the ground plan with projecting and recessed elements, as in Temples 2 and 3, is typical of older temple buildings.

### ZONE 15—EASTERN UPPER CITY

This zone mainly comprises the slope with the two East Ponds at its northern end. Excavations have so far been conducted only at these two complexes. The space between the ponds and the city wall in the east and the Temple 5 complex in the south seems to have been mostly unoccupied; there are hardly any potsherds there, and geophysical surveys provided virtually no indications of architectural remains (Schachner 2007, 82–83). The construction period of the East Ponds (Seeher 2006d; Neve 2018, 45–52) is not known. It is certain that they were in use during the Hittite Empire but also distinctly possible that they were built earlier (as with the South Ponds). In this area, groundwater always emerged from the slope in abundance, offering the possibility of storing water in reservoirs (Schachner and Wittenberg 2012, 251). As part of a second construction phase, the embankment dam on the northwestern side of Pond 1 was raised and two chambers were built in its corners. In the north-lying Chamber 2 are figural scenes cut in relief, as well as a long hieroglyphic inscription by a great king named Šuppiluliuma; they permit an interpretation of the edifice as an "entrance to the underworld" (Hawkins 1995, 45). Šuppiluliuma II is presumed to have been the builder, but there have been attempts to ascribe the structure to Šuppiluliuma I (Oreshko 2013; Klinger 2015, 101–7).

### ZONE 16—EASTERN PLATEAU

The northeastern corner of the Upper City is a low-lying terrace bordered by steep slopes to the south, west, and northwest and by the Büyükkaya valley to the north and east. On the eastern side, the Hittite defensive wall is still partly preserved. On the terrace itself, a test pit brought to light only a few remnants of walls and two water basins, one of which may have belonged to an open ritual site (Neve 2018, 69–80). Neve considers the possibility that the area was used for urban farming.

## 4. AREAS OUTSIDE THE CITY

To estimate the size of a city's population, it is of course important to take account of the surrounding area too. Here we mean the periphery, usually only a few hundred meters to perhaps a kilometer wide, lying immediately in front of the city walls, rather than areas that are several kilometers away and are to be viewed as separate entities. At Boğazköy, relatively little is known about this peripheral zone despite decades of excavation work because, with few exceptions, excavations have concentrated on the area within the city's circuit walls. The first survey in the surrounding area was conducted in 1967 by Wolfgang Dehn (Czichon 1997, 92–95, fig. 3). A much more comprehensive survey was then carried out by Rainer Czichon (Czichon 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000; map of survey area close to the city in Schachner 2017b, fig. 4.4). Known Hittite structures located outside the city walls are shown in figure 26.2 and discussed here in clockwise rotation.

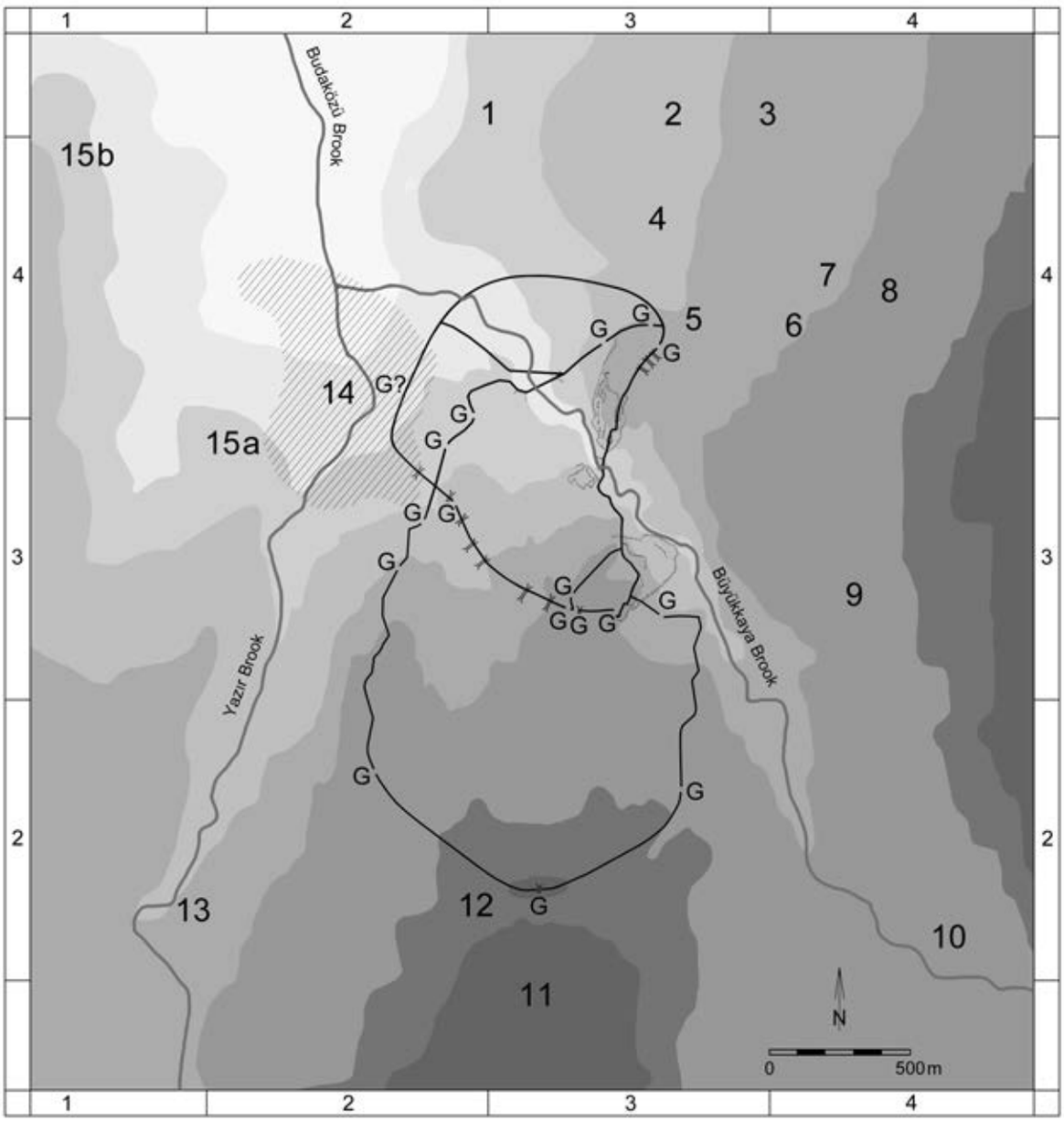


Figure 26.2. Ḫattuša and its immediate surroundings. G = gates identified so far; hatched area = modern village of Boğazkale. Contour lines are adapted mostly from Schachner and Wittenberg 2012, fig. 1.

To the northwest of Zone 2 is the alluvial plain through which the Budaközü brook flows in a northerly direction. East of the brook, the land rises gradually (fig. 26.2, no. 1). Here archaeologists found "sherd concentrations of varying sizes, which suggest small settlements, hamlets and isolated farms" (Czichon 2000, 271). Mapping of the sherd quantities shows that, all in all, very little material was recovered: rarely were more than one or two Hittite rim sherds found per 100 m² (Schachner 2017b, fig. 4.3). A geophysical survey in the eastern part of this area (fig. 26.2, no. 2) detected a few structures that may have been buildings (Schachner 2008, fig. 49). Datable evidence was not found. Somewhat farther east (fig. 26.2, no. 3), about 800 m to the northeast of the northeastern tip of Büyükkaya (= Zone 4), two sizable Hittite stone pavements of unknown function were exposed (Schirmer 1969b).

About 250 m north of Büyükkaya, at Osmankayası and Bağlarbaşıkayası (fig. 26.2, no. 4), lie the only Hittite burial sites discovered at the city so far (Bittel et al. 1958). To the north of them, traces of buildings were identified by means of geoprospection; their date is unclear (Schachner 2008, 145–46). In the hollow directly northeast of Büyükkaya (fig. 26.2, no. 5), where walls had been recognized on the surface earlier (Bittel and Naumann 1952, 124, insert no. 1), the prospection map shows some fairly large ground plans (Schachner 2008, 144, fig. 48). Both Hittite and Byzantine sherds were found there, but at least some of the structures—the bigger ones?—may well be of Hittite date.

From this point, the terrain continues to rise eastward. Thanks to geoprospection, further structural remains have been identified, notably two man-made reservoirs for water (fig. 26.2, nos. 6 and 7) (Schachner 2008, 142–43, fig. 46). They are located on the approach to the great rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya, which lies approximately 800 m east of Büyükkaya at the foot of a ridge (fig. 26.2, no. 8). This ridge is at a distance of about 1 km from the city and extends southward parallel to it. At its foot, the Büyükkaya brook flows northward, its deep-cut valley creating a good natural defense, just as the Yazır brook does on the west side of the city. On the slope on the east side of the Büyükkaya valley (fig. 26.2, no. 9), the survey localized a number of findspots with Hittite sherds (Czichon 1999, 47–48). In the lower portion of the slope, 1.1 km to the southeast of the King's Gate, is an unexcavated Hittite ruin (Naumann 1971, 328–30, fig. 442). It is situated 250 m from the entrance to the Kayalıboğaz gorge, through which the brook flows to the southeast (fig. 26.2, no. 10). Naumann interpreted it as a fort that was intended to secure the route through the gorge. Bittel, by contrast, pointed out wall sections "of large-format limestone blocks such as appear only in the better, namely the monumental buildings in the city." He saw it as an ensemble of buildings lying isolated outside the city and serving a different purpose (Bittel 1957a, 29–30).

Extending to the south of the Yerkapı embankment is a relatively flat area measuring 600 × 600 m that is called "düzçam" (fig. 26.2, no. 11). It is now covered by dense, deciduous woodland, which was able to develop because in 1982 Peter Neve had the area fenced in to stop damage caused by grazing livestock (personal communication). The initiative was accompanied by a thorough search for traces of occupancy, but all that was found were some low, earthenwork ridges of the Byzantine period(?) that presumably marked field boundaries. The area may have been used for events against the backdrop of Yerkapı; at any rate, Hittite settlement here can be ruled out. Hittite sherds and traces of walls were found, however, in the hollow 150 m to the west of Yerkapı (fig. 26.2, no. 12) (Bittel and Naumann 1952, 124, insert no. 1).

The Yazır brook flows parallel to the city on the west side at a distance of 300–400 m. The terrain, which slopes up from the bottom of the valley to the city wall, to an elevation as high as 170 m at the south end, was presumably hardly used because of its steepness. At the bottom of the valley (fig. 26.2, no. 13), approximately 900 m to the southwest of the Lion's Gate, a fairly large findspot with Hittite Empire pottery has been located (Czichon 1998, 89).

The flatter, northern part of the slope on the western side of the city is occupied by the small modern town of Boğazkale (fig. 26.2, no. 14). The buildings extend beyond the edge of the slope, where formerly the Postern Wall stood, and encroach upon Zone 1. No Hittite structural remains are known from this area—an astonishing fact, since it was in this direction that the roads from the city led out into the Budaközü plain. The roads through the two gates in the Sectional Wall between Zone 5 and Zone 1 doubtless led to an as-yet-undiscovered city gate at the west edge of Zone 1, through which one left the city in a northwesterly direction; also, the Lower West Gate at the north end of Zone 8 led in this direction. This area was the access

route to the plain that stretched many kilometers farther north and was not only an important transport link but undoubtedly also the city's principal agricultural region. Accordingly, one would expect to find a Hittite suburb on the site of the modern town—located on a principal access route and on and in front of a slope extending right up to the city wall. We must assume that this was not the case, however, as the frequent construction work undertaken in Boğazkale has not brought to light any notable Hittite architectural remains. Likewise, geoprospection in some fields to the west of the town (fig. 26.2, no. 15a) has yielded no evidence of buildings (Schachner 2013, 156–57). Farther north, to the west of the Tilkitepe ridge (fig. 26.2, no. 15b), numerous Hittite sherds were found during a survey. Geomagnetic prospecting revealed evidence of a dense, village-like settlement aligned with the course of modern dirt roads. Without excavation, it cannot be clarified whether these building traces are of recent date or older (Schachner 2013, 158–59, fig. 20).

## 5. CITY SIZE AND POPULATION

Now to return to the opening question. Inside the city an extensive, built-up residential area, existing for a fairly long time, was to be found only in Zone 5 and probably Zone 9. We should also include at least part of Zone 1; this area is adjacent to the densely populated Zone 5 and was a kind of transition zone where an open space for temporary activities may have been located along with established market and/or craft areas. Zone 13 was the site of residential structures for only a short period and of only limited scope. A question mark hangs over Zone 2; there was some degree of urbanization here, possibly only in the Old Hittite period. For all the other zones, it is verifiable that they were either used for different purposes or were ill-suited to housing development because of the steep gradient—virtually no finds have come to light there. Equally, in the relatively steep Zones 6 and 8, large-scale habitation is not likely. It is possible that isolated special buildings stood there in a prominent topographical location, similarly to the abovementioned house of the commander of the *MEŠEDI* guard in Zone 9. It is highly improbable that a substantial number of residential buildings existed in the other zones. The "inhabitable" area in the city is therefore drastically reduced: Zone 1 minus the pond area in the north measures approximately 6 hectares. In Zone 5, the maximum area for habitation running down to the riverbank (excluding the slopes at Ambarlıkaya and the section between the temple and the House on the Slope) is 10 hectares at most. In Zone 9, the area reaching up to the edge of the slopes is also about 10 hectares. Now, except for Zone 5, we have no knowledge at all whether the zones really were extensively built up or whether habitations were concentrated in smaller areas; nevertheless, let us attempt a model calculation. If Zone 1 was half occupied and Zones 5 and 9 were fully occupied by housing, that scenario would result in a residential area of 23 hectares. The figure would obviously be smaller if these areas were only partially used for housing. (Zone 2 is not considered here; without the slope in the eastern part, it measured approximately 11 hectares.)

What does this calculation mean for the number of inhabitants? Estimates of population size in the ancient Near East generally vary between 100 and 200 people per hectare (discussed in detail in Pedersén et al. 2010, 122). That estimate would give us a figure of 2,300–4,600 inhabitants—really a rather small number, even with the addition of a few hundred people who were permanent residents of the palace and temples. I am aware that the abovementioned finding that Zone 5 was apparently largely uninhabited in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC has significant consequences for the calculation of the city's population. Nevertheless, I do not want to go into that issue further here, so as not to complicate the matter even more.

The presumable number of inhabitants cannot simply be made larger by including the peripheral areas beyond the city wall. As stated above, dense habitation in the form of suburbs is nowhere to be found in the archaeological record. Nor do I see any evidence of substantial residential districts outside the city as having been destroyed by erosion or covered by sedimentation. Instead, there were probably only clusters of farmsteads and artisan dwellings here and there, and very occasionally larger structures—for instance, to the northeast of Büyükkaya (perhaps barracks?). The low density of potsherd finds to the north of the city, observed in the survey, becomes even sparser when we consider that they represent the remains of

several centuries of settlement history. So we may deduce that a few hundred, but certainly not thousands, of Ḫattuša's inhabitants lived outside the gates of the city.

Which brings us to the question of the security situation in Ḫattuša. Were people and goods outside the city walls safe? Probably no less safe than elsewhere—throughout history, urban centers have attracted bandits. But the city itself will very seldom have faced a serious threat. A text from the reign of Hattusili III mentions a grave crisis in the time of his great-grandfather Tudhaliya III, when the Hittite heartland was attacked and the capital burned down (KBo VI 28 [CTH 88]: Goetze 1940, 21–22). This event has not been detected archaeologically. Traces of fire on the earlier buildings of Temples 2–4, at Yerkapı, and on the King's Gate and Lion Gate have been suggested as possible evidence for this event (Herbordt and von Wickede 2021, 18, 471). However, there are neither datable finds nor a stratigraphic connection between these sites that could serve as confirmation. The incident reported may have been more of a legend, a retrospective dramatization of a period of acute danger for the empire—because, in fact, given its geopolitical location in the remote north a long way from its enemies in the south and west, Ḫattuša was presumably almost always safe. The skirmishes with the Kaška tribes that are mentioned fairly often in the texts doubtless took place farther north near the imperial frontier. We can assume the Kaška were rarely strong enough to penetrate deep into imperial territory, where Hittite armed units controlled all movements in the vicinity of the capital but also farther afield and could intervene when the situation so demanded. The troops guarding the city itself may therefore have been relatively small in number. Their task was to protect the gates and to repulse attacks by bandit gangs. Defending the 6.6 km long outer city wall was more than they could manage alone. In times of crisis, they must have had reinforcements.

Visually, however, this wall, with its 220–250 towers, was a strong signal of defensive readiness. It was visible from afar and enclosed the city completely, even along the ridges of steep slopes that no enemy force would have been able to surmount. The great effort involved in building and maintaining this city wall was evident to all who saw it, and it was a manifestation of the principle of costly signaling (Neiman 2010, 411–13)—the power of the city, and of the king who resided there, was credibly demonstrated by this costly advertisement of political quality. Like the wall, the whole city was in essence a costly signal: its role as cult center was the decisive factor for its existence and for the continuity of its role as capital. And to underline this fact, as early as the sixteenth/fifteenth century the city was laid out on a scale that far exceeded the amount of space that was actually needed. Covering 180 hectares, it was far bigger than other Hittite urban centers, which were hardly larger than 20 hectares (Mielke 2012). This huge space was gradually occupied by numerous temples and cult sites, and an exceptional residence for the king came into being. This signal was powerful enough for the mentioned relocation of the capital to Tarhuntašša under Muwatalli II to be reversed after his death.

Whether the projected power of the city was matched by production and trade seems more than doubtful. The evidence that has come to light in excavations in the urban zone indicates only small-scale production. Evidence of commercial activity is entirely absent. The big grain silos that have been identified in the city (Seeher 2006a; 2018, 85–87) suggest not trade but rather a state-controlled stockpile of essential resources. It remains an open question whether the city only consumed the goods and agricultural produce from the surrounding area or also profited from their sale.

## 6. CONCLUSION

Analysis of the excavation and survey results in and around Ḫattuša reveals that the city's population was probably at no point more than a few thousand strong. Well over eighty seasons of excavation at the site means well over eighty seasons of screening the terrain, collecting observations on wall remains, analyzing sherd scatters, and the like. As a result, we know a great deal about the individual areas of the city, even if no major excavations have yet been carried out there. I am convinced that further excavations will not reveal any larger unknown neighborhoods in the city. And it would change nothing if, someday, a cluster of houses were discovered in some part of the city; that discovery would raise the number of inhabitants by only a few hundred. Ḫattuša was exceptionally large in terms of surface area, to be sure, but it was not

a bustling megacity with supreme economic value and opportunities. The size of the urban area is not in itself a satisfactory criterion for calculating the size of its population. As a matter of fact, the total area of housing we estimate for Ḫattuša is commensurate with the size of large regional centers in central Anatolia. "Settlements between 20–30 hectares in size perhaps define the carrying capacity of average Anatolian landscapes under prevailing conditions and agricultural practices" (Glatz 2011, 888). In view of the constant uncertainty of crop yield owing to climate fluctuations (Schachner 2009, 20), a higher concentration of population would not have been sustainable in the long run, not even in the capital. While Ḫattuša could have obtained supplies from other urban centers, it would not have been able to place too great a burden on their resources as a matter of routine.

But the taxes and tributes from the imperial lands made it possible to maintain the numerous temples and the royal residence and hence the personnel employed in those domains. Possibly not all these people lived in the city permanently. When the big religious festivals took place in the spring and autumn, people who lived elsewhere came to the city. The temple personnel was enlarged; many extra hands were needed for amenities, equipment, and provisions; and the city guard was strengthened. While the king was in residence in the capital, the palace was fully staffed and used the services of many suppliers. If he went on tour with his entourage, a skeleton staff remained behind. The Anatolian climate is another factor, and one not to be underestimated. Official activities were wound down during the harsh winters, and accordingly fewer people were employed in the city. The city guard was likewise greatly reduced because the roads were impassable by both friend and foe.

As far as we know, the city's claim to preeminence was never challenged, except during the Tarhuntašša intermezzo. Ḫattuša was the traditional and venerated seat of the kings and the gods, emblem of the Hittite state. The texts found in Ḫattuša "by no means suggest that any other city might have served as a political or military centre" (Hawkins 1998, 78). But the findings described above raise the question of how the palace and the royal administration actually functioned. Either the relatively small area used for housing at Ḫattuša leads us to accept that it was possible to manage a kingdom from a capital with a population of only a few thousand, or we must think about an alternative: What if the palace was not the permanent center of power—that is, always the place where royal orders were issued? The texts tell us that the kings were often en route, either campaigning or traveling to various cities in obedience to the demands of cult. And we know that some kings took residence in other cities for some time—for example, at Šapinuwa, Šamuha, or Katapa (Taracha 2007; Doğan-Alparslan and Alparslan 2011). Is this apparent mobility an indication of a kind of itinerant court or traveling kingship? Widespread in medieval Europe, such itineration constituted a "form of government in which a king carries out all the administrative functions and symbolic representations of governing by periodically or constantly travelling throughout the areas of his dominion" (Bernhardt 1993, 45). Unfortunately, the preserved written record is much too fragmentary to reconstruct the rule of any Hittite king in detail, let alone on a year-by-year basis. Was the palace in Ḫattuša not the permanent headquarters, at least not for some or even many of the kings? To be sure, this large-sized palace, without parallel in the rest of the kingdom, was certainly a unique symbol of royal power. But perhaps it was also a kind of answer to the overwhelming number of temples dominating this city—to emphasize the role of the king or rather of the royal house. And, of course, it was where most of the important collections of cuneiform tablets were kept and scribes busily maintained them throughout the year.

If the presence of the king and his entourage at Ḫattuša was more or less often seasonal, it could explain why the population remained relatively small: a fully functioning palace needs more and more staff over time because of an increase in tasks and the refinement of ceremonial procedures. At the same time, the court is a place of competition for royal favor and individual prestige. If it were the rule that the king was present year-round, this situation would have led to more followers of all kinds, including merchants, artisans, and other businesspeople, striving to settle in the city. An increase in the urban population would be the natural consequence. Obviously, this was not the case at Ḫattuša—at least not on a large scale.

Are these arguments sufficient to redefine the role of Ḫattuša? I am aware that there are other possible interpretations, but the finding that this city, despite its enormous size, was not a crowded metropolis may have a bearing on the way royal power was exercised. It seems worthwhile to investigate this topic further.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

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# 27 A MAGICAL RITUAL CONCERNING THE WEST ANATOLIAN FOE KUKKULLI

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Recent research as part of the *Unpublished Bo-Texts* project brought Bo 6421 to my attention (fig. 27.1). Due to the interesting nature of its contents, it is worthwhile to edit the text with this brief study. Only one side of this ritual fragment is legible; the other side is heavily abraded and almost nothing there is preserved as script. Although it is an unpublished fragment, Bo 6421 has already been referred to in the secondary literature in regard to the proper name Kukkulli (see n4), who is apparently a key figure in the text's narrative.

## 2. SOURCES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RITUAL

A textual analysis and lexical examination based on the files of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary Project revealed two other Boğazköy fragments, either duplicates of Bo 6421 or parallels to it, that enabled a small but informative enrichment of the ritual's contents:

1. Bo 6421 (CTH 470.466 in Hetkonk) MH/LMS? or ENS? (now to be assigned to CTH 470.466.1)
2. KBo 39.265 (CTH 832 in Hetkonk) MH/MS (now CTH 470.466.2) (rt. col. 7'-10' are similar to Bo 6421:5'–6', 10')
3. KUB 60.48 (CTH 763 in Hetkonk) MH/NS (now CTH 470.466.3) (II 4'–9' duplicate Bo 6421:11'–17')

Since the last two fragments have already been edited in transliteration by Groddek (2004, 325–26; 2006, 48–50), a further treatment here would be redundant. However, some critical remarks seem necessary for a better understanding of the text as presented below.

Corrections and suggestions for KBo 39.265 are based on the tablet photo (hethiter.net/: PhotArch BoFN03146a):

rt. col. 4' *nu ke-e-da-ni?-i̯a?*(-)[. . .]
rt. col. 7' *ar-ḫa pé-eš-ši-i̯a*(-)[. . .]
rt. col. 8' *I-NA* KUR $^{m}$*Ku-gul-li*(-)*x?*(-)[. . .]
rt. col. 10' ⸢*Ù*⸣ LÚ.MEŠ KUR $^{URU}$*Ka₄?-x?-*[
rt. col. 11' [*nu?* / I? M]ÁŠ.GAL-⸢*an*(-)*x?*⸣(-)[. . .]
rt. col. 12' [. . .]-*x* $^{UZU}$Ḫ?(./-)[. . .]
rt. col. 13' [*I*]⸢*Š*⸣-*TU* $^{UZU}$x(./-)[. . .]⸣
rt. col. 16' [$^{MUNUS}$ŠU(?)].GI *x*-[. . .]. Contrary to the hand copy in the edition publication, the tablet photo clearly shows space at the beginning of the line for at least two signs.

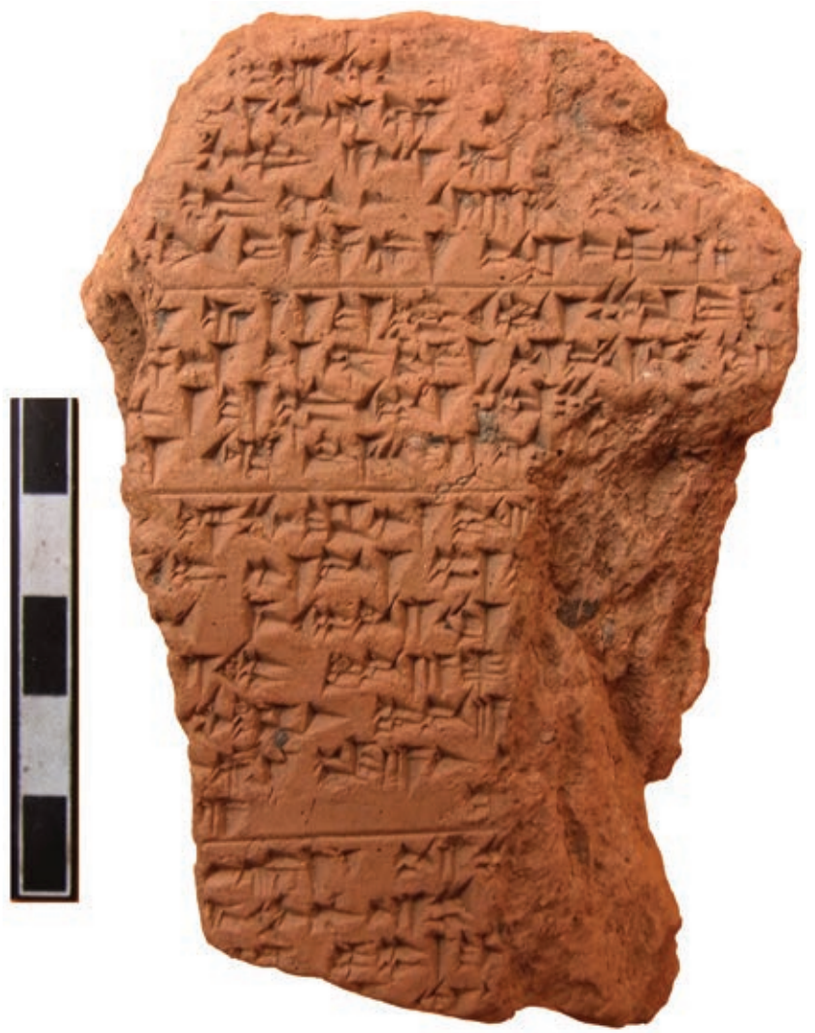

Figure 27.1. Bo 6421, preserved side.

Corrections and suggestions for KUB 60.48 are based on the tablet photo (hethiter.net/:PhotArch BoFN02554c):

II 1' [. . . *ar-ḫ*]*a pa-a-i-ši* or [. . . *la-aḫ-ḫ*]*a pa-a-i-ši* "[when/if] you go on [a military expeditio]n[?]" (cf. KBo 17.22 II 6').
II 2' [. . .]-*x-ma-aš-ša-an ki-nu-ut* "break [. . .] open!"
II 3' [. . .-*i*]*t*[?] *ši-ia-eš-ki* "you shall keep shooting [wit]h [an arrow[?]]"
II 7' [*i-da-a-l*]*u*(?) GIG-*an* "[evi]l[?] sickness"
II 8' [. . .] *ka-a-aš ḫal-ki-aš i*[*š-ša-na-aš*(?) . . .[?]] "this d[ough[?]] (made) of barley"
III 3 [*i-da-a-lu*(?) *ir*]-*ma-an* "[evil[?] si]ckness"
III 4 *i-da-a-lu pa-*[*ap-ra-tar*(?)] "evil im[purity[?]]"
III 5 EGIR-*a*[*n*(-). . .]
III 10 [. . .]-*x túḫ-ša-an e-eš-du* "let be cut (off)/separated" (cf. KBo 15.10+ II 27, III 9', 19').

The script of Bo 6421, which the *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln* hesitantly dates as MH[?], is neat and indeed gives the impression of a type of transition from Middle Hittite to New Hittite that

one can classify as Late Middle Hittite or Early New Hittite—that is, the time of Tutḫaliya II and his son Šuppiluliuma I.[1] The text reads as follows, adopting the duplicate restorations from KUB 60.48 II 4'–9':

§1' 1' ]-*x-ri*ˀ *x-x-x*ˀ[
2' *im*]-*mi-ú-ul ú-x-*[
3' ] *da-aḫ-ḫu-un nu*(-)*x*(-)[
4' LUGA]Lˀ MUNUS.LUGAL *A-NA* É *x-*[
5' GI]Ú.TAG.GA-*aš ar-ḫa pé-eš-šiˀ*-[*iaˀ-an-za e-eš-du*]
6' KUŠMÁ.URU].URU$_5$-*ma-ták-kán iš-tap-pa-an-za* [*e-eš-du*]

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§2' 7' *A*ˀ-*N*]*A* É m*Ku-ug-gul-li-ma*(-)*x*(-)[
8' ]-*x-an* GIŠPAN-*KA ḫu-it-ti-ia-*[*an e-eš-du*(?)]
9' ] *nu* m*Ku-ug-gul-li-in x-*[
10' ]-*x Ù* LÚ.MEŠ URU*Ga-*[

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§3' 11' ]-*x pur-pu-ra-an da-a-*[*i* (*na-an-ša-ma-ša-pa*)]
12' [*tu-ek-ki-i*]*š-mi an-da ap-p*[*í-iš-k*(*i-iz-zi*)]
13' [(*nu QA-TAM-MA*)]-*pát me-mi-iš-ki-*[*zi . . . -ša-*(*ma-ša-pa*)]
14' [(*tu-ek-ki-i*)]*š-mi i-da-a-lu*(-)[. . . *i-da-a-l*(*u*(?) GIG-*an*)]
15' [(*a-aḫ-ra-aš ua*)]-*aḫ-ra-aš i-da-a-*[*lu*(-)
16' *-ša-ma-a*]*š-ta i-ka-a-aš i*[*š*ˀ-
17' (*d*)]*a-a- ú* [

---

§4' 18' ]-*aš-kán IŠ-T*[*U*
19' *u*]*a-aḫ-nu-zi* [
20' ]-*x pa-ap-r*[*a-tar*ˀ
21' ]-*x ki-x-*[
(broken off)

§1' 2'–6' . . . [The mi]xture [. . .] I took and [. . . the kin]g (and) queen, for [their] house(hold) [. . .ˀ may your] arrow [be] throw[n] away . . .ˀ may] your [quiv]er [be] shut.
§2' 7'–10' [But . . . fo]r the house(hold) of Kukkulli [. . . may] your bow [be] strun[g . . .] and Kukkulli (acc.) [. . .] and the people of Ga[. . . it may . . .].
§3' 11'–17' [(S)he] take[s] a lump [of . . . and] app[l]ies it to their [bodies]. (S)he speak[s] in the same way: [. . .] "In their bodies the evil [. . . , the evi]lˀ sickness, *aḫra* (and) *waḫra*, the evi[l . . . From the]mˀ may this d[oughˀ (made of barley)ˀ] take [. . .]!"
§4' 18'–21' [. . .] (S)he from/wit[h . . . t]urns [. . .] the impur[ity . . .] . . .

Only a small piece of the tablet Bo 6421 has survived; consequently, a full reconstruction of the contents is not possible. One may, however, observe the following points after combining the texts of the three fragments:

1. Objects used or manipulated as *materia magica* include *imiul* "mixture" (Bo 6421:2'), *purpura-* "lump, ball" (Bo 6421:11'), and ALAM.ḪI.A IM "clay figures" (KUB 60.48 III 1), strongly suggesting a magical ritual.
2. *ḫalki-* "barley" is known from the Arzawan rituals (see below) as one of the salutary figures in the analogy spells pronouncing good wishes, and it obviously occurs in KUB 60.48 II 8' with a similar function.

1 Certain signs, such as *li*, URU, and *Ù*, still show their older forms. However, the *da* and *it* signs with a longer lower horizontal, which are most characteristic of the Middle Hittite script, are not used in Bo 6421:8', 11', 12', etc., but are found in KBo 39.265 rt. col. 4'.

3. The ritual is practiced, or assisted, by an Old Woman if the restoration [$^{MUNUS}$ŠU].GI for KBo 39.265 rt. col. 16' is correct.
4. It has certain similarities to the Arzawan Dandanku ritual against an epidemic in the army KUB 7.54 (CTH 425.A). The purpose of the ritual concerns military issues as well, since the classic weapon set of arrow (Bo 6421:5'), quiver (Bo 6421:6', KBo 39.265 rt. col. 9'), and bow (Bo 6421:8') is the subject of a spell. The expressions $^{KUŠ}$MÁ.URU.URU$_5$ *ištappanza ēšdu* "may the quiver be shut/closed" (Bo 6421:6') and [. . .-*i*]*t šiyaešk*i "you shall keep shooting [wit]h [an arrow?]" (KUB 60.48 II 3') are reminiscent of those in the Dandanku ritual.[2]

Despite the incomplete descriptions on these three small pieces, the ritual's procedure and practices, with the help of similar passages from the abovementioned Dandanku and other Arzawan rituals, provide us with a clear picture and can be plausibly summarized as follows:

4'–6': A god is implored to be peaceful toward the house(hold) of the royal pair, as symbolized by his discharged combat equipment ("abandoned arrow" and "closed quiver"). This undeterminable combat deity is addressed in the second person singular; so similarly in KUB 7.54 III 24'–27' (see n2), where Yarri is the acting deity.

7'–10': Against the house(hold) of Kukkulli, who is clearly in the position of an opponent to the royal pair, the same god is asked to become combat ready and is characterized this time by his "strung bow"; so similarly in KUB 7.54 III 19'–23'. Other opponents besides Kukkulli appear to be the people of Ga[. . .].

11'–17': During purification rites for the royal pair, a lump (*purpura-*) made of barley dough? (*ḫalkiyaš iš*(*ša*)*naš*?) is attached to the bodies of the patients, who are thought to be the Hittite king and queen (cf. the Ḫuwarlu ritual KBo 4.2 I 48–49, 55–57); these patients are possibly represented by clay figurines. The barley is supposed to remove the evils from them; so similarly in the Tunnawi ritual KUB 7.53 + KUB 12.58 III 44–45 (CTH 409.I.A) and the Ḫuwarlu ritual KBo 4.2 I 58–60 (CTH 398.A).[3]

## 3. KUKKULLI AND THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE RITUAL

The identification of the person who is highlighted as the prime target of the magical ritual here can be satisfactorily investigated based on the attestations of his name among the Boğazköy documents, since there are enough occurrences for him to be considered the topic of the text. The name Kukkulli is attested on our fragments with these Middle Hittite spellings:

$^{m}$*Ku-gul-li*(-) (KBo 39.265 rt. col. 8')
$^{m}$*Ku-ug-gul-li*(-*in*) (Bo 6421:7', 9')[4]

In further sources from Boğazköy, the name represents various persons, most of whom likewise lived in the Middle Hittite period. The most significant one among them is a potential West Anatolian enemy of the Hittite king Tutḫaliya I mentioned in his annals:

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2 DINGIR-*LUM*=*wa* KUR $^{LÚ}$KÚR *kēza* / *IŠTU* $^{GI}$Ú.TÁG.GA *šiyaeški* . . . *INA* KUR $^{URU}$*Ḫatti*=*ma*=*wa kuwapi uwāši* / *nu*=*wa*=*ta*=*kan* $^{KUŠ}$MÁ.URU.URU$_5$ *ištappanza* / *ēšdu* $^{GIŠ}$PAN=*ma*=*wa*=*ta*=*kan arḫa tarnān* / *ēšdu* "O God (= Yarri), may you keep shooting the enemy land with this arrow. . . . But when you come in the land of Ḫatti may your quiver be shut (= closed), may your bow be released (= loosened)" (KUB 7.54 III 22'–23', 25'–26'; Bawanypeck 2005, 144–45).

3 Compare *ḫalkiš*=*wa maḫḫan* NAM.LÚ.U$_{19}$.LU GU$_4$ UDU / *ḫuitar*=*a ḫūman ḫuišnuškizzi* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL *kī*=*ya* / É-*ir kāš ḫalkiš kallarit uddanaz QĀTAMMA ḫuišnuddu* "Just as the barley rescues humanity, cattle, sheep, and all animals, likewise may this barley rescue the king, queen, and this house from the ominous thing" (KBo 4.2+ I 58–60; most recently Bawanypeck 2005, 28–29); *idalu*=*ši papra*<*tar*> EGIR-*an arḫa* / *ḫalkiš nāu* "Let the barley turn away the evil impurity from behind him" (KUB 7.53 + KUB 12.58 III 44–45).

4 Both attestations in Bo 6421 were already mentioned by Laroche (1966, 96 *sub* no. 605) and later Otten (1980–83, 301 *sub* Kukkulli) without further information.

$^{m}$*Ku-uk-ku-ul-li-iš* (KUB 23.11 III 4 [MH/NS])
$^{m}$*Ku-uk-ku-li-in* (KUB 23.12 III 9' [MH/MS], KUB 23.11 III 2, 8)
$^{m}$*Ku-ug-gul-li-in* (KUB 23.11 II 36')
$^{m}$*Ku-ug-gul-l*[*i-*. . .] (KBo 12.35 III 7' [MH/NS])
$^{m}$*Ku-u*[*k-*. . .] (KUB 23.18 obv. 3' [MH/NS])

In addition to these attestations, a Middle Hittite $^{m}$*Ku-ku-li-iš* from Maşat (HKM 111:23) and two New Hittite period *Ku-ku-li*'s on the hieroglyphic seal(-impression)s ANKM 15 (Dinçol and Dinçol 1980, 24, pl. 8) and BoHa XIX 168 (Herbordt 2005, 143, pl. 13) are attested. They were certainly Hittites and persons of lower rank than the West Anatolian sovereign Kukkulli.[5] According to the annals of Tutḫaliya I, Kukkulli was one of the leaders of the Aššuwan coalition that formed and revolted against the Hittite king. Although Kukkulli's ethnicity can be argued to be Luwian, his geographical affiliation (Arzawan, Wilušan, etc.) cannot be determined with certainty, since the Aššuwan confederacy famously recruited not only Wilušiya and Taruiša but also many small West Anatolian city-states, including Kišpuwa, Unaliya, Dura, Ḫalluwa, Ḫuwaluššiya, Karakiša, Adadura, Parišta, Pašuḫalta, and more. The passages of the annals of Tutḫaliya I about Kukkulli and related events (KUB 23.11 obv. 33–39, rev. 1–12 // KUB 23.12 III 1'–13'; ed. Carruba 1977, 158–61) read as follows:

> [Whe]n I had destroyed the Land of Āššuwa, I [cam]e back home to Ḫattuša. As booty 10,000 infantry and 600 teams of horses [along with] the lords of the [b]ridle I brought to Ḫattuša, [and] I settled [them] in [Ḫ]attuša. Piyama-Kurunta, Kuggulli, [his son, Malaz]iti, a relative by marriage of Piyama-Kurunta, them too I [br]ought [to Ḫattuša], and their sons and grandsons who [are . . . of$^{?}$] chariots, them too [I] brou[ght] to Ḫattuša. [When I] arrived in Ḫattuša, I gave Piyama-Kurunta [and] M[alaziti in the] gate-house to the Storm-god of the gate-house. [But] Kukkuli, [his son], I took into [vassalage] and released him. But [a]gain Kukkulli made a rebellion, [an]d he [p]rovoked the 10,000 infantry and the 600 lords of the bridle of the Land of Āššuwa and stirred up a rebellion. [A]nd the gods handed them over to me. Their affair was disc[lo]sed. They smashed them and killed Kukkuli. While I, the Great King Tutḫaliya was in the Land of Āššuwa for military operations, behind my back Kaškan troops started war, and they came into the Land of Ḫatti and devastated the country. . . . (Here follows the expedition against the Kaškan tribes and Tutḫaliya I's victory over them.)

The foregoing historical report becomes more relevant and meaningful for the subject of our ritual text when it is combined with the revised reading *INA* KUR $^{m}$*Kugulli* "in the land of Kugulli" in KBo 39.265 rt. col. 8'. This information now supplies an important hint at the identity of this Kukkulli, who is said to possess, or at least control, a land. Therefore, the Kukkuli in KBo 39.265 was not an ordinary individual but instead a ruler of a hostile country who became a military target of the Hittite king for some reason that cannot be determined from the insufficient context in Bo 6421:7'–10'. These details about Kukkuli fit together perfectly to pose the hypothesis that Kukkuli, in both the magical ritual and the annals, was the same person as the one who was taken by Tutḫaliya I into vassalage but who abused the confidence of the Hittite king and finally lost his life after an ill-fated rebellion against his overlord. Chronologically, the Middle Hittite origin of the earliest copy KBo 39.265 supports this identification.

The phrases LÚ.MEŠ $^{URU}$*Ga-*[. . .] in Bo 6421:10' and possibly LÚ.MEŠ KUR$^{URU}$*Ḳa$_4$$^{?}$-x$^{?}$-*[. . .] in KBo 39.265 rt. col. 10' mentioned in close correlation with Kukkulli may refer primarily to his fellows and his

5 The name Kuwaggulli, whose bearer has the appellative $^{LÚ}$AMA.A.TU "household member" in KUB 23.91:4, 15, has been considered a variation of Kukkulli with *-a*-theme (Laroche 1966, 96). The proper name Kukkulli (**ku+ku-li*; cf. the proper name Kuku) belongs to the same type as Pupuli (NH no. 1054), Duduli (NH no 1395; cf. the proper name Dudu), and Zuzuli (NH no. 1590; cf. the proper name Zuzu), which are typical Old Anatolian names formed by simple reduplication and extended with the suffix or morpheme *-li*. Therefore, there is no linguistic-etymological reason to take Kukkulli as a Luwian formation. It is dubious whether the similar-sounding name Kukkunni (NH no. 606), borne by a Wilušan ruler in the Alakšandu Treaty, is a variant or cognate of Kukkulli. First, an interchange *l* ~ *n* has so far not been observed in the Hittite-Luwian onomasticon, and for the analysis of Kukkunni no other proper-name sample is available with an attached *-ni* that can help explain this name after the formation pattern of *ku+ku-li* above. Second, and on the etymological level, Kukkunni has been thought with good reason to be of Luwian origin (Laroche 1966, 243; Neumann 1975). The pre-Hittite written documents from Kültepe mention the proper name *Ku-ku-ni* (kt a/k 264:26), but not Kukuli; instead, one finds *Ku-ku-li-a* (kt a/k 1042:16).

undeterminable hometown in West Anatolia. For example, in the historical-political documents from Boğazköy, a land named Karkiša seems to have tight connections with the Arzawa-Lands and Wiluša. The initial CV-CV spelling instead of CVC for this geographical name is attested in the Middle Hittite Madduwatta Text KUB 14.1 rev. 81 as KUR $^{URU}$*Ka-ra-ki-ša* but also, most relevantly, in the Middle Script copy of the aforementioned annals of Tuṯḫaliya I (KUB 23.12 II 8') , where [KUR $^{URU}$*K*]*a-ra-ki-šạ* is listed as one of the city-states constituting the Aššuwan confederacy. The mediae/voiceless writing of the initial consonant is observed in KUR $^{URU}$*Ga-ra*$^{!}$*-ki-ša* in KUB 15.38+ I 8', a later copy of a Middle Hittite evocation ritual (Otten 1982, 247–49). On the other hand, the restoration of the geographical name *Ga*[*šga*]/*Ka*[*ška*] might also be considered, since Tuṯḫaliya I conducted military operations against the Kaškan tribes in North Anatolia during or immediately after his pursuit of the Aššuwan revolt in West Anatolia. According to the annals, while the Hittite king was absent from his homeland, the Kaškan troops from the Pontic area took advantage of the situation and attacked the central Hittite territory (Bryce 2005, 127). Despite the considerably long distance between these different fronts, Tuṯḫaliya I seems to have dealt with the two enemies simultaneously, and this complex issue is expressed in Bo 6421 in only three lines without any detail (7'–10'), as one would certainly expect in a nonhistorical document. At any rate, the present ritual may have been practiced and recorded on the tablet prior to or during the military campaign(s) of Tuṯḫaliya I.

## 4. CONCLUSION

It should be underscored that the present Middle Hittite ritual involving military issues of the Hittite king deals with the individual target of the magical treatments not as an anonymous case but rather as the specifically named Kukkulli, whom one can possibly trace in the annals of Tuṯḫaliya I. Such mention of important personalities in Hittite history by their names is quite usual in the oracular documents from Boğazköy, but they are so far represented in the magical rituals only in very exceptional cases. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that another ritual involving countermagic from the same period—namely, during the reign of the royal pair Tuṯḫaliya I and Nikalmati—mentions the name of the main target of the magical treatment as Ziplantawiya, a historical character and the intriguing sister of Tuṯḫaliya I. Her curses or gossip against members of the royal family were the motivation for executing a purification ritual as recorded in the Middle Hittite original document KBo 15.10 + KBo 20.42 (CTH 443; Szabó 1971; Kassian 2000).

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

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# 28 THE CHRONOLOGICAL BOUNDARIES OF THE PERSEPOLIS FORTIFICATION ARCHIVE

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Two years after the Persepolis Fortification tablets became available for study in Chicago in 1937 (Hallock 1969, 1), Arno Poebel wrote that "it was rather a surprise to discover that, although most of the tablets examined were dated by month and year, none of them contained any reference to the king" (Poebel 1939, 301). Fixing the date of the Persepolis Fortification Archive among the Achaemenid reigns took some time.[1]

Poebel argued that the months and years fell in the reign of Artaxerxes I. He relied on his epigraphic judgment about the sign forms, combined with an observation of an intercalary month VIb in year 19. Three years later, George G. Cameron (1942) and Richard T. Hallock (1942) put the Archive conclusively in the reign of Darius I. By then, they were able to cite texts with explicit mentions of Darius (Fort. 06754: Cameron 1942, 216, reedited in Arfaee 2008, 250–53, and Henkelman 2010, 668–69, 771–73; Fort. 08275, published as PF 1829[2]), impressions of seals with inscriptions that name Darius as king (Garrison 2014), and mentions in Fortification documents of personnel whose names recur in Persepolis Treasury texts from the later reign of Darius and the reign of Xerxes.

Poebel (1939, 301) wrote that the tablets examined as of 1939 mentioned regnal years 11 through 28, while Cameron (1942, 218) wrote that they ranged between years 12 and 28, and Erich Schmidt (1953, 41n400) reported Hallock's communication that there was no certain Fortification text dated before year 14. When Hallock published 2,087 Elamite Fortification texts, having also read almost 1,300 others (Hallock 1969, v), he dated them to regnal years 13 through 28 of Darius I, 509–494 BC (Hallock 1969, 1).

1 The Persepolis Fortification Archive Project at the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (formerly the Oriental Institute), from which these remarks arise, has received timely support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Farhang Foundation, the Getty Foundation, the Iran Heritage Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Geographic Society Committee for Research and Exploration, the PARSA Community Foundation, the Roshan Cultural Heritage Institute, the University of Chicago Women's Board, and other donors and organizations. Images of some of the unpublished documents cited are available online through the OCHRE application (https://voices.uchicago.edu/ochre/project/pfa/) and at the Inscriptifact database of the University of Southern California digital library (https://digitallibrary.usc.edu/Archive/InscriptiFact----an-image-database-of-inscriptions-and-artifacts-2A3BF1OL6PW); preliminary draft editions of some of them are also available through OCHRE. Thanks are due to Mark B. Garrison and Tytus Mikołajczak for making available collated drawings of seals (figs. 28.1b–c, 28.2b–c) and to Wouter F. M. Henkelman for comments and references. Responsibility for errors of substance and judgment remains with the author.

2 Explicit mentions of Darius remain scarce. Others are PF 1860 (in the greeting formula invoking god and king), PF-NN 0290 (apparently an extraordinary expansion of the date formula "[Elamite] month XI, 15th year, Darius, King"), and text no. 3 below (referring to royal orders). Cameron misunderstood a mention of Artystone (Elamite Irtašduna) as referring to a daughter of Darius rather than to the wife named by Herodotus. Other references in Fortification documents to datable historical figures known from classical texts were not yet recognized in 1942.

As the sample size grew, these dates held steady. Hallock (1977, 127) reiterated this range, years 13 through 28, after having read about 4,500 texts. Henkelman (2008, 124), drawing on a sample of 4,845 Elamite texts, specified that the earliest known dated Elamite Fortification text comes from the first month of year 13 (April 509 BC, PF-NN 1643), the latest from the twelfth month of year 28 (March/April 493 BC, PF 1212 and others). The dated Aramaic Fortification documents also fall within this range (Azzoni 2017, 456n4). With about 6,800 Elamite and about 840 Aramaic texts and fragments available, this specification of the Archive's attested time limits still applies, with the qualifications discussed below.

Broadly speaking, Henkelman's observations (2008, 173–75), elaborating on Hallock's comments (1969, 74) on the chronological distribution of Elamite document types within the Archive, also hold true for the larger sample.

- Datable documents from the early stages of the information stream (memoranda, Categories A–S in Hallock 1969, 13–50, recording outlays or deposits as individual transactions) are concentrated in regnal years 21 through 24.
- Datable documents from the later stages are concentrated in slightly earlier years: journals (Category V: Hallock 1969, 55–57), that is, serial lists of outlays compiled from individual memoranda, in years 18 through 21 (Henkelman: years 18–22); and accounts (Category W: Hallock 1969, 57–69), that is, digests in various forms, recording end-of-term balances, often but not always summarizing inputs and outlays, slightly earlier still, in years 15 through 20.
- Documents of any kind from years 13 and 14 are few. Documents from years 25 through 28 are more numerous than those from the earliest-attested years but nevertheless much less numerous than those from years 18 through 24.

With respect to the late-stage documents and fragments of Categories V and W, this corroboration is gratifying because these categories were substantially underrepresented in the published sample of about 2,100 texts and still underrepresented in the larger sample of about 4,800 texts that includes documents from Hallock's *Nachlass* (Jones and Stolper 2008, 41–43; Henkelman 2008, 80–81, 178). The selection of additional texts and fragments for recording by the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project since 2007 partially compensates for this underrepresentation, adding to about 325 previously recorded texts and fragments of Categories V and W about 750 more texts and fragments, of which about 550 include year dates.[3]

The temporal distribution of dated Elamite documents corresponds to what is observed in other coherent groups of legal and administrative texts characterized as "dead" or "dormant" (Jones and Stolper 2008, 45; Jursa 2005, 58; Henkelman 2008, 172–77). From the point of view of March/April 493 BC, the scarcity of documents from the early years reflects the elimination of memoranda that had been superseded by journals and the purging of stale documents. The scarcity of documents from the latest years reflects the circumstance that records useful to current operations were held elsewhere. The fact that memoranda concentrate in years slightly later than journals that were compiled from such memoranda and still later than accounts that were, at least in part, digested from such journals[4] reflects the circumstance that these memoranda had not yet been processed and hence retained potential value as records of recent performance.

3 This corroboration, however, is impressionistic and provisional. Many added items are fragments that do not preserve both the year(s) of the transactions and balances noted and the year in which the document was composed. For this estimate, it was assumed that the document was composed in the latest year mentioned. Since accounts were often composed in the year following the latest year accounted for, and sometimes several years later, this assumption probably attributes dates to some accounts that are slightly too early. In aggregate, accounts may not be meaningfully older than journals.

4 Category W, "accounts," includes a variety of formal and functional categories. They reflect diverse relationships to the main information stream at Persepolis (Hallock 1969, 57) and hence have differing implications for the criteria and procedures that led to the chronological profile of the preserved Archive. Thus, for example, the many livestock accounts (Hallock, 1969, 65–68; Brosius 2003, 268–70) do not seem to be compiled from source documents represented among the memoranda; the records of exchanges characterized by the phrase *sut hutta-*, although they are commonly headed "account of year N, done in year N+1," are not calculations of balances on the basis of information taken from memoranda or journals but instead

As more Fortification texts are recorded, some, supplemented below, indicate that the compilers of the Archive could consult records of administrative events before year 13 of Darius. One, surprisingly but obscurely, also suggests that the Archive itself was still open for such consultation after year 28.

## 2. YEAR 13 AND BEFORE

The preserved form of the Archive opens *in medias res*, recording established operations and flows of existing stocks.

- Fort. 2337-102, a memorandum of barley received as feed for horses (Hallock's Category S1), appears to be dated in the first month of year 12, April/May 510 BC, a full year before the earliest previously known dated Fortification text.[5]
- PF 2087 is a cattle inventory covering year 13 and recorded in year 13. Hallock (1969, 69) called attention to it as one of the two earliest Fortification texts known to him. Like other such accounts, it states an amount carried over (*amma*, "on hand"; Brosius 2003, 268) from the previous year, explicitly year 12 (line 09, cf. line 12). Fort. 2357-103 (edited in Stolper, in preparation) accounts for the same herd in the previous year, recording a carryover from year 11 and an accounting for year 12, but the date of the document itself is not explicit.
- Like PF 2087, other livestock accounts record numbers of animals carried over from year 12 and accounted for in year 13, including no. 1 below (ducks), Fort. 1915B-101 (sheep/goats), and Fort. 2311-001 (donkeys), again without making the dates of the documents themselves explicit.
- At least one grain account (no. 2 below) includes information from still-earlier years. It tabulates seed, revenues, and expenditures for years 13 and 14, but it enters amounts on hand in the preceding years 11 and 12. A few other texts in the same format similarly include credit items from years preceding the years that the account tabulates.[6] No. 2 is thus early evidence of a practice that was not frequent but was also not extraordinary.
- PF-NN 0759 (excerpted in Stolper, in preparation), in similar format, begins with a tabulation of income from years 15, 16, and 17. An entry in the balanced summary at the end reports the repayment of outstanding balances from years 11 and 12 (x [KI+MIN] [= ŠE.BAR$^{MEŠ}$] PN *sut huttaš bel* 11 12 *mazzika*, "PN made an exchange of x (barley) for barley outstanding (lit., 'withdrawn') in years 11 (and) 12," line 32; cf. [*mazzi*$^{?}$]-KI+MIN *bel* 11 12, "balance (lit., 'withdrawal'), years 11–12," line 40).
- In text no. 2, the damaged passage that introduces entries from years 11 and 12 refers to a "tablet . . . brought" (*tuppi . . . tingika*, line 36), suggesting that the compiler of this text called not only for information but also for an actual document, perhaps a comparable account, from another location. PF-NN 0001, an account in exceptional format, begins with references to seed, coefficients (*battikanaš*) and yields of dry-farmed grain for years 8 and 9 (Henkelman 2008, 124). If it is not an actual document brought from elsewhere for a purpose similar to what is suggested by text no. 2:36, it is perhaps a report

records of end-of-term handling of balances and/or shortfalls (Hallock 1969, 62; Aperghis 1997, 279–83; Henkelman 2005, 149–50; Stolper 2017, 732–33).

5 I am indebted to Mark Garrison for calling my attention to this date and to Wouter F. M. Henkelman for collating the date. Repeated collations support reading the year as ˹10+2˺, but doing so makes the text several years older than other memoranda and journal entries that record such disbursals (most from years 18 to 28), raising the possibility that the first digit of the year number on Fort. 2337-102 is a slip of the stylus.

6 PF-NN 0576, beginning with a tabulation of amounts for years 18 and 19, includes a credit item arising from a payment against an outstanding amount in year 14 (line 12); Fort. 1203-101, beginning with a tabulation of amounts for years 16 and 17, includes credit items (*mušika, haduš*) from years 14 and 15 (cf. Stolper 2017, 724, where the characterization of this text is to be corrected); Fort. 1203-106, beginning with a tabulation of amounts from years 18 and 19, includes credit items for revenue (*haduš*) for years 15, 16, and 17; Fort. 1392-102, beginning with a tabulation of amounts from years [18$^{?}$] and 19, includes a [credit$^{?}$] item from year 15; Fort. 2178-102, beginning with a tabulation of amounts from years [15$^{?}$], 16, and 17, includes credit items for revenue (*haduš*) from years 14, 15, and 16.

based on such an account (hence the reference to a *halnut* "clay tablet?" in lines 03–04, albeit in odd syntax).

- Two livestock accounts enter numbers of animals paid in against debits from years 8 and 9 (PN *sut huttaš* GUD$^{MEŠ}$ *ukku bel* 8-*na* 9-*na* "PN exchanged [x cattle] against cattle [due] from years 8 and 9," Fort. 1991-103:42-43; PN *sut* hu-ut-tuk-iš-da *bel* 17-*memanna mazzimazzi bel* 8-*na bel* 9-*na* "PN exchanged [sheep and goats] in year 17 [against] balances [lit., 'withdrawals'] of year 8 [and] year 9," Fort. 1560-101:41–43 [both accounts for year 17, both edited in Stolper, in preparation]).

These passages complement other Fortification documents that record investigations of prior administrative transactions. One deals with withdrawals of wine in years 11 and 12 (Stolper 2017, 748–52, no. 1). Another deals with coefficients of return (*battikanaš*, as in PF-NN 0001) for dry-farmed grain in years 4 through 8 (Stolper 2017, 735–37, 767–69, no. 6). Another document, only partially comprehensible, supplements these documents with a clear reference to regnal year 6 (no. 3 below).

Taken together, these documents establish that the administrative practices represented by the Persepolis Fortification Archive were functioning at or before 518 BC, at least eight years before the Archive in its recovered form opens (Henkelman 2017, 111). The reports of large grain stores in at least one district center imply that it was functioning at high capacity at and before year 13: more than 89,500 liters = more than 50 metric tons in years 11 and 12, more than 110,000 liters = more than 65 metric tons in year 13 (no. 2:38-40).

Documentation was a corollary of such production. Evidence of administrative acts from before year 13 of Darius was within reach of the compilers of the Fortification texts. The records of investigations show that some evidence had to be sought in undocumented, oral form. No. 2 (below) suggests that some could be sought in Fortification-style records kept elsewhere.

## 3. YEAR 28 AND AFTER

Ordinary information handling was ongoing when the compilation of the Persepolis Fortification Archive was interrupted. Persepolis accountants were still making journals and accounts. They deposited a few of them with the preserved Archive (Henkelman 2008, 174; add Fort. 1350-102 and Fort. 2274-101, journal fragments mentioning year 28).

An extraordinary document, no. 4 below, suggests that it was still possible to consult the Archive after year 28. Even at a glance, no. 4 stands out among Fortification tablets for its shape and script. The large, deep, and well-spaced signs resemble those of early texts from the Treasury Archive (e.g., PT 1, 5, 8) more closely than those of other Fortification tablets. The only comparable known Fortification items are two fragments packed in the same box as one of the joined pieces of no. 4 (nos. 5a and 5b) and one from another, numerically distant box (no. 5c).[7] They are strikingly similar in the shape, dimensions, and fabric of the tablets and in the size, line height, and general appearance of the script, and they share distinctive words, names, and even syntactic features; but I can make no direct join and no plausible indirect join among these fragments. They appear to be pieces of similar tablets bearing related, probably contemporary texts.

None of the four fragments preserves comprehensible extended context, but no. 4 combines a precise date—year 35, month II, day 20—with a reference to a command from Ašbazana. The subjects of the verb *šera-* "command" in Persepolis administrative texts are the king and individuals of high social and/or administrative status (Stolper 2017, 738). The man named in no. 4 can only be the Ašbazana who succeeded Parnaka as general director of the Persepolis administration between years 25 and 28 of Darius. He was still active in the late reign of Darius and the early reign of Xerxes, as texts from the Treasury Archive establish. He is commonly and convincingly identified as the Aspačanā depicted in a relief at Darius's tomb at Naqš-e Rostām, and as the Aspathines named by Herodotus (III.70, 68) among the collaborators in Darius's seizure of the throne (Henkelman 2003, 123–29; 2008, 127, 175–76; Garrison 1998; 2017, 334; Henkelman 2023, 247,

7 On texts of related contents packed in the same box or in boxes with consecutive numbers, see Henkelman 2008, 164–65; Jones and Stolper 2008, 30, 32.

259, 262). The date of no. 4, 20/II/35, can refer only to the reign of Darius I—hence May 17, 487 BC, about six and a half years after the latest known dated Fortification document.

An isolated datum on an extraordinary document in an incomprehensible context invites skepticism. Is the date an ancient error? Are the fragments intrusive among the Fortification tablets?

That the date is erroneous is not likely. The numerals 30+5 are perfectly clear on the tablet. If they are meant for 20[!]+5, the error is not a simple stutter of the stylus but an actual mistake by the ancient writer. If year 25 was intended, Ašbazana would have given his command in the month before the latest dated direct appearance of his predecessor Parnaka in Fortification documents.[8]

That the fragments are intrusive in some sense is clear from their appearance and preserved contents, but the possibility that they are modern intrusions from the Treasury Archive is remote. Ernst Herzfeld had indeed already found a stray Treasury fragment in 1932 (Jones and Yie 2011), but when the Fortification tablets began to be packed for shipment as early as August 1933 (Garrison 2017, 28), Schmidt's team had not yet excavated tablets in the Treasury, as they began to do in spring 1936 (Schmidt 1953, 4). Apart from their handwriting, nos. 4 and 5a–c would be just as exceptional and just as likely to be intrusive among the Treasury documents as they are among the Fortification documents. No other plausible source is apparent.

An ancient intrusion is more plausible. The Neo-Babylonian legal text found among the Fortification documents, dated to an uncertain regnal year of Darius I, must be an intrusion from a contemporary private archive (Stolper 1984, 308; Stolper and Tavernier 2007, 3). Hallock considered the unique list PF 0335 to be an intrusion from another contemporary Elamite administrative archive (Hallock 1973, 321, 323; Basello 2011, 75–78; 2012, 1–3). Like those items, nos. 4 and 5a–c indicate that at least part of the Persepolis Fortification Archive was accessible to people who handled other kinds of documents.

No. 4 refers explicitly to an investigation (*mile haput* "you interrogate(d) him[?]," line 24), and no. 5a may do so as well ([*mi*]*l*[*r*]*e*[?]? *hapuni* "let me interrogate him[?]," line 03'). Given the example of earlier records of investigation (Stolper 2017), it is possible that these fragments arose from an administrative inquiry ordered by Ašbazana, requiring examination of the now-dormant records of the Persepolis Fortification Archive.

## 4. SUMMARY

Scattered but increasing and cogent evidence shows that when Darius I began to build Persepolis, the "fortress" Pārsa—where no fortress was built before, as one of the Persepolis foundation inscriptions (DPf) puts the matter[9]—his logistics staff could call on administrative nodes built up throughout the Persian heartland under Cyrus, Cambyses, Bardiya, and the Vahyazdāta who called himself Bardiya. There were established nodes at Taoce/Tamukkan, Pasargadae/Batrakataš, Matannan, Matezziš/Uvadaiča, and probably elsewhere. These nodes continued to operate in the network under the purview of the compilers of the Persepolis Fortification Archive after Darius's twelfth to thirteenth year (Henkelman 2011, 579; 2017, 111, 135). The existence of the Archive reflects an effort to expand and tighten this network in the reign of Darius (Jones and Stolper 2008, 47; Henkelman 2017, 112).

Fortification documents adduced above and supplemented here bolster the necessary corollary: that pre–Persepolis Fortification Archive nodes kept information in a form that was available to the compilers of the Archive in and after Darius's twelfth to thirteenth year.

Henkelman's observation (2017, 135) that "the presence of an institutional economy with developed logistic structures may actually have *enabled*" Persepolis suggests that by year 12 to 13 the construction of Persepolis had advanced enough that the administrative center of Persia could be moved to Pārsa the Fortress.[10] The earlier central node may have been Cyrus's palace complex at Pasargadae, about 42 km away,

8 The conclusion of Fort. 1201-101, a grain journal from years 23 and 24, names Ašbazana with the administrative title *hazatap*. The name Ašbazana is not common, but it seems unlikely that this passage refers to a man of high social status and court connections at an earlier, junior rank.

9 On the range of architectural and functional nuances of the terms for "fortress," see Rossi 2010.

10 As Schmidt (1953, 41) suggested. Schmidt's confident associations between the construction phases of the Treasury building and the dates of the Fortification and Treasury documents were founded on erroneous notions of the relationship

or Beziyamatiya (Naširma)/Paišiyāuvādā, where Gaumāta/Bardiya began his uprising against Cambyses (DB Old Persian §11, Elamite §10) and where Vahyazdāta/Bardiya raised an army to support his opposition to Darius (DB Old Persian §42, Elamite §34), or even Kukanakkan, where Martiya/Ummanuš arose against Darius (DB Old Persian §22, Elamite §21), all prominent administrative locales in the Persepolis Fortification Archive. More likely (in my view) is Matezziš, the town where Darius impaled the defeated Vahyazdāta/Bardiya and his allies (DB Old Persian §43, Elamite §35), in the immediate vicinity of the new foundation, "an administrative center, but also the town where the builders, scribes and servants were to live" (Boucharlat 2003, 263; cf. Stolper 1984, 306–8; Henkelman 2017, 146–48).

Year 28 was the date at which the Persepolis Fortification Archive was taken out of active use and put where it was discovered: in a gatehouse in the Fortification wall at the northeastern corner of the terrace. The occasion and purpose of removal are inherently uncertain. Henkelman (2008, 176) has speculated that soon after Ašbazana took over as general director of the Persepolis administration, the extant Archive was set aside, after a brief transition, as the records of his predecessor's (Parnaka's) regime. The new administration bricked up the rooms where the Archive was shelved to ensure security and availability.

In the absence of a coherent translation, or even a continuous text, any inference from text no. 4 calls for caution. With this caveat, its presence in the Persepolis Fortification Archive supports the case that the Archive was not discarded but instead purposefully stored (Garrison and Root 2001, 26–30; Henkelman 2008, 162–73; Garrison 2017, 30). Its presence supports the characterization of the Persepolis Fortification Archive as an "intermediate" archive, no longer a repository for newly produced documents but holding documents that were useful to ongoing administration (Henkelman 2008, 176; 2023, 262). Its preserved text suggests that the Archive was accessible more than six years after it became dormant; that it was accessible to people who worked for the administration's new general director, Ašbazana; that they had reason to seek older information in the Archive, as their predecessors had sought information from years 4 through 12 outside the Archive; that the occasion for this search was an administrative investigation; and that, like their predecessors, they left documents arising from their search in the Archive (table 28.1).

between the Fortification and Treasury Archives and an insecure identification of the Treasury building as the primary locus of administrative activity (Garrison 2017, 105n113); but his initial hypothesis and his suppositions about the movement and storage of tablets are nevertheless reasonable.

Table 28.1. Earliest and latest dates in the Persepolis Fortification Archive.

| Document | | Regnal year composed | = BC | Regnal year(s) cited | = BC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fort. 1289-101 | Stolper 2017, no. 6 | | | 4–8 (Dar.) | 518/17–514/13 |
| Fort. 1415-102 | Below, no. 3 | | | 6 Dar. | 516/15 |
| PF-NN 0001 | | | | 8–9 (Dar.) | 514/13–513/12 |
| Fort. 1560-101 | Stolper, in preparation | 17 (Dar.) | 505/4 | 8–9, 16–17 (Dar.) | 514/13–505/4 |
| Fort. 1991-103 | Stolper, in preparation | 17 (Dar.) | 505/4 | 8–9, 16–17 (Dar.) | 514/13–505/4 |
| Fort. 0634-102 (+)0655-101 | Below, no. 2 | | | 11–14 (Dar.) | 511/10–508/7 |
| Fort. 1675-101 | Stolper 2017, no. 1 | | | 11–12 (Dar.) | 511/10–510/9 |
| PF-NN 0759 | Stolper, in preparation | | | 11–12, 15–17 (Dar.) | 511/9–507/4 |
| Fort. 2357-103 | Stolper, in preparation | | | 11–12 (Dar.) | 511/10–510/9 |
| Fort. 2337-102 | | I/12[?] (Dar.) | 510 | | |
| PF 2087 | | 13 (Dar.) | 509/8 | 12 (Dar.) | 510/9 |
| Fort. 1915B-101 | | | | 12–13 (Dar.) | 510/9 |
| Fort. 1990-102 | Below, no. 1 | 13 (Dar.) | 509/8 | 12 (Dar.) | 510/9 |
| Fort. 2311-001 | | | | 12–13 (Dar.) | 510/9 |
| PF-NN 1643 | | I/13 (Dar.) | IV/509 | | |
| PF 1212 (et al.) | | XII/28 (Dar.) | III–IV/493 | | |
| Fort. 1270-101 +1348-103 | Below, no. 4 | | | 35 (Dar.) | 487 |

## NO. 1. FORT. 1990-102 (FIG. 28.1A–C)

### TRANSLITERATION

Obverse

(01) *mu-ši-in hi ba-is-*[KI+MIN] *nu-tan-nu-ia-áš* ˹AŠ˺[*be*]-
(02) ˹*ul*˺ 10+2-*na mu-ši-*[*um*]-˹*me*˺ AŠ*be-ul* 10+3-*na hu-*˹*ut*˺-[*tuk*]
(03) [ ]˹X ME X+X˺ | GURUŠ$^{MEŠ}$-[*na ha*]-*sa-na*
(04) [ |] ˹*ti*˺-*ut-pi* PAP 2 ME 10+2 GURUŠ$^{MEŠ}$-*na*
(05) [ 40]+5 | SAL$^{MEŠ}$-*na ha-sa-na*
(06) [ ] ˹20˺+1 | *ti-ut-*[*pi* ] PAP 60+6 SAL$^{MEŠ}$-*na*
(07) PAP 2 ME 80+8 | *ba-*[*is*-KI+MIN ]
(08) 3 | ˹GURUŠ˺[$^{MEŠ}$-*na* ]
(09) PAP 3 | ˹*x*˺[ ]
(10) 60+˹3?˺ [ ]
(11) 20+4 [ ]
(12) PAP 80+˹7˺ [ ]
(13) [ ]
(14) ˹10˺ [ ]

Reverse

(01') [ ] ˹X X˺ [ ]
(02') (blank)
(03') PAP *hi ba-is-*˹KI+MIN˺ [ ]
(04') ˹HAL*ba*˺-*gi-iz-za* ˹*šá*˺-[*ra-ma-na* ]

### SYNOPSIS

(01–02) This account (is for) stockyard ducks from year 12. The accounting was done for year 13.

(03–07) x adult males, x ducklings, total 212 males; [4]5 adult females, 21 ducklings, total 66 females. Total 288 ducks.

(08–14) Damaged entries and subtotals.

(03'–04') Total ducks, [PN allocating], Bagizza [overseeing].

### COMMENTS

Category W
6.3L × (7.2)W × 2.1Th
PFS 0012a left edge (fig. 28.1b)
PFS 1641 reverse (fig. 28.1c)

(02) -˹ut˺-[tuk] on right edge.

(07) 288 (*sic*): error for 278.

(04') *Bagizza šaramanna*: cf. Fort. 0559-101:03 (account of ducks on hand year 13, account for year 14, probably a sequel to this account).

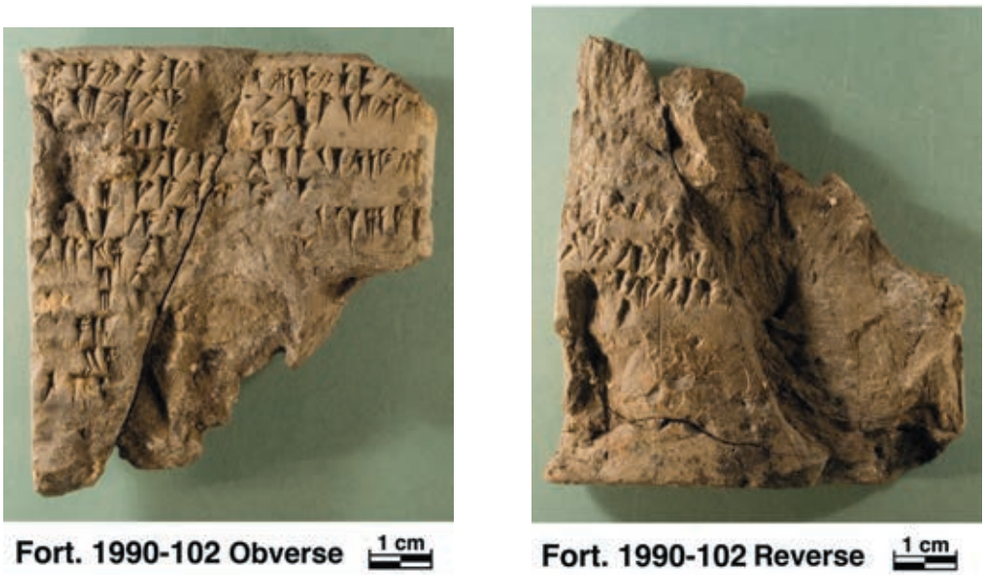


Figure 28.1a. No. 1 obverse and reverse.

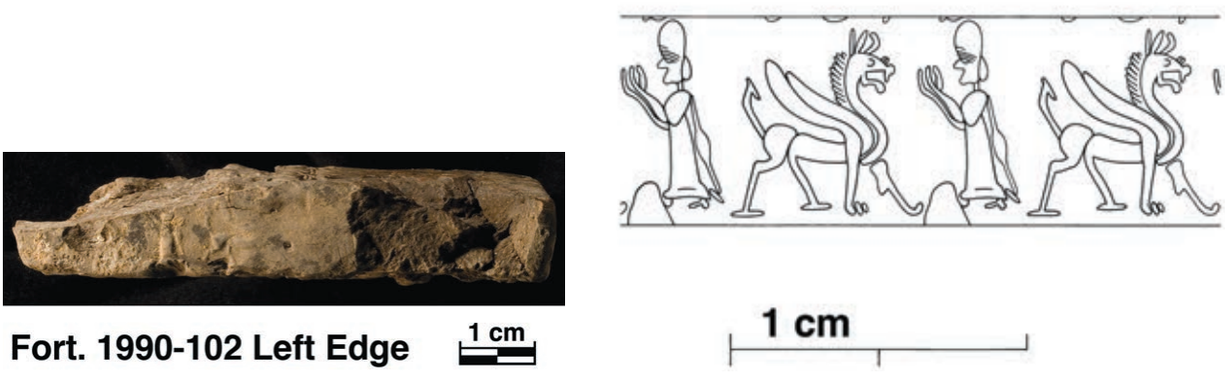


Figure 28.1b. No. 1 left edge and PFS 0012a (collated drawing by Mark B. Garrison).

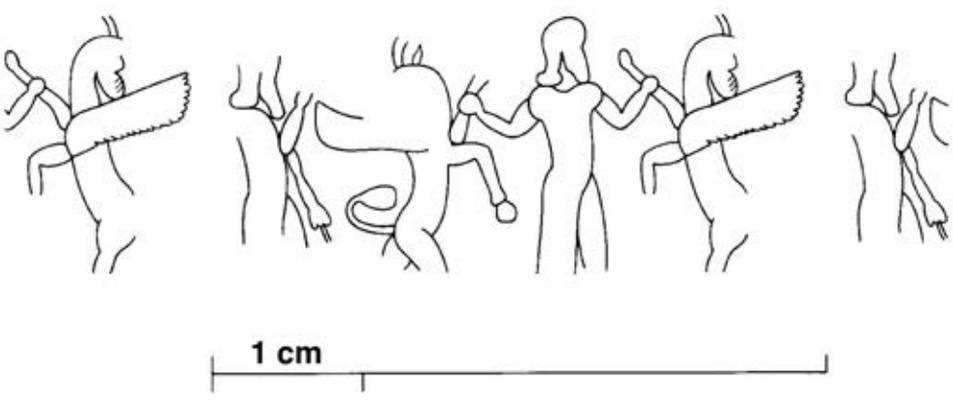


Figure 28.1c. PFS 1641 (collated drawing by Mark B. Garrison).

## NO. 2. FORT. 0634-102(+)0655-101 (FIG. 28.2A–C)

### TRANSLITERATION

Obverse

(01) ˹*nu*˺-*ti-ka*$_4$ *a-ak ha du-ka*$_4$ *pi-*˹*ir*˺ [*ha du-ka*$_4$ *a-ak*] *maz*$_0$*-zí-ka*$_4$

(02) ˹1˺ ŠI 4 ME 40+9 | 1 PI 4 ŠI 4 ME 90 [ | | ] | ŠE.BAR$^{MEŠ}$ $^{AŠ}$HAL.A$^{ME}$

(03) 20+1 | 2 ME 10 | [ | ] | ˹KI+MIN˺ $^{AŠ}$*sa-a-in*

(04) 9 | ˹2˺ ME 70 | [ | ] | ŠE.GAL$^{MEŠ}$

(05) PAP 1 ŠI 4 ME 70+9 | PAP 1 PI 4 ŠI 9 ME 70 | [ | ] | PAP *hi* $^{AŠ}$*be-ul* 10+3-*na* GUD$^{MEŠ}$ $^{HAL}$EŠŠANA-*na*

(06) 1 ŠI 5 ME 70+9 | 1 PI 5 ŠI 7 ME [1 | | ] ˹80˺+9 | ŠE.BAR$^{MEŠ}$ $^{AŠ}$HAL.A˹$^{MEŠ}$˺

(07) 20+1 | ˹x˺ [ | | ] | KI+MIN $^{AŠ}$*sa-*˹*a-in*˺

(08) 6 | 1 ME [ | | ] | ŠE.GAL$^{MEŠ}$

(09) PAP 1 ŠI 6 ME 6 | PAP 1 PI 5 ŠI 8 ME [x+1 | | ] 80 + 9 | PAP *hi* $^{AŠ}$*be-ul* 10+4-*na* GUD$^{MEŠ}$ $^{HAL}$EŠŠANA-*na*

(10) PAP *hi* ŠE.BAR$^{MEŠ}$ $^{AŠ}$*ku-ka*$_4$*-na-ka*$_4$*-*[*an* ]˹GUD$^{MEŠ}$˺ $^{HAL}$EŠŠANA-*na-ma*

(11) 1 ŠI 6 ME 90+8 4 QA | 1 PI 6 ŠI ˹9˺ [ME 80+4 | | ] *maz*$_0$*-zí-ka*$_4$

(12) 1 ŠI 5 ME 70+7 4 QA | 1 ˹PI 5˺ [ŠI 7 ME 70+4 | | ] ˹*x*˺

(13) [ ]

(14) [ ] *nu-ti-ka*$_4$

(15) [ ]-˹*x*˺-*ka*$_4$*-na*

(16) [ ]

(17) [ ]-*na-ma*

(18) [ ]-*ma*

(19) [ ]-*ma*

(20) [ ] $^{HAL}$]*ti*$^{!?}$*-ri-da-da-*˹*ik*$^{?}$*-ki*$^{?}$˺*-mar*

Lower Edge

(21) [ ]-*ik-ki-mar*

(22) [ ] KI+MIN

(23) [ ]-˹*x*˺ KI+MIN

Reverse

(24) [ ]-˹*x*˺-*da* KI+MIN

(25) [ ]-˹x˺-*ka*$_4^?$ KI+MIN

(26) [ ]-˹x˺-*ka*$_4$ ˹KI+MIN˺

(27) [ ]-˹*x*˺-*pi-*˹*ia*$^{?}$ KI+MIN˺

(28) [ ] $^{HAL}$]˹*ba-ka*$_4$*-mi-ra*˺ KI+MIN

(29) [ ]

(30) PAP 10+1 ˹PI x ŠI˺ [ *am-ma* ]

(31) 3 PI 5 ŠI 9 ME [ *ma-ak-ka*$_4$ ]

(32) 3 ŠI ˹x˺ [ *ab-ba-ka*$_4$*-na-še* ]

(33) 4 PI 3 ŠI 2 ME 70 [ *maz*$_0$*-zí-ka*$_4$ ]

(34) 3 PI 1 ŠI 4 ME 5 ˹x˺ [QA *šu-tur da-ka*$_4$ ]

(35) PAP *hi* ŠE.BAR$^{MEŠ}$ *kur-mín* $^{HAL}$*da-da-*˹*pár*$^{?}$˺-[ ]-˹*x*˺-*ik-šá ul-li-ri-ri-*˹*na*$^{?}$˺

(36) *me-ni* $^{AŠ}$*tup-pi ap-pa* $^{HAL}$*ir-du-*[ ](-)˹*x*˺-*ba*$^{?}$*-ka*$_4$*-na*$^{?}$*-iš-na*$^{?}$ *tin-gi-*˹*ka*$_4$˺

(37) $^{AŠ}$*be-ul* 10+1-*na a-ak* $^{AŠ}$*be-ul* 10+2-*na* [ *be*]-˹*ul ha-tu*˺*-ma*

(38) 6 PI 7 ŠI 8 ME 70+8 8 QA 20-*kur* [ ] ˹*am-ma*˺ $^{AŠ}$*be-ul* 10+1-*na*

(39) 2 PI 1 ŠI 7 ME 10+ 8 [ ] *am-ma* $^{AŠ}$KI+MIN 10+2-*na*

(40) ˹PAP 8˺ PI 9 ŠI 5 ME 90+6 8 QA ˹20-*kur*˺ [ ] ˹*am*˺-*ma* 2 *be-ul ha-tu-ma*

Upper Edge

(41) [ ] 2 ŠI 9 ME 80+6½ ˹*ab*˺-[*ba-ka*$_4$*-na-še* ] *ni-*˹*ma-ak*˺

(42) [ ] ˹4˺ PI 2 ME 80+3½ 20-˹*kur*˺ [ ]

## SYNOPSIS

(01–10) Tabulation of amounts of irrigated barley, dry-farmed barley, and rice[?] (ŠE.GAL$^{MEŠ}$) at the place Kukanakkan: (i) stored as seed, (ii) yield, (iii) excess, or (iv) shortfall,[11] as the king's possessions (lit., "cattle") in regnal years 13 and 14.

(11–12) Additional shortfall from unreserved, unused seed.

(14–29) Credit items.

(30–35) Balanced account: carryover, outlays, charges, withdrawals, balance carried forward. Total, naming accountable storehouse overseers.

(36–37) "Then, a tablet of PN . . . was brought [with information on] years 11 and 12."

(38–40) Amounts on hand in years 11 and 12, and total for two years.

(41–42) Deduction of about one-thirtieth of the total on hand (line 40), and expenditure or withdrawal.

## COMMENTS

Category W
(9.8)L × 7.8W × 2.1Th
PFS 0012b left edge (Fort. 0655-101) (fig. 28.2b)
PFS 1637* right edge (Fort. 0634-102) (fig. 28.2c)

There is no direct join between the two fragments. That they are pieces of a single tablet is evident because (1) the clay fabric and surfaces, line heights, layout, and ductus of the two fragments match; (2) each fragment cites years 11 and 12, otherwise scarce in comparable texts; (3) with one exception,[12] PFS 1637* (impressed on the right edge of Fort. 0634-102) occurs elsewhere only collocated with PFS 0012b (impressed on the left edge of Fort. 0655-101) and only on account tablets (Category W).

On accounts in this format, see Hallock 1969, 60–61. Almost all recorded examples tabulate amounts for two or more years. Single-year tabulations in similar format are sometimes attached to grain journals (Category V, e.g., PF 1955-60; see Hallock 1969, 56).

PF-NN 1011 and Fort. 1942B-102 are accounts of grain for years 13 and 14, in similar format, recording comparable amounts, with the same seals, also mentioning the place Kukanakkan, and entering amounts carried over according to an authorizing document (*halmi*) of Irdumartiya.[13]

(05, 09) -*na* on right edge.

(20) -⌜*ki*[?]⌝-*mar* on right edge.

(36) Perhaps *tuppi appa* $^{HAL}$*ir-du-*[*mar-ti-ia-na ap-pa*] ⌜*ab*⌝-*ba-ka$_4$-na-iš-na* "a tablet of Irdumartiya, of deductions." See Henkelman 2023, 241 with n18, on "sealed documents" (*halmi*) from the general director

11 Measured against a required yield from seed of 10:1 for barley; 30:1 for rice[?] (ŠE.GAL, Hallock 1969, 21).

12 PF-NN 2272 (Stolper 2017, 763–67, 791–93, no. 5), a record of investigations.

13 Fort. 2047-001 is another such account, with the same seals, also mentioning Kukanakkan (dates broken). Fort. 2164-002 is another, with the same seals, tabulating amounts for years 13 and 14, without preserved mention of Kukanakkan.

Irdumartiya indicating a base amount carried over from prior years, from which the summary balanced account for the current year proceeds.

(42) Erasure precedes 2 ME.

Figure 28.2a. No. 2 obverse, lower edge, reverse, and upper edge.

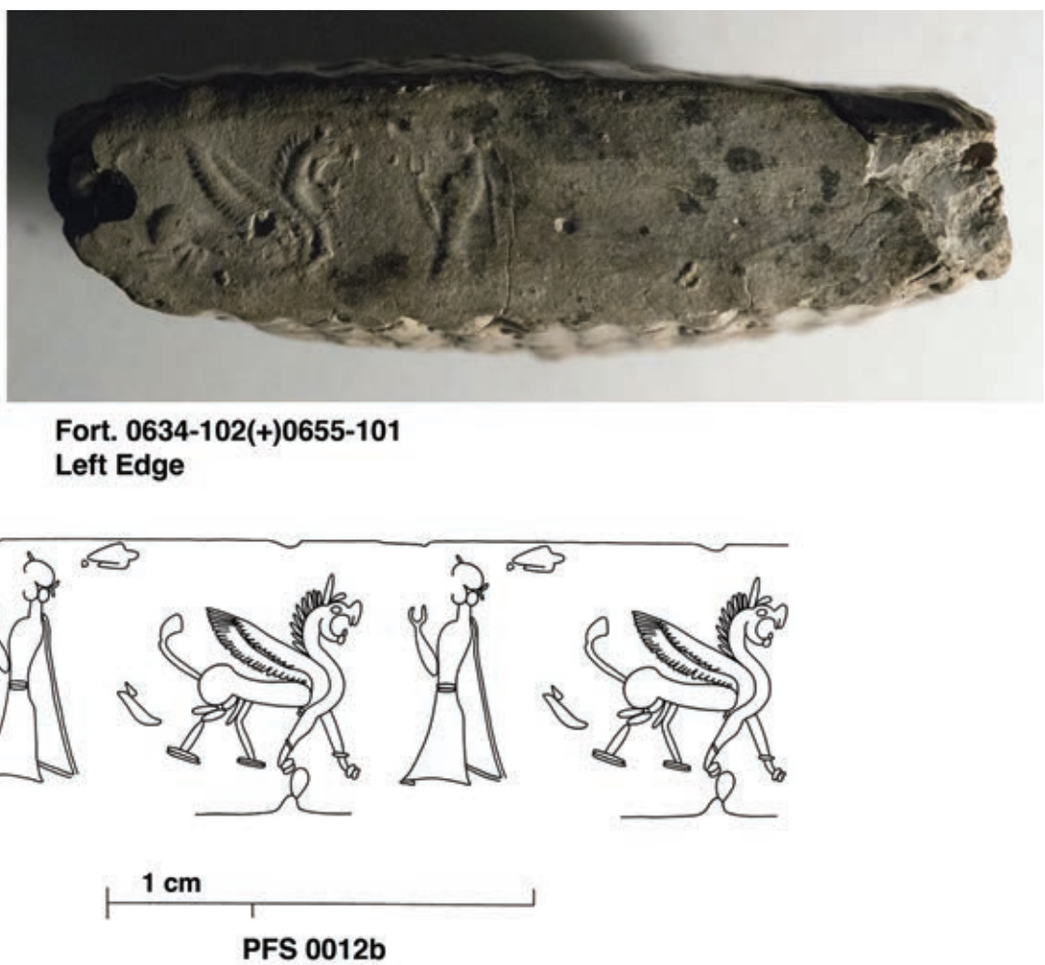


Figure 28.2b. No. 2 left edge and PFS 0012b (collated drawing by Mark B. Garrison).

Fort. 0634-102(+)0655-101
Right Edge

PFS 1637*

Figure 28.2c. No. 2 right edge and PFS 1637* (collated drawing by Tytus Mikołajczak).

## NO. 3. FORT. 1415-102 (FIG. 28.3)

### TRANSLITERATION

Obverse
(01') [ ] ⌜x x x⌝ [ ]
(02') [ ] ⌜x x x x⌝ [ ]
(03') [x] ⌜x x x x x x x x⌝ [ ]
(04') *na*?-⌜*an*?-*gi*?⌝ AŠ&1&MEŠ ⌜x x x x⌝ [ ]
(05') *man-ka*$_4$ ⌜*am*⌝ *šá-rak*$_0$ ⌜*x ia*?⌝ GUD$^{MEŠ}$ ⌜*uk*?]-[ ]-
(06') *ba iš-ši-iš-ni am* 3 GUD$^{MEŠ}$ *ap-pa* ⌜*nu*⌝-
(07') *tan-nu-ia-áš hu-be-na* 1 *mar-ri-iš*
(08') *a-ak* 4 GUD$^{MEŠ}$ *sa-da-kam-zí-iš-na* 1 *mar-*
(09') *ri-iš* GIŠ&1&MEŠ *ul-la-iš-«iš»-ni* GUD$^{MEŠ}$
Lower Edge
(10') *ba*?-*te*-⌜*mín*?⌝ *ma-ra* *a-ak* $^{HAL}$*da-*
(11') *ri-ia-u-iš* $^{HAL}$EŠŠANA *še-ra-iš* ANŠE.KUR.RA⌜MEŠ⌝
(12') ⌜*ap*?-*pa*?⌝ $^{HAL}$*ma-a-sa-še*!? *iš-ši* $^{HAL}$*bar-šip*$_0$ *ha-tu-*⌜*ma*⌝ [*x*] ⌜*x*⌝
(13') ⌜*hu*?-*be*?⌝ $^{HAL}$?*x-x-man-za*? *i kur-ma-ak-ni mu-ši-*[*x*] *x*
Reverse
(14') *sa*?-*ap*? $^{HAL}$*da-ri-ia-u-iš* $^{HAL}$EŠŠANA $^{AŠ}$⌜*x*?⌝-*te*?-
(15') ⌜*x-ma*?⌝ *mur-tuk-ra* $^{AŠ}$*be-ul* 6-*um-me-ma*
(16') ⌜$^{AŠ}$?*da*?-*iš-še*?-*ir*?⌝ GUD$^{MEŠ}$ *ap-pa* $^{HAL}$*nap-ru-*
(17') *un-da*? *šá-ra-man-na zí-iš-šá me*?-*ni*
(18') *x x* GIŠ&1&MEŠ GUD$^{MEŠ}$ *hu-be-na a-nu*
(19') ⌜*zí*?-*ia*!?⌝-*an ma-ra me-ni šá-rak*$_0$ *sa-*
(20') *ap* $^{HAL}$*da-ri-ia-u-iš* $^{HAL}$EŠŠANA $^{AŠ}$*x* [*x*]
(21') [ ]-*mar* $^{AŠ}$*šu*!-*šá-an ši-*⌜*in*?⌝-*nu*?-*x*⌝
(22') [ ] *x* [ ]
Upper Edge
(23') [ ]-*me*?-*ma*? [ ]
(24') [ ] *x* [ ]
(25') [ ] *x* [ ]
Left Edge
(26') [ ] ⌜*x x*⌝ *ip*? *taš*? *man*? [ ]
(27') ⌜*x x*⌝-*ak*?-*ka*$_4$-*ik-ka*$_4$? *x* [ ]
(28') *x x hu-pír-ri-na x* [ ]
(29') *x* ⌜*ra*?⌝-*ma* $^{AŠ}$⌜*hi*?⌝-*ú*-[ ]
(30') ⌜*x x*⌝ *da x ma* [ ]-
(31') *ti-*⌜*ka*$_4$?⌝-*maš* $^{HAL}$*zí*?-[ ]-⌜*x-x*⌝ $^{AŠ}$*be-*⌜*ul*? *x x*⌝ [ ]

### COMMENTS

7.3L × (4.1)W × 2.3Th
No seals

The tablet shape, ductus, space between sections (line 10'), reference to an early regnal year (line 15'), and reported conversation (*manka*, line 05'; *mara*, line 10') resemble features of documents connected with investigations (Stolper 2017). The precative forms (*ullašni* "let him/them deliver," line 09', *kurmakni* "let him/them turn over," line 13'; perhaps *iššišni*, line 06') and probable prohibitive (*anu* ⌜*zí*?-*ia*!?⌝-*an*, lines 18'–19'),

and the possible mention of a "message" ([*bat*]*tikamaš*?, lines 30'–31') at the end, all suggest a letter or letter order.

Mentions of Darius the King (lines 10'–11', 14', 20') and of the sixth year (line 15') are clear. Some other readings and most interpretations of continuous text are conjectures.

(05'–06') ⌜*uk*?⌝-[*ka*$_4$/*ku*]-*ba* for *ukku ap*, *ukkap*?

(06', 12') *iššišni*: cf. *iš-ši-du-iš* PF 1706:06-07 (in connection with grain for cattle), perhaps a compound verb (**iššši-* + *du-*) or verbal phrase rather than a compound noun.

(08') *saddakamziš* "Sattagydian" beside *battišmarriš* "Patischorean," distinguishing kinds of calves, hence perhaps breeds of cattle: Fort. 0000-110:19'', Fort. 1748-101:52, Fort. 1889-101:19' (edited in Stolper, in preparation).

(10') If the reading is correct, then *bateman*?, from a base **bate-* (found in *batera* "herder," *batmana*, "herding (allowance)," and *batin* "district"), conjugation IIIm verbal noun (infinitive) indicating purpose or result (Khačikjan 1998, 42; Stolper 2004, 81): "(the cattle are) for herding, to be herded"?

GIŠ$_1$MEŠ, in connection with livestock, "ghee" (Henkelman 2010, 739). If so: 05'–10' "Now, again, let him . . . . . cattle against them, now let him/them deliver (for) those 3 cows that are stockyard animals 10 liters and (for) 4 Sattagydian cows 10 liters of ghee. 'The cattle (are) to be herded (i.e., turned over to a herder),' he said."

(10'–11', 14') HAL*da-ri-ia-u-iš* as in other Fortification and Treasury texts, not DIŠ, -*ma-u-iš*, as in royal inscriptions and seal inscriptions.

(10'–13') Perhaps: "And Darius the King orders: the horses that PN . . . across/throughout Pārsa, those . . . are to be turned over to PN$_2$"?

(12') Compare personal name HAL*ma-a-sa* PF-NN 2506:06–07, occupational term ⌜AŠ?⌝*ma-sa-si-iš*, PF 0473:04.

(15') *murtukra*: cf. GN *hiše Paršipikki hami murdak* "(a place) named Kukanakkan, among the Persians, there he (Martiya/Ummanuš) held a position (and revolted)," DB Elamite ii 5, corresponding to Old Persian (*avada adāraya*); PN GN *murtuk* "PN stationed at GN," PF-NN 2196:21, PF 1980:16?, Fort. 1738-101:10; *kurtas* GN *murtuk*? "workers stationed at Matezziš," Fort. 2116-107:03. Here seemingly an oblique allusion to the seasonal presence of the king and court (Tuplin 1998), anticipating the king's movement to Susa in lines 20'–21'.

(16'–17') *Naprunda* = *Nap*(*i*)*r-un-da* "god help me"?

(17') *ziš*(*a*), imperative?, *ziyan*?, conjugation III verbal noun?, both from *zi*(*ya*)- "see," hence "inspect"? If so: 14'–17' "'While Darius the King is dwelling in GN, year 6, at GN$_2$, inspect the cattle that are under the supervision of Naprunda?, 17'–19' then . . . ghee from those cattle is not to be inspected,' he said. 19'–21' Then, again, when Darius the King comes from GN$_3$ to Susa. . . ."

(31') Begins on the turn from left edge to obverse, concludes on left margin of reverse, upside-down with respect to first line of writing on left edge—that is, the line wraps around the left margin from obverse to reverse, as in, for example, Fort. 0978-101, PT 13, 27, 38 (cf. Fisher and Stolper 2015, 4).

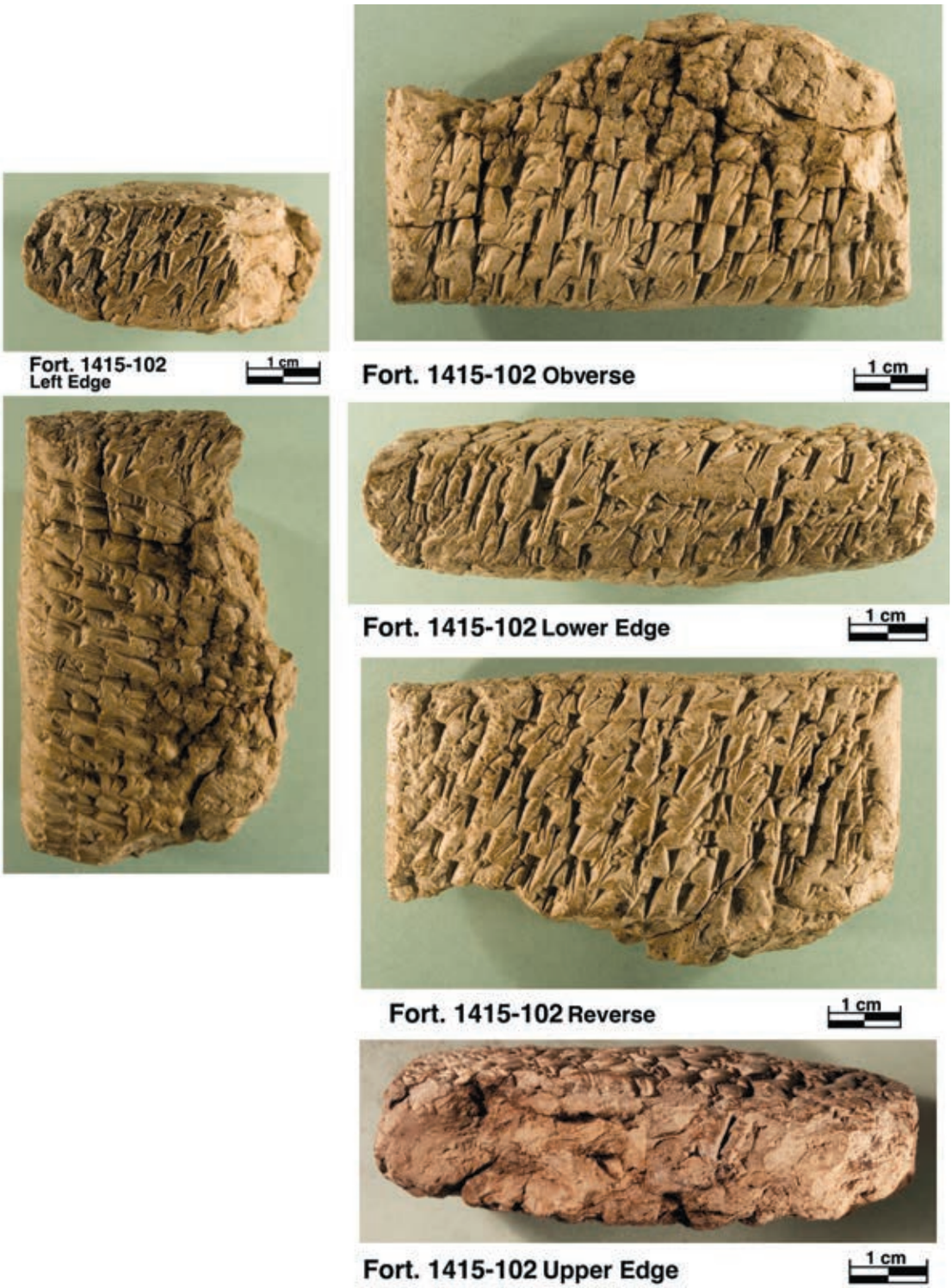


Figure 28.3. No. 3 (order of reading) obverse, lower edge, reverse, upper edge, and left edge.

## NO. 4. FORT. 1270-101+1348-103 (FIG. 28.4A–B)

### TRANSLITERATION

Obverse

(01) AŠ*be-ul* 30+5-*um-me-*ʳ*na*ˀ [ AN ITI MEŠ AN ]
(02) *tu-ir-ma-ráš-na* 20 AN*na-an* ʳ*pír*ˀ-[*ka*$_4$ ]-
(03) *ra* HAL*áš-ba-za-na še-ra-iš* [ ]-
(04) *uk-ka*$_4$ *a-ak* HAL*ak-ka*$_4$*-ia-*ʳ*na*ˀ [ ]
(05) [AŠ]*mar-ka*$_4$ ʳ*ap*ˀ*-pa* HALʳ*x*ˀ [ ] ʳ*x*ˀ [ ]
(06) [ ] ʳ*x*ˀ [ ] ʳHAL*hu*ˀˀ*-nu-*ʳ*ka*$_4$ˀˀ-[ ]
(07) ʳ*x*ˀ [ ] ʳ*ir*ˀ*-ma*ˀ*-tam*$_6$ˀ HAL*áš*ˀ*-ba*ˀˀ-[ ] ʳ*x*ˀ [ ]
(08) ʳ*x*ˀ *hu-be zí-ia-*ʳ*iš ap*ˀ*-pa* ʳ*ma*ˀ *x*ˀ [ ]-
(09) *du zí-rak*$_0$*-ka*$_4$ ʳ*ha*ˀˀ *iš*ˀ*-*ʳ*ši*ˀˀ*-iš*ˀ *zil*$_0$ˀ [ ]
(10) *sa-el-te mi-ul* [ ] ʳ*x*ˀ [ ]
(11) *hi tin-gi-*ʳ*iš*ˀ HAL*ú-ik-*ʳ*ki*ˀˀ [ ] ʳ*x*ˀ [ ]-
(12) *be-da* AN ITI MEŠ AN *tu-*ʳ*ir*ˀ-[*ma*]-ʳ*ráš*!*-na*ˀ [ ]
(13) *pír*ˀ ʳ*x x x x*ˀ AN*mar-ka*$_4$-[*šá-na-iš-na* ]
(14) ʳ*x x*ˀ AŠ[*mar*ˀ*-ka*$_4$ˀ] ʳ*hu*ˀ*-be-ma* [ ]

Lower Edge

(15) *sa-*ʳ*el-te*ˀ *ap-pa hu-*[ ]
(16) *ni*ˀ ʳ*a*ˀ*-ak* 2ˀˀ ½ *sa-el-te* [ ]

Reverse

(17) *a-ak* 1 ʳGIŠˀ*mar-ka*$_4$*-um* AŠʳ*mar-ka*$_4$ˀ *nu-*[ ]
(18) AŠ*mar-ka*$_4$ *hu-be-ma* 4 ME ½ *zil*$_0$ˀ [ ]
(19) 2 ME 50 ½ *sa-el-te* ʳ*ap-pa*ˀ [ ]
(20) PAP *hi* AŠ*mar-ka*$_4$ 2 *gi-da-nu* HALʳ*x*ˀ [ ]
(21) *hi-še* HAL*ak-ka*$_4$*-ia-na* [ ] ʳ*x x*ˀ AŠ[ ]-
(22) ʳ*ia-x-iš*ˀ *hi-še ha* ʳ*mi*ˀˀ [ ]*-ri-*ʳ*iš* AŠ*ku*ˀ*-x*ˀ [ ]
(23) *bar-*ʳ*ri*ˀ*-ba-ráš hi hu-pír-*ʳ*ri* AŠˀ*mar-ka*$_4$ *hi še* ʳ*x*ˀ [ ]-
(24) *ak* «HAL» ʳ*nu*ˀ*-iš-gi-ma-ak* *áš*ˀ ʳx] [ ]
(25) [ ] ʳ*x*ˀ*-na mi-ul-li ha-pu-ut* AŠʳ*x*ˀ [ ]
(26) [ ] ʳ*ap*ˀ*-pa* HAL*nu-*ʳ*um*!ˀˀ HAL*ma-ak-ka*$_4$ *hu* [ ]
(27) ʳ*x*ˀ *zí*!*-ia-hu-ut ap-pa* ʳ*x x*ˀ [ ]
(28) *rak*$_0$*-ka*$_4$ AŠ*mar-ka*$_4$ *hu-be* HAL*ak-ka*$_4$*-*[ ]-
(29) *da* HAL*ak-ka*$_4$*-zí-ri-iš man-ka*$_4$ [ ]
(30) *na-an-ri hi zí-la-te* AŠ*mar-ka*$_4$ [ ]-
(31) *ut*ˀ*-te zí-rak*$_0$*-ka*$_4$ *ia* ʳ*na*ˀˀ [ ]
(32) HAL*ak-ka*$_4$*-ri*!ˀ *ši-iš-*[ *hi*ˀ]-

Upper Edge

(33) *nu-šu in nu-ib-ba-*ʳ*ak*ˀˀ [ *nu*ˀ]-
(34) *iš-gi ap-pa* HALʳEŠŠANA *x*ˀ [ ]

### COMMENTS

(10.0)L × 10.0W × 2.2Th
No seals

The explicit reference to investigation (line 25), the collocation of first- and second-person verb forms, and the uninscribed space between paragraphs (line 24) invite comparison with earlier records of investigation (Stolper 2017). The possible references to fruit (*salte*, lines 10, 15, 16, 19), perhaps to be held in storage (*nušgimak*, line 24) at a storage enclosure (*barribaraš*, line 23), point to assessments of orchards and/or collecting and accounting for their crops (Stolper 2021).

(01) The numeral 30 is perfectly clear. An unprovenanced Achaemenid Elamite administrative document in the British Museum, ANE 108963, is dated in year 35 of an unspecified ruler, almost certainly Darius I (Collon in Merrillees 2005, 81 and pl. xxxiv; Garrison, Jones, and Stolper 2018).

(05, 14, 17, 18, 20, 23, 28) AŠ*marka*: considering the following relative *appa* and demonstrative *hube*(*ma*), perhaps a common noun indicating a locale rather than a place name (cf. *Markuš*, "Margiana"); but in line 23, the possible following *hiše* "named" suggests a proper name.

(10, 15, 16, 19) *sa-el-te*: also in no. 5c:03'. Compare GIŠ*si-el-ti* PFa 33:04, Fort. 0119-101:27 (= Henkelman and Stolper 2021, 187–96), probably a variant of *telte*, a kind of fruit (see Henkelman 2021, 161).

(24) *áš*? (or: *ku*!?) written as MEŠ, with four horizontal wedges.

(25–27) *mile haput*: second person "you investigate(d)," coordinated with likely HAL*num* "you, to you (plural)" and distinguished from first-person plural *ziyahut* "we saw, inspected"; cf. Stolper 2017, 766. Compare [*mi*?]-*ul*-⌜*li*⌝ *ha-pu-ni* "let me investigate? him," no. 5a:3'. *hapu-* (rather than *hapi-*), though unparalleled in Achaemenid Elamite, illustrates the common development Cu ~ Ci (Khačikjan 1998, 5; Stolper 2004, 72; Grillot-Susini 2008, 12; Tavernier 2011, 320).

(30) *hi zila* + /*ta*/ = affirmative answer "so indeed"? Compare (as the king desired/ordered) *zilini*/*zilani* "so be it" (Stolper 2017, 77).

(32) -*ri*!? written as HU.

(33) Compare ⌜*in*?⌝ *nubba* PF-NN 2408:12–13, versus the usual *hi nubbak* "corresponding to this, like this, thus"; here evidently with animate resumptive *in*, amplifying [*hi*?]*nušu* "himself, itself," hence "just like him, just as he (did)"?

Figure 28.4a. No. 4 obverse and lower edge.

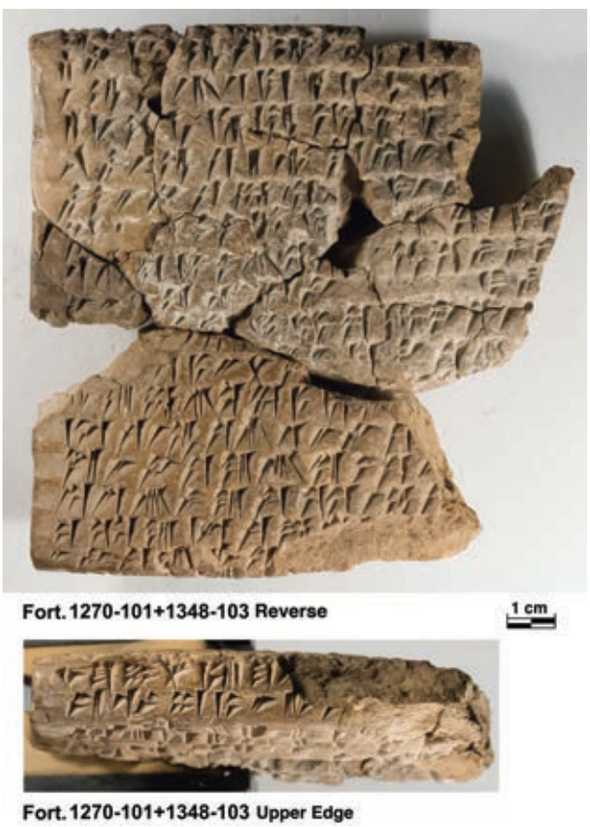


Figure 28.4b. No. 4 reverse and upper edge.

## NO. 5A. FORT. 1348-104 (FIG. 28.5A)

### TRANSLITERATION

Obverse

(01') [ ] ⌜*x x x iš*$^{?}$⌝

(02') [ ] ⌜*tin*⌝*-gi-iš pír-ra-*

(03') [ *mi*$^{?}$]*-ul-*⌜*li*$^{?}$⌝ *ha-pu-ni*

(04') [ *x*] ⌜*x x*⌝ *tin-gi-iš*

(05') [ ] (blank)

(06') [ ] ⌜*ku*$^{?}$⌝*-ru-uk-du-iš hi-še*

Lower Edge

(07') [ ] *x tar*$^{?}$*-ni* 80+4½

(08') [ *ap*$^{?}$]*-*⌜*pa*⌝ *hu-ši-ka*$_4$ *hal-mar-*

Reverse

(09') [ HAL]⌜*šá*⌝*-ak-ka*$_4$*-na hi-še*

(10') [ ] ⌜*x x ip*$^{?}$⌝ *hu-pír-ri in-*

(11') [ ] *me*$^{?}$*-ni* HAL*hu-nu-ka*$_4$*-ma*

(12') [ ] *na-u-te* HAL*šá-ak-*

(13') [ ] ⌜*tin-gi-iš*⌝ *pír-ra-*

(14') [ ] ⌜*x x x x*⌝

### COMMENTS

(5.4)L × (4.7)W × 1.8Th
No preserved seal

(10') ⌜*x x ip*$^{?}$⌝: perhaps ⌜KI+MIN$^{!}$⌝.

(11') = PN Unukama (no. 5c:06', 13')?

(12') Compare nos. 5b:08', 5c:09', 14'.

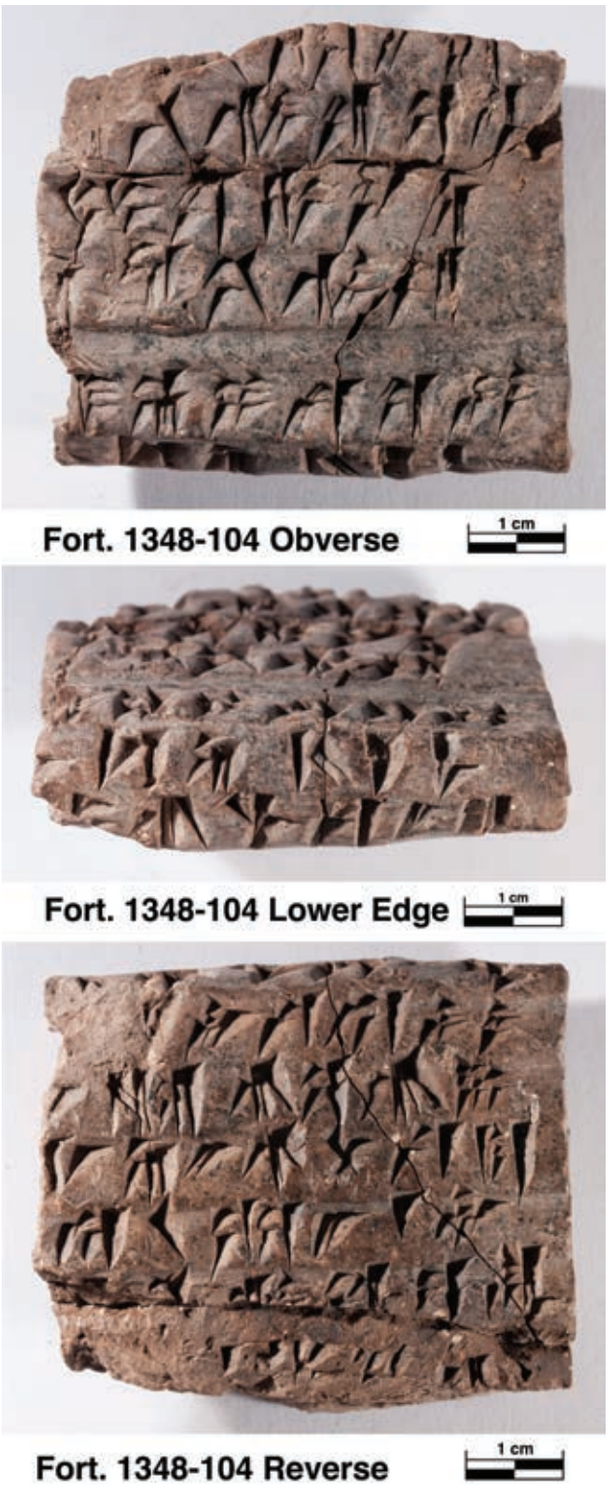


Figure 28.5a. No. 5a obverse, lower edge, and reverse.

## NO. 5B. FORT. 1348-105 (FIG. 28.5B)

### TRANSLITERATION

Obverse

(01') [ ] ˹x˺ 90 [ ]
(02') [ ] ˹x˺ HAL*da*-˹x-x˺ [ ]
(03') [ ]-˹*da*?˺-*pi-ud-da-na* AŠ˹*hal-mi*?˺
(04') [ ]-˹*mar*˺-*ri-iš* PAP *hi* 3 HAL

Lower Edge

(05') [ ] ˹x˺-*zí-ri-iš hu li*?
(06') [ ] HAL*an-sa-ra* HAL*te-*

Reverse

(07') [ ] *mar-da-um* HAL*tar-ka*$_4$-
(08') [ ] HAL*nu-ku na-u-te* HAL˹x˺
(09') [ ]-*u-iš ti-ri-iš man-ka*$_4$
(10') [ ] *na-pan-na*? ˹x x˺ HAL*nu-*[ ]
(11') [ ]-*hu-ut ku-ud-*[ ]
(12') [ ] ˹x x˺ [ ]
(13') [ ] ˹x x˺ [ ]

### COMMENTS

(6.7)L × (4.3)W × 1.7Th
No preserved seals

(08') Compare nos. 5a:12', 5c:09', 14'. Might *na-u-te* represent an otherwise unattested conjugation I first-person plural of *na-*, for expected *na-u-ut*, *na'ut* (**nahut*; see Stolper 2017, 743–44) "we said, spoke," as the preceding pronoun *nuku* suggests? (In PF 0331:06, **na-ut-ti-ba* is a ghost word, emended by Hallock as *du*!-*ut-ti-la*!?.)

(08'–09') Syntax? *nuku* "we, to us," first-person plural pronoun; *tiriš* "he/they said, spoke," third-person verb (normally spelled *tu*$_4$*-ru-iš*, but cf. no. 5c:13' and *ti-ri-šá* PF 1792:04); *manka*, first-person singular quotational correlative, "I (said)." On discrepancies in concord between introductory verb and correlative in quoted speech, see Stolper 2017, 747. Perhaps a quoted statement within a quoted statement ("we said? (that) . . . he said . . . , I [*sic*] said")?

(12') ˹x x˺ = erasures?

Figure 28.5b. No. 5b obverse, lower edge, and reverse.

## NO. 5C. FORT. 1782-102 (FIG. 28.5C)

### TRANSLITERATION

Obverse
(01') [ ] ⌜x⌝ *hi-⌜še*[?] *x*⌝ [ ]
(02') [ ] ⌜2⌝ ŠI 3 ME ½ ⌜*x x*⌝
(03') [ ] ⌜½⌝ *sa-el-te ia*
(04') [ ]-*ka*$_4$[?]-*um an a mi*[!?] *ia*
(05') [ ]-⌜*mi*[!?]⌝-*ik* HAL*za-iz-*
(06') [ HAL]⌜*ú*⌝-*nu-ka*$_4$-*ma šá-*
Lower Edge
(07') [ ] ⌜*x*⌝-*iš* HAL*ak*[?]-*ka*$_4$-
(08') [ ] ⌜*x*⌝-*ir-mak*$_0$[?] HAL*za-iz-*
Reverse
(09') [ ]-⌜*hu*[?]⌝-*ut*[?] *na-u-te* AŠ
(10') [ ] ⌜*tin*[?]⌝-*gi-iš-šá šá-u*[!]*-iš*
(11') [ ]-⌜*ri*[?]-*iš*⌝ *man-ka*$_4$ *me-ni* HAL*za-iz-*
(12') [ ] ⌜*in*[?]⌝-*ni ši-nu-ik me-ni* HAL
(13') [ ] HAL*ú-nu-ka*$_4$-*ma hi ti-ri*(-)
(14') [ ] *na-u-te* HAL*za-iz-*⌜*za*⌝-[ ]
(15') [ ] ⌜x⌝ [ ]

### COMMENTS

(6.3)L × (4.6)W × 2.2Th
No preserved seals

(03') *sa-el-te*: See comment on no. 4:10, 15, 16, 19.

(04', 05') The sign rendered as *mi*[!?] (perhaps *ki*[!?]), written distinctly as a large angle wedge followed by three horizontals, with no vertical wedge, does not resemble any usual Achaemenid Elamite sign.

(05', 08', 11', 14') HAL*zazza*[*p*] (frequent as the name of a supply officer [*kurman*] in the Persepolis Fortification Archive)?

(08') Or: *x-ir-tin*? If *–ir-mak*$_0$[?], indicating a fraction, a preceding numeral is expected.

(13') *tiri*, imperative "say this to U.," or *tiri*[*š*], third person (as in no. 5b:09') "then [PN$_1$] said this to U."?

Figure 28.5c. No. 5c obverse, lower edge, and reverse.

## ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| Dar. | Darius |
| DB | multilingual inscriptions of Darius I at Bīsotūn |
| DPf | Elamite foundation inscription of Darius I inscribed on the south side of the terrace at Persepolis, alongside DPd and DPe (Old Persian) and DPg (Akkadian) |
| Fort. | in citations of the form Fort. 0000-000, unpublished Persepolis Fortification tablets and texts recorded by the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project;[14] in citations of the form Fort. 00000, texts in Arfaee 2008 unless otherwise identified |
| GN | geographical name |
| L | length |
| PF | text published in Hallock 1969 |
| PFa | text published in Hallock 1978 |
| PF-NN | texts cited from draft editions by Richard T. Hallock and Charles E. Jones, collated and corrected by Wouter F. M. Henkelman[15] |
| PFS | Persepolis Fortification seal, cited according to Garrison and Root 1998, with updates by Mark B. Garrison |
| PN | personal name |
| PT | texts published in Cameron 1948 |
| Th | thickness |
| W | width |

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14 The first four digits indicate the box from which the tablet came (see Hallock 1969, 1; Jones and Stolper 2008, 37ff.), and the last three digits give an arbitrary identification number reflecting the order in which the tablets were cataloged or read.

15 Cited according to the numbers Hallock assigned, reflecting the order in which he transcribed the texts.

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# 29 THE DIVINE SOUL, THE ROYAL SOUL, AND LEGAL AUTHORITY IN HITTITE TEXTS

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אכן רוח היא באנוש ונשמת שדי תבינם
"Surely, it is the spirit within humans, and the breath of God that gives them wisdom."
(Job 32:8)

## DEDICATION

This essay is for my dear mentor Theo van den Hout, who opened the door to the field of Hittite studies for me some three decades ago and since then has become a close friend and a constant source of discussion of Hittite thought. It is presented to him as a token of gratitude for his wonderful inspiration.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Humans' search for knowledge of the past is one of our attempts to confront mortality. The ability to study our ancestors' active existence on this earth seems to create an unbreakable timeline, even though it comprises different lifetimes of distant human beings. This knowledge may bring new meaning to the way we view our own life. The soul, seen as the essence of the living human being, has been treated in many cultures in special ways. The Hittites seem to bear witness to one such way of understanding.[1]

The study of the concept of "soul" as it appears in Hittite texts goes back to the early researches of the Hittite language and received a comprehensive and authoritative treatment in the mid-1960s study by Annelies Kammenhuber (1964–65). Since then it has been slightly extended with additional insights into its attestations, meanings, and usage, and studies on the subject have been published by different scholars and included in various Hittite dictionaries. It became clear that the Sumerogram ZI with Hittite case complements, representing the Hittite word *ištanza*(*na*)-, can be translated in several ways other than "soul"—including "spirit," "mind," "will, desire," "life, living thing," "self," or "person"—according to the context and the interpretation of different scholars in their translations.[2]

This study focuses on a specific aspect of the use of "soul" (ZI) in Hittite texts by looking mainly at two conceptual points: first, the fact that the soul and the body are different entities and the soul can thus be set

1 I wish to thank Theo van den Hout for enabling my research period in 2014 at the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (then named the Oriental Institute) as a visiting scholar of the University of Chicago's Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, during which time I was able to further my study of Hittite texts, of which this discussion is a result.

2 For recent attestations, see Weeden 2011, 649–50. For etymological treatments, see HED 1/2, 468–71; Kloekhorst 2008, 414–15; both include references to previous literature. The *ištanza*(*na*)- entry was also recently published in HW² I 255–63. In the following, further studies on the term are discussed.

apart from the bodies of both deities and humans; and second, the "essence" of the "soul" can be discussed via several texts in an attempt to connect it to the royal body of the king, an idea first put forward by Theo van den Hout (1994) in his important study of royal funerary rituals. He has continued dealing with this topic, and his latest treatment of the term can be found in discussions of its meaning in neighboring languages, mainly Luwian, in his article "Self, Soul and Portrait in Hieroglyphic Luwian" (van den Hout 2002), which demonstrates the close connection the idea of "soul" has with "image" and thus "person."[3] This essay does not intend to offer an understanding of the afterlife according to the Hittites but rather to illustrate the idea of the soul as a mediator between the world of the gods and that of humans, especially kings and rulers.

## 2. THE ESSENCE OF THE "SOUL" AS A SEPARATE ENTITY

In her work, Kammenhuber (1964–65) aimed to cover the general idea of body and soul, presenting the most important Sumerograms with their Hittite equivalents relating to these meanings: ZI, Hittite *ištanzan-* "soul"; SÀ, Hittite *ker/kard-* "heart," *karat-* "inner"; SAG.DU, Hittite *ḫaršar* "head, person"; and NÍ.TE, Hittite *tuekka-* "body, self." She presented the different occurrences in which these meanings appear. In this study, I use the word "soul" for Hittite *ištanzan-*, even though I try to focus on an aspect that is not necessarily what the English word "soul" means in our contemporary culture.

Although the Hittites used the above-listed terms to denote the idea of "person," they made a distinction between two entities for both humans and gods: the soul *ištanzan-* and the body *tuekka-*. King Kantuzili says in his prayer (example 1):

> O my god, since my mother gave birth to me, you, my god, have raised me. Only you, my god, are [my name?] and my bond (*išḫiya-*). Only you, [my god] joined me up with good people, and only you, my god, taught me doing (well) in a strong place. My god, you have called [me] Kantuzili, servant of your body (*tuggaš=taš*) and of your soul (*ištanzanaš=taš*).[4]

This separation of body and soul can be seen also in the rules established for Ḫattuša's temple personnel; those who prepare the daily breads for the gods must wash and dress in clean cloths: "Whoever usually the soul and the body of the gods (DINGIR$^{MEŠ}$-*aš* ZI-*an* NÍ.TE-*an-na*) [propiti]ate, may they prepare them (i.e., the breads)" (CTH 264 §2:17–18).[5]

This separation of body and soul also appears in the treaties regarding legal obligations between the Hittite king and his vassals. In the treaty imposed by Šuppiluliuma I on Ḫuqqana, the vassal's obligations are presented as follows (example 2):

> If, as you care for your head, your soul, and your body, you hold out your hands (to protect) yourself, and you do not care likewise for My Majesty's head, soul, and body, and do not hold out your hands (to protect) me . . .[6]

Three terms are used here, two of which are written Sumerographically: SAG.DU "head," which can stand for "own, self" as well as ZI "soul," and the Akkadogram *RAMĀNU*, translated as "self, oneself" (CAD R, 117–18). It looks as though there was a need to emphasize the separate components of the person in so many words. Kammenhuber therefore suggested that the Sumerogram SAG.DU "head" in this case

3 Van den Hout 2002. Van den Hout's contribution on the Luwian terms for "soul" and "image" was recently discussed by Hawkins (2015) and then again by Giusfredi (2016); see also van den Hout 2014.

4 KUB 30.10 rev. 6'–8'. Translation following Schwemer 2015, 353, 356; also E. Rieken et al., hethiter.net/: CTH 373 (TX 2017-12-11, TRde 2017-09-13).

5 Transliteration and translation following Taggar-Cohen 2006, 41, 70.

6 CTH 42 §4: 22–25. Transliteration by Puhvel (HED 3, 146): *nu=za mān tuel maḫḫan ANA* SAG.DU-*KA* ZI-*KA Ù ANA RAMĀNI-KA genzu ḫarši* ŠU$^{ḪI.A}$-*uš=za araḫzanda ḫarši nu mān ANA* SAG.DU $^{d}$UTU-*ŠI* ZI $^{d}$UTU-*ŠI RAMĀN* $^{d}$UTU-*ŠI gemzu QATAMMA* [*U*]*L ḫarši* ŠU$^{ḪI.A}$-*KA=ya=mu araḫzanda QATAMMA UL ḫarši*; see also G. Wilhelm, ed., hethiter.net/: CTH 42 (TX 26.07.2013, TRde 19.02.2014).

means "life."[7] What is interesting here is that ZI stands for something separate from the physical body and that both together make the "living person." This kind of separation exists also for the gods themselves (CTH 324, A iii, 8–12, 21–23) (example 3):

> ($^{8–12}$) I have burned (a purificatory substance) over Telipinu on this side and that. I have taken his evil, from Telipinu, from his body (*tuggaz=šēt*). I have taken his (perceived) offense. I have taken his displeasure. I have taken his wrath. I have taken his irritation. I have taken his anger.
>
> ($^{21–23}$) Telipinu is wrathful. His inner[most] soul (ZI-*ŠU k*[*araz=šiš*]) is burning fire. As this fire [is extinguished], let (his) displeasure, wrath, and anger likewise [be extinguished].[8]

The main concept in this mythological account is of divine anger as a burning fire located in the "soul" (ZI = *ištanzan-*). This anger is the active will and decision of the deity as the one who is responsible for the world and whose anger is clearly disastrous for its inhabitants. The soul here is described metaphorically as a burning fire.

In our common way of thinking, the word "soul" is somewhat abstract. But it seems that for the Hittites the soul was not abstract at all. In the above description, it is figuratively identified with fire, and in other texts it is identified with liquid. The distinction of the soul from the body is evident in the following instruction text to kitchen personnel (CTH 265 §8; cf. Miller 2013, 80, 82) (example 4):

> Furthermore, all you kitchen personnel—(here appears a list of fourteen kitchen professionals)—you shall swear an oath to the soul of the king (LUGAL-*wa-aš* ZI-*ni*)[9] month by month. You shall fill a ceramic cup with water and you shall pour it out before the Sun-god, and you shall say as follows: "The one who causes impurity and gives the king impure water, may you gods pour out his soul (ZI-*an*) like water!"

Here the soul is described as liquid that is poured out from the body. The liquid quality of the soul appears also in another verse from the above-quoted prayer of Kantuzili (example 5):

> From illness my house has become a house of anguish, and from anguish my soul is seeping away (= dripping) from me to another place.[10]

A request regarding the king's soul in a fragment of a magical ritual suggests a relationship between the souls of the Sun- and Storm-gods with the soul of the king, the Labarna (CTH 458.10.1.A = KUB 41.23 ii 18'-21'// KUB 57.86) (example 6):

> O Sun-god of the Gods, as (the drink) *marnuwan* and beer are blended and their essence and contents become one, may the soul and the interior of the Sun-god of the Gods and of the Labarna on that day become one! O [Storm-god of the Gods], as (the drink) *walḫi* and fine beer are blended and their essence and contents become [one], may the soul and interior of the Storm-god of Heaven and the Labarna [become] one![11]

The essence of the soul as divine is indicated in a somewhat mythical text interpreted in detail by Alfonso Archi (2008). KUB 43.60 i 31 reads as follows (example 7):

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7 Kammenhuber 1964–65, 159.

8 Translation with Beckman 1997, but *paḫḫur-* is translated as "fire" rather than "firewood." Transliteration and translation by García Trabazo (2002, 128–29). For ZI-*ŠU karaz=šiš*, see HED 4, 75; cf. CHD P, 16: "His soul (and) his *karaz* are a blazing fire"; see also E. Rieken et al., hethiter.net/: CTH 324.1 (TX 2012-06-08, TRde 2012-06-08) §29.

9 The ZI of the king here is certainly the part that is not just the body but also the desire/will and what makes the king-ruler decide and judge just like the gods. For more about this use of the king's ZI, see below.

10 CTH 373 rev. 14'–15' *nu=mu* É-*IA inani peran pittuliyaš* É-*er kišat nu=mu pittuliyai peran ištanzaš=miš tamatta pēdi zappiškizzi*. See Singer 2002, 33; Puhvel (HED 1/2, 468) translates: "From anxiety my spirit keeps dripping over and over [lit. 'in another place']." See also E. Rieken et al., hethiter.net/: CTH 373 (TX 2017-12-11, TRde 2017-09-13).

11 Beckman 2012, 608. Transliteration by Theo van den Hout, 1995, 569. The translation "innermost soul" of Puhvel (HED 1/2, 468) might be stronger in meaning.

*šuppi* $^{d}$UTU-*aš* ZI-*anza* DINGIR-*nan* ZI-*anza*

"Sacred (is) the soul of the Sun-goddess (of Earth). The soul (is) of the gods (= divine)."[12]

Indeed, the soul's origin is from the gods, and the king is endowed with it as part of his special status.

As an independent entity, the soul is described as being related to the heart, the inner part of the body, *ker-*/*kard-* (written Sumerographically as ŠÀ). In an old myth that includes a ritual for building a new royal house, the following is recited concerning the king after calling for different symbols of vigor to be brought together (CTH 414.1 §§28–29/KUB 29.1 ii, 44–48) (example 8):[13]

"Unite it! Make it one! Carry it to the heart of the man. Let the soul of the king unite with his heart too! Let the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god decide for the king's treaty (*takšuli=šit*[14]). And let their word (= decree) be one! Sun-goddess and Storm-god, re-entrust (for ruling *maniaḫten*[15]) the lands to the king!" They renewed his years. They renewed his awesomeness (*naḫšarattan*).

The reinstallment of the king by giving him his soul, long years, and awesomeness is important for understanding the essence of the Hittite concept of soul. A similar thought is expressed in The Prayer for a Mortal (CTH 372 rev. iv 24–25): "Just as in the past (when) I was born from (my) mother's womb (you put my soul into me), put that soul back into me, my god!"[16] The person who prays while feeling that the soul is leaving him requests that it be reinstalled. As Galina Kellerman (1978, 204) suggested, this ritual procedure (example 8) of uniting the soul with the heart is "intended to ensure the internal harmony of the king's personality" in order that his desires be fulfilled. However, what is the desire of the king or of the gods that is indicated by the word *ištanzan-*? A well-known and often quoted passage regarding the soul of gods and humans is found in the instruction text for temple personnel, in which the soul of humans and that of the gods are equated (CTH 264 §§2:22–3:38) (example 9):[17]

Is the soul of a human and of the gods any different? No! [Th]is certainly what (it is) not! The soul, however, is one and the same. When a slave is present in front of his master, he (is) washed, and he wears clean (clothes). [. . .] Is the soul of the gods any different?—If at some point the slave angers his master, either they kill him or they may maltreat (= injure) his nose, his eyes, (and) his ears. If [som]eone angers the soul of a go[d], does the god seek it from that person alone? Does he not seek it from his wife, [his children] his [s]eed, his family, his male slaves, his female slaves, his cattle, and his sheep, together with (his) grain? (Along) with everything he will ruin him. Be ver[y mu]ch afraid (*naḫḫanteš*) regarding a matter of a god.

12 Archi 2008, 173, translates: "A holy thing of the Sun-goddess (of the Earth) is the soul. To the gods belongs the soul." The different translation suggested by me here seems to fit with the idea that different things of the gods are sacred/holy/pure, and it refers directly to the ZI of the goddess. The entire mythical description prior to this line speaks of the soul's being searched for; everything is still and in sleep mode, like the beginning of tales about the disappearance of the god (i.e., Telipinu). The soul is thus equated with the god, with the divine. Similarly, the soul of the mortal wishing to get to the meadow (line 36) is equated with the soul of the Sun-goddess. As the ZI of the Sun-goddess is sacred/holy, so is the mortal's; therefore comes the sentence "the soul is of the gods" to indicate its divine source. This interpretation relates well with the text previously quoted on uniting the soul of the gods with the heart of the king. It must be noted here that the Hittite texts discussing the soul mostly refer to the king and royals. This specific text (example 7) might be speaking of any soul, but because the wish of reaching the meadow is mentioned at the end, it may also refer to royals, as is discussed later.

13 Kellerman 1978, 203–4; Beckman 2010, 74.

14 I have translated *takšul=šit dandu* as "let them decide his treaty" in comparison with the use of *takšul-* in other texts. The word here is correlated with the Old Hittite benediction in KUB 21.22, 43–45: "The mother of the Storm-god came down for the second time. For the Storm-god she is his mother, but for the Labarna she is his binding (*išhiešša-šši*t)." The *takšul-* and *išḫia-* are to be understood as the relationship between the king and the divine world. *takšul-* is given by the gods, and *išḫia-* is the bond that is the hierarchic status of *išḫiul-* within the entire Hittite administration.

15 The transliteration according to the photo is *ma-ni-aḫ-tén*. See hethiter.net/:fotarch B1269.

16 CTH 372 rev. iv 24–25: *nu=za karū maḫḫan annaza* SÀ-*za ḫaššanza ešun* [*nu=m*]*u=kan* DINGIR-*IA āppa apūn* ZI-*an anda dāi*. Transliteration and translation by Schwemer (2015, 385, 389).

17 CTH 264 editions at Taggar-Cohen 2006, 33–139; Miller 2013, 244–65.

This legal administrative instruction text, titled *išḫiul-*, is based on the concept of fear and awe of the master.[18] According to this description, the soul is a tool of the master that indicates whether or not he is satisfied with the performance of his servant. Later it becomes clear that the soul of the god is the mechanism that determines his satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Not presenting a sacrifice to the deity is depriving the god's soul of it: "You are taking it from the soul of the god" (CTH 264 §5:55). If someone steals from the gods, there is a fine: "They shall fine you with an ox and ten sheep, to appease (*waršanuanzi*) the soul of the gods" (CTH 264 §15:10–11). If the temple men take bribes from those bringing offerings to the gods, they "will cause them (the offerings) to fall short of the soul (ZI-*ni*) of the gods" (CTH 264 §4:49). The ZI of the gods is what determines the expectations from the servant and prescribes in what way he should fulfill his duties. And further (CTH 264 §7:25–29) (example 10):

> Watch out also for a man who whisks away your desired food from (before your) eyes! When afterward it acts, the will = soul (ZI) of the gods (is) strong. It is not fast to seize, but once it seizes it never lets go. Be very much afraid (regarding) the will = soul (ZI) of the gods.

The word ZI = *ištanzan-* in these passages means "will, power of desire." An unsatisfied soul/will of the god results in the anger of that god. Acting against the soul/will of the gods ends in disaster, death, and even the annihilation of the sinner's entire family. If the divine soul is disobeyed, then compensation is required to appease the soul of the god. Annihilation caused by the angry god is his compensation, so to prevent such a disaster, a monetary or other kind of payment must be offered. In this way, the soul of the gods controls their human servants.

Carefully combining the different text genres—myth, ritual, and legal *išḫiul-* texts—we can see that the soul represents the idea of the inner power of ruling. The source of a decree of a ruler is hierarchical, passed from the gods to the king. The special committed "bond" (*išḫiul-* or *takšul-*, both terms indicating a legal bond) exists for the king in relation to the gods. The relationship between master and servant, as a result of this bond, require "fear, awesomeness" from the servant toward the master; they exist because the master has the power of the ZI.

The soul, being the same for the gods and humans and understood as a separate entity, is symbolically/physically also presented in a separate way from the body. Where the body is symbolized by a statue, the soul also must have a symbolic representation. Van den Hout (2002, 182–85) suggested that the Anatolian hieroglyphic sign for soul was the "heart" (hieroglyphic sign *341). In rituals the ZI sign is often used, and as shown by Johan de Roos (2007) in his study of Hittite vows, the person who takes the vow promises to give the gods items made of gold or silver, among which the ZI "soul" of different weights is often mentioned. He thus suggests that those items may have been represented by hieroglyphic signs.[19]

However, it appears that the ZI and the heart were considered as separate, and only by the power of the gods could they become one, when attached, as in example 8 above. In the Old Hittite myth of Illuyanka (CTH 321), when the Storm-god lost hegemony as ruler to the serpent-creature of the depths of the sea, Illuyanka, as a gesture of defeat, took away the Storm-god's heart and eyes. Harry Hoffner (1998, 13) suggested the following in his translation of the broken text (§21): "And the Storm-god [feared?] him." This translation reflects Hoffner's understanding of the Hittite concept of fear of the master/ruler. It correlates with the understanding of the symbolic meaning of the heart and eyes. As Hoffner (2002) showed elsewhere, the Hittites would blind war captives who were made slaves. Thus the status of slavery and submission was indicated by the loss of the heart, where the soul is located. Once the Storm-god received his heart and eyes back, he regained his ruling powers, indicated by the fact that there was once again reverence/fear of him and he was able to defeat the serpent and his entire family.

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18 Taggar-Cohen 2006, 124–25.

19 De Roos, 2007, 45, 99n130. In the vows there are, besides the soul, many occasions where the eyes are also promised. Kapełuś quotes from Hittite texts that show the use of "souls" in different materials—gold, silver, iron, and gems—presented to the gods and even placed on or in their statues. In a festival to Teššub and Ḫebat (CTH 699: KBo 21.34 + IBoT 1.7 rev. iv 12–13), the soul is used as follows: ŠÀ$^{BA}$ 1 MUL.UD.ZAL.LE 1 ZI *ANA* $^{d}$*Ḫepat* IGI.DU$_{8}$.A *n=aš=ši=šan anda hamankanzi* "including a morning star and a soul as a gift to the goddess Ḫepat. And they tie it to her"; see Kapełuś 2010, 263.

The Hittite concept of the ZI reflects a king's capacity for ruling. This capacity existed only as long as the king lived. Once the king died, or for that matter the queen or prince (heir to the throne), the entire situation changed, as the royal was transferred to the realm of the gods. This act may be easier to understand when viewed as the result of the separation of soul and body. The soul became separated from the body to join the realm of the gods.

The death of a Hittite king is usually expressed with the words "when the king became a god." This transformation occurred during the funerary rituals, which lasted for fourteen days.[20] These rituals tell us much about how the Hittites perceived royal death and also reveal their grasp of the idea of "soul" as indicated by the word *ištanzan-*, written ZI. The Hittites called the death of a monarch or his queen *šalliš waštaiš*, which means literally "great/grave sin"; thus great danger hovered over the kingdom once its protector was dead. To protect the kingdom in this liminal state, the text prescribes fourteen days of rituals, which were supposed, on the one hand, to deliver the monarch into his divine status and, on the other hand, to atone for the "great sin." Van den Hout preferred translating these two words as "great loss," but it could be worthwhile to maintain the meaning of *waštai* as a "sin"—that is, something that requires appeasement and compensation, as indeed is performed in the rituals. The fourteen days included several important rituals and continuous wailing, but it seems the most important of these rituals was the treatment of the deceased's soul (ZI).

## 3. THE SOUL OF THE DECEASED ROYAL AND ITS AFTERLIFE

Royal funerary ceremonies, *šalliš waštaiš* (CTH 450), began with the halting of activities in Ḫattuša and wailing. The text clearly indicates that the deceased king or queen became a god on this day. One plowing ox was offered, and, while libating, the people chanted or recited, "Release your soul into this ox." The term used for the ox is 1 $GU_4$.APIN.LÁ *šarlumaš*, from the verb *šarlai-* "to praise, exalt"; from the derived meaning "lift up, make high" we have the meaning "let prevail," often used in prayers requesting the well-being of royals.[21] The CHD (Š 273) translates here "a plow ox fit for praising." I would suggest translating the term instead as an ox for "prevalence" of the soul, in the sense of removing it from the dead body to be transferred to another place where it will prevail. The soul would "prevail"—that is, exist forever—through being transferred to the realm of the divine so as to continue its existence. The act of the *šarlumaš* also hints at a matter of judgment. This word is used, for example, in the following divine lawsuit (example 11):

> Even then, the Storm-god of Ḫatti, my lord, let my father prevail through a lawsuit (i.e., trial by battle) (so that the Hittites were victorious over the Egyptians).[22]

The deceased royal soul needed to be transferred to the realm of the gods, and the funerary rituals basically facilitated this transfer. At this stage, the royal soul might have been standing on trial before the Sun-god, who was the high court judge. We do not have a clear judicial court scene but rather an act of a female practitioner who breaks scales; I will return to this scene below.

On the first day, before the cremation, a toast to the gods (in Hittite "to drink the god") took place; after toasting the last deity, the Sun-goddess of the Earth, the cupbearer conducting the ritual toasted the soul of the deceased three times. It should be understood that at this point the soul of the deceased was in the process of moving into the divine realm, since it was being toasted like a deity. The soul, however, was still with the chthonic deity, the Sun-goddess of the Earth.[23]

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20 The edition of the text used here is that of Kassian, Korolëv, and Sidel'tsev 2002. A detailed treatment of the text was made by van den Hout (1994) and followed also by Rutherford (2007, 2008).

21 For examples, see CHD Š, 273 no. 2.

22 CHD Š, 273–74: *nu apiya=ya* $^{d}$IŠKUR $^{URU}$*Ḫatti BELI=YA ABA=Y[A] ḫannešnit šarlait* (CTH 378: KUB 14.8 obv. 25, with dupl. KUB 14.11 ii 21–23). Singer (2002, 58) translates: "At that time too the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, by his verdict caused my father to prevail, and he defeated the infantry and the chariotry of Egypt and beat them."

23 Van den Hout (1994, 46) notes the need for the king to be saved from the grasp of the netherworld, as described in the substitute ritual. See example 15 below.

On the first day after death, the body of the deceased was cremated on a pyre kept alight all night. The next day was highly important: after the fire was extinguished, the bones were picked out/retrieved, anointed with oil, wrapped in special cloth, and placed on a throne (for a king). The bone collectors received food and drank three times to the soul of the deceased; this activity again means the deceased's soul was being referred to as a deity. At this stage, a statue was made of the deceased that was then decorated and used over the next thirteen days in different rituals taking place in Ḫattuša.[24] The next scene is unclear, but I would like to suggest an interpretation that connects the soul with the deceased's gods. The scene is as follows (example 12):

> The Old Woman takes a balance (= scales), and on one side she lays silver, gold, and all (kinds of) precious stones. On the other, however, she lays clay. The Old Woman speaks as follows to her colleague while calling the deceased by name: "(Someone) brings him—so-and-so. Who brings him?" And her colleague says: "The men of Ḫatti, the *uruḫḫi*-men will bring him." And she says: "Let them not bring him!" And her colleague says: "Take for yourself the [si]lver (and) gold." And the first one says: "I will not take it for myself!" and she says so three times. On the third time, the first one says as follows: "The clay I will take for myself," and she smashes the balance, and she holds it toward the Sun-god. [She l]aments [. . .]. She [begins] wailing.[25]

Then followed a sacrifice made to the Sun-goddess of the Earth, and the bones were carried to the stone house, which was the tomb of the deceased. The transfer of the soul is associated with a trading situation where the Old Woman (practitioner) uses wooden scales. A ritual drama such as this one enacted by the Old Woman is reminiscent of the ritual relating to the building of a new palace for the king, mentioned above (example 8). This text, too, includes speeches made to the gods. In CTH 820.4 = KBo 21.22 14–20, it is said: "What the king Labarna desires in his innermost soul (ZI), let it reach him! What the queen Tawananna desires in her innermost soul, let it reach her! Look! I take the scales. I weigh the long years of Labarna. Look! I take the scales. And I weigh the long years of Tawananna." This speech (*AWAT*), translated by Kellerman (1978) as "formula,"[26] aims to ensure a good and long life for the monarchs. The use of the scales here indicates a trade exchange for a long life for the king and queen, which is the desire of the monarchs. It is not clear in this case what is placed on the other side of the scales, and compared with the above-described scene in the funerary ritual, in which one side has gold, silver, and precious stones and the other clay, it could mean that a long life no longer exists, as it is replaced by clay, and the breaking of the scales could signify the inability to maintain the trade agreement.

In this regard, a quote from the instruction text—the *išḫiul-* to temple personnel—comes to mind, where, speaking of honesty, the text says (CTH 264 §9:74–77): "Act only (according) to the will (ZI) of the gods, so that you will eat bread and drink water, (and) make a house for yourselves; but ne[ver d]o it for the will (ZI) of a man. Do not sell death and do not buy death." This instruction connects well with the scene of breaking the scales, as the Old Woman says she will not take the silver and gold for herself, meaning she will not engage in that trading.

Scales in Hittite texts usually appear in the context of trade to be conducted honestly. In ritual and mythical texts, Jaan Puhvel (1983, 221–23) suggests, they were used symbolically and raised toward the Sun-god to signify their use in a just and honest way.[27] In the previously mentioned mythical text KBo 21.22 obv. 18–19, the practitioner weighs the long life of the king and queen on the scales. This weighing suggests the idea that the life of humans was contrasted with the wealth of the world. It could be understood as an exchange of the soul of the deceased for the silver, gold, and precious stones that were placed on the scales—an attempt to convince the Sun-goddess of the Earth to take the riches instead of the soul but then, by breaking the scales, acknowledging that doing so was no longer possible. Scales were used in Hittite rituals to weigh materials offered to the gods and thus are used here in an attempt to buy back the soul from

24 Van den Hout (1994, 60–61) suggests that all these activities prepared the items the deceased would need in the afterlife.

25 Following van den Hout 1994, 47.

26 KBo 21.22: 21, 30, 35, 45, 53.

27 On the use of scales in ancient Near Eastern texts as indicating honest trade, as well as justice and judgment, see Monroe 2009, 40–46.

the Sun-goddess. The Old Woman refuses to take the money, as she refuses to take part in the trading of the soul; instead, after taking the clay and breaking the scales, she starts to wail, acknowledging the departing of the soul.

Before the Old Woman breaks the scales, she clearly identifies the deceased by calling his name. The idea of calling the deceased by name is important because what is being called is the soul, which must leave and move to the divine realm. The soul then becomes a deity to be worshipped, as witnessed by the lists of dead kings and queens (CTH 661). Only a soul that can maintain its name is able to reach this goal, as is understood from another text extensively treated by Archi (2008). Archi indicated that death created a "sensation of incompleteness" as "a reaction to the fact that the union of body and soul has suddenly been interrupted." It raises the question of where the soul goes, and to that question some Hittite texts give answers, as shown by Archi's interpretation of the "Mother's Day/the Good Day ($^{d}$UD.SIG$_5$ = $^{d}$*Izzištanu*-)," where death is interpreted as rebirth.

The eighth day of the funerary rituals has an additional interesting scene. After some ritual activity with a pig and birds takes place at a reservoir (which may denote contact with the underworld), a second scene with the Old Woman is described (KUB 30.24+; Kassian, Korolëv, and Sidel'tsev 2002, 382–85) (example 13):

> Then they take the hoe and the spade—these are cut of wood—and cut off the meadow (Ú.SAL-*lu* = Hittite *wellu*- "a piece of turf"). The Old Woman [puts] the meadow on [top of] the thick bread. They hold [them] toward the Sun-god. [They take] the ba[lance][28] and hold [it to]ward the [Sun-god]. [She speaks] a[s follows]: "O Sun-god, make this meadow rightful for him! May no one take it away from him, nor sue him! May the oxen and sheep, the horses (and) mules graze for him on this meadow."

They then take this piece of meadow to the pyre where the aforementioned animals were burnt and pile it on top of them. It is important to understand the place or function of the scales in this ritual. The scales seem to suggest an honest act in which the king merits receiving the meadow. The meadow is not placed on the scales, which are only symbolically shown to the Sun-god. In this scene the scales represent honesty, fairness, and that the king deserves the meadow legally.

This section of the rituals, demanding preservation of a place for the deceased in the meadow where the animals that were sacrificed previously grazed, resembles a ritual (CTH 423) in which the living king, during the siege of a rebellious town, speaks similarly on behalf of the Storm-god (example 14):

> This town has been rebellious to me. I have invoked the Storm-god, my lord. May the Storm-god, my lord, fulfill my will (ZI-*aš iyadu*), may he bring about my desire (ZI-*aš arnuddu*), so that he handed it over to me and I had laid it waste, and have consecrated it. As long as heaven and earth and mankind will be, in the future no son of a man will inhabit it! This enemy city with its fields, cultivated land, granary, and vineyards (belongs) to the Storm-god, my lord, and may it be the pasture (*wešin*) of your bulls, Šerri and Ḫurri, my lord, the Storm-god. May Šerri and Ḫurri graze (*wešeškandu*) it forever! Whoever will inhabit it, and will take away the pasture from the bulls of the Storm-god, from Šerri and from Ḫurri, may he be a court opponent/litigant (*ḫannitalwanaš ešdu)* to the Storm-god my lord. If any son of a man will inhabit this enemy city, if just one house or two houses, or some chariot troops, may my lord annihilate that one house or two houses or chariot troops![29]

This text reveals that although humans cannot see the gods, neither can they see the Storm-god's divine horses Šerri and Ḫurri; the land is promised to them and belongs to them in a place humans cannot see, even though it is a real city on earth that has been conquered by the king. The way the place is dedicated to the Storm-god in a legal context is clearly similar to the way the soul of the king, as a god after death, is about to receive its "pastor" land. Once acquired, there will be no litigant to contest that possession. The soul of the king is a god, to be worshipped as such by its family and descendants.

The need for compensation for some unknown "sin," the cause of divine anger resulting in the death of the monarch, is suggested by the performance, during the first days of the funerary rituals, of a correlated

28 Some translations use the term "scales" and others "balance" for the Hittite word $^{GIŠ}$*elzi*-.

29 For treatment of this text, see Taggar-Cohen 2015, 424–25, lines 101–20; cf. del Monte 2005, 42; Fuscagni 2007, 195–97.

ritual of conciliation or appeasement (*lila-/lilai-*). This need to pacify the gods shows how liminal and dangerous the state of the soul is, as it is separated from the body and sent to the realm of the gods rather than to the realm of the dead. Right after the first scene with the scales, the text indicates that two oxen and ten sheep are sent, twice, from the palace. Van den Hout has shown very clearly how important it was that the dead monarch not reach the realm of the dead or remain there. His translation of the king's words from the ritual for a substitute king is as follows (KUB 15.2 rev. 14'-19') (example 15):

> Sun-god of Heaven, my Lord, what have I done that you have taken from me (my) th[rone] and given it to someone else? [. . .] You have summoned me to the (ghosts of the) dead and, be[hold], (here) I am among the (ghosts of the) dead. I have shown myself to the Sun-god of Heaven, My Lord, so let me ascend to my divine fate, to the gods of Hea[ven] and [free] me from among the (ghosts of the) dead.[30]

As the scales are shown to the Sun-god, the king shows himself—his honesty and lack of sin—thus making him fit to be sent to the divine realm in the meadow. On the last day of the funerary rituals, the lamenting women request: "When you will go to the meadow, do not pull the *šummanzanan*! Your desire will be fulfilled!" (*tuel=wa=za* ZI-*za kišari*) (Kassian, Korolëv, and Sidel'tsev 2002, 599).

## 4. ZI AS A TOOL FOR RULERSHIP

Frank Starke (1996), in a study on "governing" in the Hittite kingdom, used the text CTH 255, which includes loyalty oaths to the king sworn by court dignitaries ($^{LÚ}$SAG), to explain the concept of ruling implemented by the Hittites.[31] He chose the expression that appears in the text—*A-NA* ZI LUGAL, translated as "Wille des Königs"—as the main way of understanding the relationship between the king and his servants and vassals. Using this expression makes it clear that the king's body (SAG.DU and NÍ.TE) is the representation of the kingdom and its borders (the physical representation of the king), while the ZI of the king represents the crown, "die Souveränität des Staates."[32] Thus the loyalty oaths sworn by the courtiers were evidently made to the crown—that is, to the power of kingship. Old Hittite texts clearly indicate that the king was endowed with kingship by the Storm-god of Ḫatti and the Sun-goddess of Arinna; thus kingship was understood in this sense to be divine.[33]

Since the ZI comes from the divine world and is attached to the heart of the king, it gives him the power and means to rule. Hittite kings emphasize the idea that the gods raised them and that the gods are therefore their father and mother. By investiture with kingship, the king is transformed and receives a new name (see example 1 above). Legally, his father and mother become gods, and they will take care of him. Ḫattušili I in his testament regarding the installation of his heir, Muršili I, says as follows (CTH 6 §22 ii–iv 55–63) (example 16):[34]

> [The Great King], Labarna, spoke to his son Muršili: "I have given you my words. They shall read this [tablet] aloud in your presence every month.[35] Thus you will be able to impress my [words] and my wisdom into (your) heart, and to rule successfully over my [subjects] and the high noblemen [. . .] My son, always do what is in your heart!"

It is the "father" who transfers to his heir the ability to rule by giving him the words of wisdom impressed on the heart. As we saw in the Old Hittite ritual above (example 8), the call to the gods includes a request to unite the soul and the heart while unanimously decreeing the king's servitude to the gods, so that the

30 Van den Hout 1994, 46.

31 CTH 255 falls under the genre of administrative instruction texts that can be categorized by the Hittites either as *išḫiul-* or as *MAMITI-* oath texts. On this category of texts and their being understood as legal means of ruling among the Hittites, see Taggar-Cohen 2011. See also the discussion of these texts in Miller 2013, 5–9.

32 Starke 1996, 174.

33 For the texts, see CTH 821, esp. IBoT 1.30 with dupls; for a recent summary, see Gilan and Mouton, 2014, 104–5.

34 Translation of Beckman (2003, 81); see also Gilan 2015, 341–42.

35 This kind of tablet embodies the idea of the *išḫiul-* the king imposes on his subjects and servants.

king will be able to rule. The request "Let the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god decide for the king's treaty (*takšulišit*). And let their word (= decree) be one!" uses the term *uddar* "word," which is how the Hittites referred to a divine royal decree.

The Hittite ZI thus represents the strong "will," the power of decision that belongs to the ruler, be it god or king. It is the wisdom and the power that the king receives from the gods as he becomes their steward over the people. In the case of the king, he receives the ZI from the gods as though the gods gave birth to the king at the time of his installation.

The most important correlation between the gods and the king is in regard to the respect that should be given them as authoritative rulers. It is present in the Hittite word *naḫḫant-* "fearsome, with reverence" (example 17):

> You, O gods, have placed kingship in my hand. I govern all the land (and) the [e]ntire [populati]on. I smite the one who does not fear the gods or does not fear kingship.[36]

Returning to the ritual text of KBo 21.22 (CTH 820.4), reedited by Charles Steitler in connection with CTH 820.5, an image/statue is described as being created, which correlates with the foundation ritual of a palace in KUB 29.1 (example 8 above). In both texts, a strong king is described as follows:[37]

> His image is new. His chest is new. His "manliness" is new. His head is of iron, his teeth are (those) of a lion. His eyes are (those) of an eagl[e], and he sees like an eagle. His land is new.

In this text, the two important gods, the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god, rejuvenate the statue of the king, which ritually represents the "divine rebirth" of the king.

## 5. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

This short survey of the use of the word *ištanzan-* in Hittite texts has led to the following observations.

1. A soul is specific to a person and thus answers to a specific name; at death, when the soul is called to leave the body, it is called by name. This matter is crucial when dealing with the king (and probably the queen and prince), who received a new name on ascending to the throne.[38] Thus, as can be assumed from the soul's need to travel, souls do not die with the person but instead are "reborn," and if royal and also favorable to the gods, they reach their divine meadow inhabited by the gods. This meadow is a place that might be thought of as "paradise," although it is similar to the human world, since those who inhabit it need animals and other material objects—which are symbolically provided for them during the funerary rituals, as well as through occasional rituals worshipping or commemorating the deceased royals, as is evident from CTH 660–61.
2. The cultural context in which the idea and term *ištanzan-* is used was discussed in the survey of Hittite texts in the genres of rituals, myths, and legal *išḫiul-* texts. As has been shown in previous studies, the term can be translated in different ways, according to the context in which it appears. This study concentrated on the essence of the soul in relation to the (physical) body and its heart, indicating its liquidity on the one hand and its ability to burn in anger as fire on the other.

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36 KUB 36.91 + KUB 43.71 + KUB 43.68 obv. 11'–13'; Singer 2002, 24. Recently CTH 389 has been reedited by Steitler (2015, 205), and his transliteration is (§6: 24–27): *nu-mu šu-meš-pát* DINGIR$^{MEŠ}$ LUGAL-*UT*-[*TI*] *ki*$^{?}$-[*iš-š*]*a-ri-mi da-a-iš-tén nu-mu ut-ne-e ḫu-u-ma-a*[*n nu*$^{?}$ *pa*]*-an-ku-un* [NAM.LÚ.U$_{19}$.L]U *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke-mi na-aš* DINGIR$^{MEŠ}$*-aš Ú-UL na-a*[*ḫ-ḫa-a*]*n-za na-aš-*[*ma* LUGAL-*UT*]*-TI Ú-UL na-aḫ-ḫa-an-za u-ga-an za-aḫ-mi.*

37 CTH 820.5 according to Steitler 2017, 260–68. Kellerman interpreted the image in KBo 21.22 as that of the deity, but according to the reedition of the texts by Steitler this understanding has to be rejected; see esp. Steitler 2017, 269 with n838.

38 This practice may be reflected in example 1 above, in which Kantuzili was given this name by the god when he received his *išḫiya-* "bond" and became the god's servant. It is illuminating that in his long decree, titled by scholars "The Apology," Ḫattušili III consistently calls his nephew, whom he had deposed from the kingship, by his pre-enthronement name Urḫi-Teššub and not his royal name Muršili, by which we know him from his seals.

3. The funerary ritual process encompasses a counteraction to ward off the threat posed to the royal family and thus to the Hittite kingdom by losing its ruler, who was established by the gods. The anger of the gods is implied by the fact that the term "great sin" is used to refer to the situation, and thus the gods must be pacified. As the royal received his *ištanzan-* from the gods at the time of being installed, he is now to be accepted by these same gods into his meadow. This is an act of legal consequences. As he was endowed with his kingdom's borders at the time of his installment as ruler (*maniyaḫḫatalla-*), he is now endowed with his realm among the gods as a deceased royal. This act, which is accompanied by extensive rituals and appeasement, creates a situation in which, instead of the death of the entire royal house, the deceased alone is taken away to the world of the gods; there is a reward for divine service well done on the part of the deceased royal.[39]
4. Using scales in the funerary rituals suggests a possible interpretation of these scenes as a refusal by the Old Woman to engage with death in regard to the royal soul. In breaking the scales before the Sun-god, she allows the royal soul to escape the underworld and join the gods. This also confirms the end of the legal power of the king, who was previously installed by the gods as a steward.
5. During the funerary ritual, a tent is pitched inside the house of the deceased where the ritual activity takes place.[40] In Hittite custom, tents were pitched to conduct rituals, signifying a pure space into which statues or symbols of the gods were brought. Inside the tent, the priest or priestess would then worship the gods. Symbolically, the pitched tent inside the house of the deceased indicates a purified space for worshipping the soul of the deceased while it is being toasted. As we know, the "drinking of the gods" is done from a rhyton, which symbolizes the deity. It is thus clear that the deceased soul is regarded as divine.

In the last part of the discussion, the idea of the soul as a mediator between the world of the gods and that of humans was suggested as a ruling device. As was seen, the ZI was the mechanism by which the gods were thought to control humans, their servants. I therefore assume that this understanding is the reason the king's ZI is blended with the divine ZI: to manifest and implement his ruling ability to control the country. For this reason, the king needed to have a special "bond" (*išḫia-/išḫiul-*) with the gods, a bond that enabled his further *išḫiul-* with his subordinates; therefore his own ZI = soul is mentioned in the instructions to his kitchen personnel.

I started this essay with a quote from the biblical book of Job that shows the correlation between the soul of the deity and the wisdom of humans. The Hebrew words for "soul" are mainly three—רוח (*ruah*), נשמה (*nᵉšāmah*), and נפשׁ (*nepeš*)—and they can be translated as "spirit," "breath," "desire, appetite," "representation of a living person," and "soul." These words refer to substance being given to humans by God for living, but as in the quote from Job also given as wisdom.[41] God has created the *nᵉšāmah* (Isaiah 57:16). It is something that is indeed separate from the human body, is received from God, and is therefore divine (Isaiah 30:33). While *ruah* and *nᵉšāmah* are "breath"-like in form, נפשׁ has the meaning "desire." The word נפשׁ is also often used together with the word for "heart," לב. The command received by the Israelites from their lord YHWH is given in Deuteronomy 6:5–6 as follows: "You shall love the LORD your God with all your heart (לבבך), and with all your soul (נפשׁך), and with all your might. Keep these words that I am commanding you today in your heart (לבבך)."

39 This belief was maintained by the Neo-Hittites of the first millennium, as can be seen from the funerary stele from Kululu, a posthumous royal inscription for King Ruwas of Tabal, ca. 750–740 BC. The top part of KULULU 4 §§1–4 reads as follows, with Payne 2010, 130: "I was the ruler Ruwas, the Sun-God's offspring, also my posterity(?) (is) the Sun-God's offspring, the gods loved my times and they put into me a beloved soul."

40 The tent is mentioned during the rituals of the eighth, ninth, and tenth days; see Kassian, Korolëv, and Sidel'tsev 2002, 386–469.

41 On the different meanings of נפשׁ (*nepeš*) in the Hebrew Bible, see Seebass 1998; for נשׁמה (*nᵉšāmah*), see Lamberty-Zielinski 1999; for רוח (*ruah*), see Tengström 2004. The Hebrew Bible's concept of "soul" is an heir to the Hittite and Neo-Hittite cultural sphere.

I conclude with a verse from the book of Samuel, which tells the story of the first king of the Israelites, to which YHWH relates with the use of the two words נפשׁ and לבב:

והקימתי לי כהן נאמן כאשר בלבבי ובנפשי יעשה ובניתי לו בית נאמן
"And I shall raise up a faithful priest for myself, and **he will do according to my heart and my soul**, and I shall build him an enduring house." (1 Samuel 2:3)

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

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# 30 A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE ARINNA TEXT CORPUS

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## DEDICATION

The following comments owe much to my late mentor Maciej Popko, and I offer them to Theo van den Hout as a token of my friendship and enduring admiration for his scholarly achievements.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

A provisional list of texts relating to the cult in Arinna has been masterly compiled by Popko (2009, 94–107), who also defined contextual criteria against which further texts belonging to this corpus can be identified.

## 2. TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

The following Late New Hittite fragment can arguably be added to the Arinna text corpus in Popko's work that still needs to be supplemented before further progress in the (re)arrangement and interpretation of the festival texts relating to the cult in Arinna can be made.

TEXT: KBo 49.196 (CTH 666 OR 626?)[1]

Obverse I

1' [ ]x[ ]x[
2' ˹d˺*Ḫu-ul-l*[*a* (. . .)]

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3' [LU]GAL-*uš* 2[-*e e-ku-zi* dUTU d*Me-ez-zu-ul-la*?]
4' [L]UGAL-*uš-za* ˹*e*˺[2][-*ša* 4 LÚ.MEŠSANGA-*ša e-ša-an-da*?]
5' LÚ.MEŠKAŠ$_4$.˹E˺ [*kal-ti ú-da-an-zi*?]
6' DUMU.LUGAL *wa*[-*ga-an-na e-ša*?]

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7' LUGAL-*uš-ká*[*n* É d*Me-ez-zu-ul-la*?]
8' EGIR-*an* [*pa-iz-zi ta-aš-kán*?]
9' ˹É˺[3] d*Ḫu-u*[*l-la pa-iz-zi*?]

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1 Transliteration without restorations (Groddek 2013, 123–24). In the *Konkordanz* (Košak 2002–22), the fragment is booked by formal criteria under CTH 647.

2 After collation. Groddek (2013, 123) reads x[.

3 Groddek (2013, 123) reads ˹*Ù*˺.

10' [LU]GAL-*uš-ká*[*n* KÁ-*aš kat-ta-an ti-ia-zi*?]
11' ⌜É⌝[4] d*Me-e*[*z-zu-ul-la* EGIR-*pa a-ru-wa-iz-zi*?]
12' [UGULA LÚ]⌜MEŠ⌝ G[IŠBANŠUR?[5] *túḫ-ḫu-eš-šar*?]
[LUGAL-*i pa-ra-a e-ep-zi* LUGAL-*uš-kán túḫ*$^{uḫ}$*-ša*]

Reverse IV or VI[6]

5' LUGAL-*uš-*⌜*kán*⌝ [*I-NA* É d*Ḫu-ul-la*? *pa-iz-zi*]
6' UGULA LÚMUḪALDIM *Š*[*A*[7] *QA-TI* UZUNÍG.GIG LUGAL-*i pa-ra-a e-ep-zi*]
7' *ta* LUGAL-*u*[*š QA-TAM da-a-i* UGULA LÚMUḪALDIM]
8' 3-*e ir-ḫa*[*-a-iz-zi* dUTU d10 d*Me-ez-zu-ul-la*]

9' LUGAL-*uš-kán IŠ-T*[*U* É d*Ḫu-ul-la*? *ú-iz-zi ta-aš*?]
10' É*ar-ša-na-a*[*š*[8] *pár-na-aš a-aš-ka-a a-ri*?]
11' NINDA*ša-*⌜*ra*⌝*-am-ma* [*ḫa-al-zi-ia* (or: *ti-an-zi*)]

12' GAL [DUMU] É.GAL[*-kán* LUGAL-*i* GIŠ*kal-mu-uš da-a-i*?]
13' *ták-kán* LUGAL-*uš* [GIŠAB-*ia aš-ta-tu-u-i ti-i-ez-zi*?]
14' EN [ÉR]INMEŠ GAL KÙ.S[$I_{22}$ LUGAL-*i pa-a-i*?]
15' LÚ.MEŠ*tu-uḫ-m*[*i-* . . .[9] x GAL KÙ.$SI_{22}$ *ŠA* EN ÉRINMEŠ *har-kán-zi*?]

16' LUGAL-*uš e-ša* 4 [LÚ.MEŠSANGA-*ša e-ša-an-da*]
17' [*t*]*a šal-li* 1[2 (or: 1[3], or: 1[4])[10] GAL *ti-an-zi*]

## TRANSLATION

Obverse I

[The king offers? . . . to . . . (and?)] Ḫulla. § The king [drinks] two: [the Sun-goddess (and) Mezzulla?]. The king s[its down. And four SANGA-priests sit down?]. The runn[ers bring a *kalti*-vessel?]. The prince [sits down? to] ha[ve a snack?].

§ The king [goes?] behind [the temple of Mezzulla.? He goes?] to the temple of Ḫul[la].

§ The [k]ing [stands before the gate? (and) bows again? to] the temple of Me[zzula. The overseer of the "table wait]er[s"? holds out the cleansing *tuḫḫueššar*-substance to the king. The king *tuḫš*-es].

4 Groddek (2013, 123) reads [ ]x.

5 In line 12', Groddek (2013, 123) reads [ ]⌜MEŠ⌝ x[.

6 Sign traces at the beginning of lines 1'–4' (cf. Groddek 2013, 123) are hardly capable of interpretation.

7 The sign ŠA is legible on the photograph. "Zeichen ŠA oder $GU_4$" (Groddek 2013, 124n421).

8 After collation. "Nach Photo ist noch ein hochansitzender Keilkopf eines kleinen Wagerechten erhalten" (Groddek 2013, 124n425).

9 Only one sign missing?

10 The initial hook of the numeral is clearly visible on the photograph. Groddek (2013, 124) reads x[.

Reverse IV or VI

§ The king [enters the temple of Ḫulla?]. The chief cook [holds out the liver] (kept) o[n hand to the king]. The king [puts (his) hand on (it)]. The chief cook offers (it) [in sequence] to three: [the Sun-goddess, the Storm-god, and Mezzulla].

§ The king [leaves the temple of Ḫulla? The king arrives at the gate? of] the inn. Bread allotments [are announced].[11] § The chief of the palace attendants [takes the lituus from the king?]. The king [steps to the window in the *aštatu-*?]. The Lord of the [Tr]oops [gives] a gold[en] cup [to the king?]. The *tuḫmi*[ ]-men [hold? x golden cups from the Lord of the Troops?]. § The king sits down. [And] four [SANGA-priests sit down]. The great (assembly is announced). [One sets] 1[2] (or: 1[3], or: 1[4]) [cups (for the participants)].

## COMMENTARY

Obverse I

1'–2': Possibly an offering to the main deities of Arinna. See, e.g., KUB 11.26 (CTH 666) ii 14'–16' (Popko 2009, 25):

14' LUGAL-*uš* 4 *ir-ḫa-a-iz-zi*
15' $^{d}$UTU $^{d}$10 $^{d}$*Me-ez-zu-*<*ul-*>*la*
16' $^{d}$*Ḫu-ul-la*

---

3'–6': See, e.g., KBo 52.111 + KUB 56.52 (CTH 634.3) obv. 45' (Tischler 2016, 103; Steitler 2017, 288–89), where the drinking rite for the Sun-goddess and Mezzulla (line 45') takes place on the steps at the front of the temple of Mezzulla (lines 43'–44'). After that the king bows again to the temple of the Sun-goddess (line 46'), which he has already visited (lines 38'[–42') before that of Mezzulla. Then the royal couple enters the *ḫalentuwa-* and sits down to feast there (lines 46'–47'). It seems that the text under examination here has the same sequence of cultic events: drinking the Sun-goddess and Mezzulla (before the temple of the latter) (obv. 3') and feasting (in the *ḫalentuwa-*?) (obv. 4'–6'). Unlike during the great festival (CTH 634), however, the queen does not take part in the feast. The king is instead accompanied by four high-ranking SANGA-priests of Arinna, who are attested in the texts belonging to CTH 666 (Popko 2009, 68–69).

4': Restored tentatively based on rev. line 16'.

5': For a broader description of the cultic activities in which the runners bringing a *kalti*-vessel are involved, see, e.g., KUB 59.23 (CTH 666) obv. iii 3–6 (Groddek 2004c, 44), as well as KBo 25.35+ (CTH 627.A) ii 8ff. (Groddek 2004a, 18–19, 33–34) and KUB 48.9 (CTH 627.3.b.C) ii 10–13 (Singer 1984, 96).

6': There is no space between LUGAL and WA. Restored tentatively based on the assumption that WA is the first syllable of the next word.

7'–9': See below, in the concluding remarks. The same sequence of cultic events (the king leaves the temple of Mezzulla and goes to the temple of Ḫulla) is attested in KBo 39.62 (CTH 626) ii 8–19 (Nakamura 2002, 289–90, 292–93; Groddek 2004b, 79; Popko 2009, 62) and KUB 55.26 (CTH 666) 2'–3' (Groddek 2002b, 44; Popko 2009, 62–63):

2' [LUGAL-*uš* IŠ-*TU*] É $^{d}$*Mi-iz-zu-ul-la*
3' [*ú-iz-zi na-aš-ká*]*n* É $^{d}$*Ḫu-ul-la pa-iz-zi*

---

10'–12': Restored tentatively based on Bo 2669 (CTH 666) iv 2'–5' (Popko 2009, 40):

11 Or: [One sets] bread allotments.

2' [*ma-a-an-kán* LUGAL-*uš* KÁ[?]-]*aš kat-ta-an*
3' [*ti-ia-zi* UGULA $^{LÚ}$MUḪALDIM] *túḫ-ḫu-i-šar*
4' [LUGAL-*i pa-ra-a*] *e-ep-zi*
5' [LUGAL-*uš-kán túḫ*]$^{uḫ}$*-ša*

---

Another text from CTH 666, KBo 25.14 ii 10'–12', offers a similar context (Popko 2009, 39):

10' . . . LUGAL-*uš* KÁ-*aš a*[-*ri* UGULA $^{LÚ}$MUḪALDIM *túḫ-ḫu-eš-šar*]
11' LUGAL-*i pa-ra-a e-ep-z*[*i* LUGAL-*uš-kán túḫ*$^{uḫ}$*-ša* LUGAL-*uš*]
12' [*I-NA* É DINGIR$^{L}$]$^{IM}$ *pa-iz-zi* DING[IR$^{LIM}$*-ni a-ru-wa-iz-zi*[?]]

---

Reverse IV or VI

5'–8': A different restoration of lines 7'–8' (cf. McMahon 1991, 270; Groddek 2013, 124 with n. 423) must be abandoned. For a similar context, see, e.g., KBo 41.94 (CTH 666) i 5'–8' (Popko 2009, 58):

5' . . . *ta*[!]*-aš I-NA* É $^{d}$*Zi-in-du-ḫi-ia*
6' [*pa-iz-zi* UGULA $^{L}$]$^{Ú.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM *ŠA QA-TI* $^{UZU}$NÍG.GIG
7' [LUGAL-*i pa-ra-a e-*]*ep-zi* LUGAL-*uš QA-TAM da-a-i*
8' [UGULA $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM 1 *ir-h*]*a-iz-zi* $^{d}$*Zi-in-du-ḫi-šu*

---

9'–10': See, e.g., KBo 53.153 (CTH 666) iii 7'–12' (Popko 2009, 24):

7' LUGAL-*uš-kán IŠ-*$^{r}$*TU*$^{\urcorner}$ É $^{d}$*Ḫu-ul-l*[*a*]
8' *ú-iz-zi* 2 DUMU$^{MEŠ}$ É.G[AL]
9' 1 $^{LÚ}$*ME-ŠE-DI* LUGAL-*i*
10' *pé-ra-an ḫu-wa-ia-an*[*-te-eš*]
11' LUGAL-*uš ar-za-na-a*[*š*]
12' *pár-na-aš a-aš-ka-a a-r*[*i*]

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12': See, e.g., KBo 39.62+ (CTH 626) ii 17–19 (Nakamura 2002, 289–90; Groddek 2004b, 79; Popko 2009, 62):

17 [LUGAL-*uš I-N*]*A* $^{r}$É$^{\urcorner}$ [$^{d}$*Ḫ*]*u-ul-la*
18 [*a-ri nu* DUMU É.GAL-]*kán*
19 [LUGAL-*i* $^{GIŠ}$*kal-mu-uš d*]*a-a-i*

---

13'–14': (Partly tentative) restorations are based on KBo 30.166+ (CTH 626.6.T I or 634[?])[12] iv 3'–5' (Klinger 1996, 73; Groddek 2002a, 231):

3' $^{r}$LUGAL-*uš*$^{\urcorner}$*-ša-an* $^{GIŠ}$AB-*ia*
4' *aš-ta-tu-u-i ti-i-e-zi*
5' EN ÉRIN$^{MEŠ}$ *A-NA* LUGAL GAL$^{AM}$ *pa-a-i*

---

12 Cf. Nakamura 2002, 94; Popko 2009, 96. In the *Konkordanz* (Košak 2002–22), the fragment is booked under CTH 626.

The Lord of Troops (EN ÉRIN$^{MEŠ}$) is usually regarded as a military rank, which made Popko interpret Hittite *aštatu-* as "barracks" (Popko 2009, 12). However, *aštatu-* seems to be connected here with the inn ($^{É}$*arzanaš pir*), or with the *ḫalentuwa-* in other texts (cf. Steitler 2017, 288), and the term EN ÉRIN$^{MEŠ}$ (*šarikuwa-*) may refer to the foreman of a group of people receiving beverage and food rations during the festival (cf. Pecchioli Daddi 2004, 452–53; 2015, 175).

15': $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*tuḫm*[*i-* is a hapax. Restored tentatively based on a similar context in KBo 30.166+ iv 13'–15' (Groddek 2002a, 231–32):

13' 2 $^{MUNUS.MEŠ}$*zi-in-tu-u*[*-ḫi-eš*]
14' 2 GAL KÙ.SI$_{22}$ *ŠA* [EN ÉRIN$^{MEŠ?}$]
15' *ḫar-kán* [*-zi*]

---

16': See, e.g., IBoT 4.94 (CTH 666) ii 7'–8' (Groddek 2007, 74):

7' *ta-*ˀ*aš*ˀ*-ta* LUGAL-*uš* [*e-ša*]
8' 4 $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$SANGA ˀ*e*ˀ[*-ša-an-da*]

---

17': The number of cups, varying in the texts, corresponds to the priestly college from Arinna (Taracha 2021, 227–28) that included two SANGA-priestesses of the Sun-goddess and Mezzulla; three SANGA-priests of Mezzulla, Zintuḫi, and Ḫulla;[13] the SANGA-priestess of the Storm-god of the Forest; and seven minor SANGA-priests ($^{LÚ.MEŠ}$SANGA *ARKŪTI* or *apezzieš* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$SANGA) (Popko 2001; 2004; 2009, 66–70). For a similar context, see KBo 52.111 + KUB 56.52 (CTH 634.3) obv. 41' (Tischler 2016, 103; Steitler 2017, 288–89):

41' [*t*]*a*ˀ GAL-*li hal-zi-ia* [x] ŠU.NIGIN 13 ˀGALˀ$^{ḪI.A}$ x[

## 3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The absence of the queen in the surviving part of the text discussed here prevents us from knowing whether it could be associated with the great festival celebrated by the royal couple in Arinna (CTH 634). The role of the prince (obv. 6') remains a mystery as well. The (royal) son is rarely encountered in the Arinna text corpus; note, for example, the presence of the DUMU.NITA in the temple of Zintuḫi in KBo 41.94 iv 5 (Popko 2009, 37, 58). The sequence of the king's visits to the temples of Mezzulla and Ḫulla (if my tentative restoration of obv. 7'–9' is accepted) appears in KBo 39.62 ii 1–19, a text identified by its colophon as belonging to the *nuntarriyašḫaš* festival in Arinna (CTH 626), but it is also found in other fragments from the Arinna text corpus—for example, KUB 55.26 (CTH 666)—that cannot be shown to have belonged to the *nuntarriyašḫaš* festival. For this reason, I would provisionally ascribe KBo 49.196 to either CTH 666 or CTH 626. Whatever the classification of the text, it presents a very concise version of the festival description.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

13 However, four SANGA-priests appear occasionally as well (Popko 2009, 68–69), as is also the case in the text under examination. The fourth SANGA-priest may have attended the Storm-god of the Forest(?).

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# 31 THE CURIOUS CASE OF WALAWALA'S LETTER: AN OLD ASSYRIAN ENVELOPE IN THE ISAC MUSEUM

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## DEDICATION

It is my great honor to dedicate this study to Prof. Theo van den Hout, who has been for me an extraordinary teacher, mentor, and boss for more than a decade. I am forever indebted to him for his infinite support, unfailing generosity, and continued guidance, which inspire and encourage me.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Walawala had just heard that Tamurīya was sick. Bad news travels fast, even when it takes weeks for a letter to arrive. And none had arrived in a while. Walawala was restless. She had to know what had happened. Was Tamurīya all right? Did he need help? Only Ḫanunu would know. If only he would write to Walawala and reassure her that everything was in order.

So Walawala sent a letter to Ḫanunu, a letter in a sealed clay envelope, which is now housed at the University of Chicago's Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (ISAC) Museum.[1] It appears that Walawala never found out what happened to Tamurīya. The envelope was not opened until almost 4,000 years later.

## 2. A BIT OF HISTORY

Archival documents in the ISAC Museum reveal that the intact envelope containing the tablet was acquired in Constantinople (modern Istanbul) in 1907 and was believed to come from Yozgat in central Anatolia, about 100 miles northeast of Kültepe/Kanesh, the administrative center of the Old Assyrian commercial settlements in Anatolia. The files identify the tablet and envelope as "Hittite," pointing out the difficulties encountered by early scholars in identifying the language of these so-called Cappadocian tablets at a time when Assyrian commercial involvement in Anatolia was poorly understood and before Hittite was deciphered.[2] The associated letter[3] sent by Walawala to Ḫanunu was published in the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* a year later by Theophilus G. Pinches, lecturer in Assyriology at the University of Liverpool, as part of a study of twenty-three Cappadocian tablets at the Liverpool Institute of

1 I thank Walter Farber, professor emeritus of Assyriology and former curator of the Tablet Collection at ISAC, for bringing this envelope to my attention and allowing me to study it for my master's thesis in 2007/8. I also express my gratitude to Susanne Paulus, associate professor of Assyriology and current curator of the ISAC Tablet Collection, for allowing me to publish the envelope.

2 As early as 1882, in an article in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* on a Cappadocian tablet in the British Museum, Pinches attempts to build a connection between the signs and language of the tablets and the Hittite language (Pinches 1882a, 16–17).

3 For a recent translation of the letter, see Michel 2001, 500.

Archaeology (Pinches 1908). Pinches informs us that the first Cappadocian tablet he studied in 1878–79 was purchased from a dealer named S. Ali Shan in Constantinople in 1876 by the trustees of the British Museum. The fact that our envelope was also acquired in a similar fashion by the British archaeologist John Garstang confirms that acquiring cuneiform tablets on the Turkish market continued to be a common practice.

Pinches's publication was very influential at the time, as it nearly doubled the number of published examples of Old Assyrian tablets. The earliest examples of these Cappadocian tablets made their way into European museums through travelers and collectors who purchased them from Turkish villagers at the marketplace in Kayseri in central Turkey. They were introduced to the scholarly community in 1881, thanks to several publications, including two by Pinches himself (Pinches 1882a, 1882b). The exact findspot of the tablets and their dating remained a mystery until the arrival of the Czech philologist Bedřich Hrozný at the site of Kültepe near Kayseri, which had been a promising candidate as the source of the growing corpus of Cappadocian tablets on the antiquities market but had not yielded any textual material, despite several excavation campaigns. Pinches's publication briefly mentions the envelope and the seal impression and includes photographs of the envelope before it was intentionally broken to remove the tablet, which caused a large break on the obverse (Pinches 1908, pl. XVII, figs. 7–12). These photos show that the crack extending across the obverse and reverse of the envelope already existed at the time, but the impression was complete on both sides.

Nearly three decades later, accession files at the ISAC Museum show that the envelope and tablet were among "a collection of thirty-two bronze statuettes and other objects" presented to the Institute on April 7, 1944, by Helen Swift Neilson (Mrs. Francis Neilson). Mrs. Neilson helps us trace the envelope back a little further in a letter she sent from her accommodations at the Drake Hotel in Chicago on March 10, 1944, to the then director of the Oriental Institute (now ISAC), John A. Wilson. Mrs. Neilson informs Wilson that in the collection of Egyptian figures she is packing to send to the Institute, she is including "the Hittite letter," which "I believe, you saw at our home when you were there for an informal reception which we gave for Professor and Mrs. Garstang." Mrs. Neilson continues: "[The letter] was acquired by Professor Garstang in 1907. It was then in perfect condition, but Professor Garstang gave it to someone, who was supposed to be an expert in this work, to open the envelope, thinking that he would slit it through the center so that it could be easily replaced on the letter. The job was badly done."

John Garstang, reader and then professor of archaeology at the University of Liverpool from 1907 to 1941, was responsible for rediscovering the long-forgotten civilization of the Hittites. He went on his first trip to visit Hittite sites in Turkey in 1904, recording his journey and discoveries through photography. After his permit to excavate the Hittite capital, Hattusha, was revoked and transferred to German archaeologist Hugo Winckler, Garstang traveled extensively across Central and Southeast Anatolia, as well as northern Syria, in 1907, visiting and recording Hittite sites (Garstang 1908, 1–3; Greaves and Rutland 2015a, 35–36). His topographical survey of Anatolia and its Hittite monuments provided the basis of his 1910 book, *The Land of the Hittites*. Garstang also conducted excavations at the site of Sakçagözü in Southeast Anatolia from 1907 to 1908 and from 1911 to 1912, and at Yumuktepe near Mersin from 1937 to 1939 (Greaves and Rutland 2015a, 41; Freeman 2015, 46). The statues he found at Sakçagözü became the centerpiece of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, and all the artifacts he excavated were sent to the Imperial Museum (now the Archaeological Museums) in Istanbul. Neilson confirms that Garstang acquired the envelope and tablet that constitute the topic of this study from an antiquities dealer in Constantinople in 1907, while he was in the region for his Anatolia survey, and added it to the collection of the University of Liverpool.

Garstang's path crossed with the Neilsons' in 1934. He was introduced to Francis Neilson, a British member of Parliament, philanthropist, and former Liverpudlian, by the first Dean of Liverpool just as Garstang's work at Jericho was ending and he was considering retiring from fieldwork due to a lack of financial support. Now residing in the United States, Francis and Helen Swift Neilson endowed various institutions, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the Chicago chapter of the Archaeological Institute of America at the University of Chicago. After meeting Garstang, Francis Neilson promised him £9,000 to fund three years of excavations at a site to be selected in northern

Palestine as part of "The Neilson Expedition to the Near East" of the University of Liverpool. But the political situation in 1936 forced Garstang to look farther north to the Cilician Plain (Freeman 2015, 52–53; Rutland 2014, 69), and the Neilsons became patrons of Garstang's excavations at Mersin, on the Cilician coast of Turkey, beginning in 1937 (Hughes, Engberg, and Dubberstein 1938, 330; Garstang 1953, v). Records show that in appreciation of the Neilsons' patronage of the Mersin excavation, Garstang gave the family a group of artifacts, including Walawala's letter, which Mrs. Neilson later donated to ISAC.

As much as the then-common practice of gifting priceless antiquities to private individuals may agonize us modern scholars today, it may be the sole reason we are able to read about Walawala's concern for Tamurīya. An air raid in May 1941 destroyed the Liverpool Public Museum (now known as the World Museum), including the Hittite gallery, where casts of Garstang's discoveries at Sakçagözü were displayed. Artifacts displayed in the museum were mostly either destroyed in the fire that followed or looted from the ruins (Greaves and Rutland 2015b, 27; Sagona and Zimansky 2009, 85). The Institute of Archaeology that Garstang had founded and that housed many of his excavation records was also badly damaged during the bombing.[4]

## 3. THE ENVELOPE

The envelope is 56 mm long, 48 mm high, and 26 mm thick, while the seal impression measures approximately 23 mm in height. The length of the design and the circumference of the seal is approximately 40 mm, giving a seal diameter of about 12–13 mm.[5]

The envelope bears on all six sides impressions of a single cylinder seal (fig. 31.1). The obverse has four lines of writing, two above and two below the seal impression. A horizontal crack running across the obverse continues also on the reverse, resulting in two breaks, one on each side of the envelope and destroying part of the impression in the middle. Pinches mentions that the crack across the obverse existed when the object was bought and extended to the reverse when the tablet was taken out. This is the "job . . . badly done" that Mrs. Neilson refers to in her letter to John Wilson.

## 4. THE IMPRESSION

The seal impression on the envelope has not been published separately, but Pinches describes it in detail (Pinches 1908, 65–67). A brief description as well as a photo and line drawing of the same seal impression also appear in *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* by Eduard Meyer (1914, 53–54), at which time the source of the Cappadocian tablets on the market was established as Kültepe and the language of the tablets was identified as Assyrian, thanks to Hrozný's excavations at the site. However, the early date of both publications, when the study of the Cappadocian material was not yet developed, hinders the authors from going beyond a detailed description and, in the case of Pinches, a comparison with only two similar examples published by Louis de Clercq (1903, pl. XXVII:284, 286).

The impression consists of a main scene with two subsidiary scenes arranged in superposed registers (fig. 31.2). The main scene depicts a seated male figure in a chariot drawn by four equids. Each animal has a nose ring and, attached to it, a rein, curved at a right angle and gathered in the right hand of the seated figure. He is dressed in a long, flounced garment that reaches his ankles, leaves his right shoulder bare, and is decorated with vertical and horizontal stripes. He also wears a round cap with vertical lines and a thick border. His face consists of a triangle for the eye and the nose, and two short horizontal lines stand in for the mouth. The head is placed at the center of the body and is connected to the torso with a long, thin line representing the neck. His shoulders and waist form a sharp triangle, and his body is elongated at the waist. His right arm is raised, forming a V-shape at the elbow and ending in a forklike hand with a clearly defined thumb. The reins of the equids, which come together at this point, appear to loop around his hand.

4 I was unable to obtain any information regarding the exact location of the objects during their time in Liverpool.

5 I would like to thank Helen McDonald, registrar of the ISAC Museum, for taking these measurements.

Figure 31.1. Walawala's letter: envelope with the seal impression of Dûidûi. Top to bottom, left to right: obverse, reverse, left edge, right edge, top edge, bottom edge.

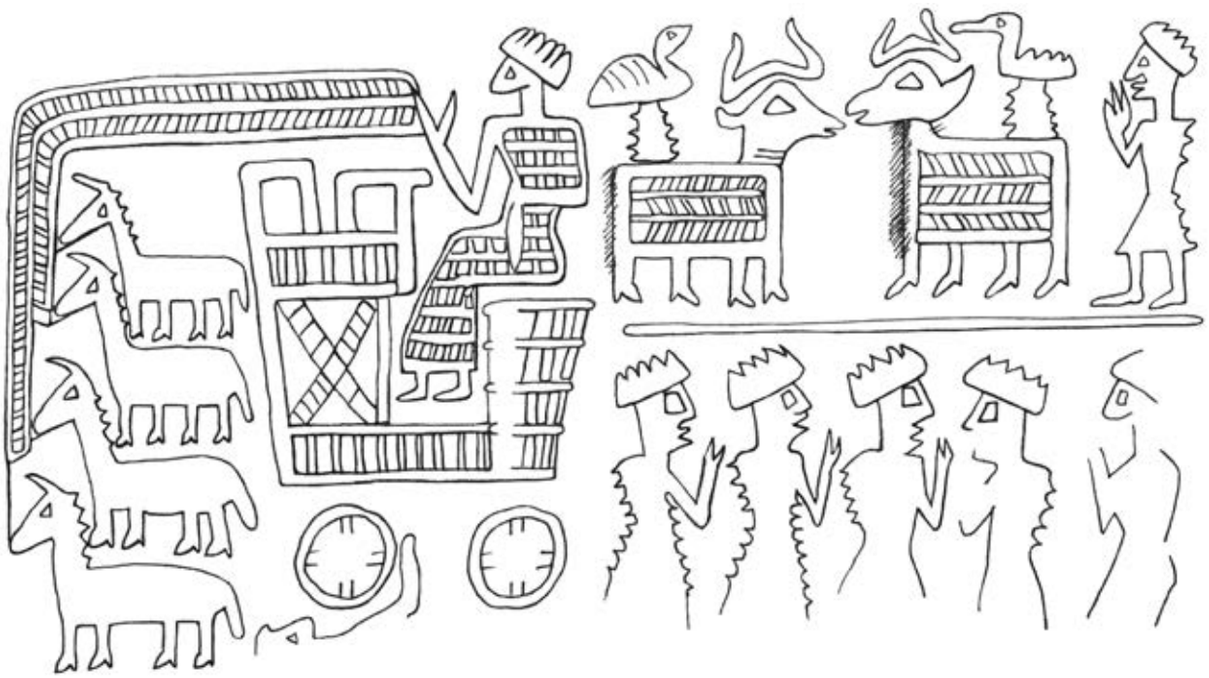

Figure 31.2. Line drawing of the seal impression (by O. Topçuoğlu).

The figure's left arm, held against his side, is bent at the elbow. His left hand is not visible, but a thick line extending from where the hand would be and going past his thigh creates the impression that he holds an object that tapers to a sharp point—maybe a dagger or a flail, as suggested by Nimet Özgüç (1965, 67).

Pinches refers to the figure in the chariot simply as "the driver" (Pinches 1908, 65), while Meyer suggests he may be a god (Meyer 1914, 54). Özgüç identifies this figure in similar chariot scenes from Kültepe as the local Anatolian god Pirva, who also appears in the Hittite pantheon associated with horses (Özgüç 1965, 67). The divine nature of this figure is debated[6] since he wears the flounced garment often worn by gods but lacks a horned headdress, the primary symbol of divinity. However, one should note that "horned crowns were not standard attributes of divinities in early Assyrian art" (Eppihimer 2013, 44–45),[7] so one could still argue in favor of a divine identification.

Chariots are well represented on Mesopotamian seals since the early third millennium BC (Littauer and Crouwel 1979). In Anatolia, they appear on Anatolian and Old Assyrian–style cylinder seals in the second millennium (Buchanan 1981, figs. 1118–19; Collon 1988, no. 727; Frankfort 1939, pl. XL:m, n; Özgüç 1965, pl. III:9; 2006, pl. 52:CS 589; Porada 1948, pl. CXXXIV:893E). The type of chariot seen here on our impression consists of four wheels, a high front topped by a handrail depressed in the center, and a lower projection at the back serving as a seat for a single occupant. The body of the chariot is decorated with vertical and horizontal lines. It is an example of what is often called the traditional "battle car," although there is no evidence to suggest that this vehicle played an active role in warfare. Based on an earlier claim by Albrecht Goetze (1957, 77), Özgüç argues that "the horse-drawn four-wheeled chariots were chariots for deities" (Özgüç 1965, 68). If the identification of the charioteer as a god is correct, then one could suggest a ceremonial or processional function for this vehicle. The inscription on the envelope runs right below the wheels of the chariot, obscuring a human figure trampled by the vehicle.

Although the shape of the chariot is identical to Mesopotamian examples represented in clay models dating to the Early Dynastic period and later (Moorey 1994, 163) and is similar to the Mesopotamian war chariot depicted on the Standard of Ur and the Mari ivories from the early third millennium BC, the vertical arrangement of the equids one above the other differs from these Mesopotamian examples, where the

6 Prof. Adelheid Otto (personal communication).

7 See also Lassen 2012, 218–19.

animals are placed side by side. In this aspect, our impression is closer to depictions of chariots on seals from northern Syrian sites of the third millennium—namely, Tell Brak and Tell Beydar. Material evidence from these sites shows that wagon seals are typical of the glyptic of the Khabur region and the territory of the kingdom of Nagar in the late Early Dynastic period (Rova 2008, 63). A seal impression found on a jar shoulder under the final floor of the Area TC Oval dated to the Early Dynastic III period at Brak features an identical chariot design with equids similarly arranged one above the other. This is stratigraphically the earliest occurrence of the chariot at Brak[8] and also the first chariot scene from the site that is cut in the angular Syrian Early Bronze style,[9] although the same type of chariot occurs on many Brak-style designs as well (Emberling and McDonald 2003, 45–47, fig. 48). Tell Beydar, a provincial capital of the kingdom of Nagar, offers the widest repertoire of chariot scenes ever found at a single site, and textual evidence identifies it as a center for the production of chariots (Dolce 2014, 61). The iconographic connection with Upper Mesopotamia and particularly with Tell Beydar in the late third millennium is interesting, especially when one considers a cache of more than 1,000 sealed bullae recently found inside the monumental Early Bronze Age III building at Kültepe/Kanesh. Based on the iconography and style of the seal impressions, the excavators argue that the bullae were attached to goods sent from northern Syria and Mesopotamia (Kulakoğlu and Öztürk 2015), and the glyptic style is particularly close to that of Tell Beydar.[10] If this is indeed the case, then one could trace the development of the chariot motif from southern Mesopotamia to northern Syria and into central Anatolia during the mid-third millennium BC. This possibility suggests, in turn, that in addition to commercial goods, the close interregional relations between central Anatolia and northern Syria in the late Early Bronze Age acted also as a conduit for the transfer of ideas and visual culture.

The main scene with the seated figure in the chariot is supplemented by two subsidiary motifs in two registers divided by a thin line. In the upper register, two bulls facing each other are depicted in a schematic style. Their rectangular bodies are decorated with three series of short, slanting lines in alternating directions. Their heads are rhomboid shaped and have large, oval eyes. Large horns in frontal view rise above their heads. A conical object with a bird perched on top stands on the back of both animals. A standing human figure is placed behind the bull on the right and is depicted in a similar fashion to the figure in the chariot: he has a large triangular nose, forklike hands, and a triangular upper body. His right arm is raised in a gesture of supplication, forming a V-shape at the elbow. He is dressed in a knee-length tunic with a thick border and a round cap.

The lower register is composed of five men, two looking to the left and the other three to the right, facing the first group. Although the lower part of their bodies is cut off by the inscription, they appear to be identical to the worshipper in the upper register, with the same knee-length tunic and round cap, and with their hands raised in prayer. Their typical attire and pose indicate that they are supplicants, reinforcing the divine nature of the motif of the bull. On Cappadocian seals, they often appear in association with the "bull with cone."[11]

The most enigmatic motif on the seal impression is the bull with a cone on its back and a bird perched on top. The puzzling nature of this motif has prompted scholars to refer to it in various ways, ranging from "bull-altar," first proposed by Ward (1910), to "bullgod" (Leinwand 1992), to the more generic "bull with cone" (Özgüç 2006). Consisting of a highly schematic, rectangular body accompanied by a more naturalistic head and legs, and consistently depicted in the same static pose, the bull with cone is a common motif on Old Assyrian and Anatolian-style seals. With its schematized depiction, it differs considerably from real bulls, which are also commonly depicted on contemporaneous seals, but with much more naturalistic bodies, tails, and legs and appearing in different poses. The rectangular body of the enigmatic bull with cone is

8 Earlier examples of Syrian chariot scenes are known from the Early Dynastic I/II levels at Tell Chuera (Jans and Bretschneider 1998, cat. no. 16).

9 Donald Matthews uses this designation for local Syrian designs that owe nothing to the Mesopotamian glyptic tradition, as opposed to the more elaborate Brak style with soft, rounded forms and strong links to Mesopotamian glyptic of the Early Dynastic III period (Matthews 1997, 136; see also Emberling and McDonald 2003, 42).

10 Prof. Fikri Kulakoğlu, director of the Kültepe/Kanesh excavations (personal communication).

11 See, e.g., Özgüç 2006, CS 259, CS 286, CS 329, CS 358.

covered with herringbone striations that commonly depict the flounced fabric worn by deities as well as the covering on stools, suggesting that the bull was draped in cloth. The static pose, the consistent placement of a ground line or podium below the motif, the fabric cover, and the large horns pointing inward, "mirroring the divine headdress" (Lassen 2017), all point to an object, possibly a statue, of divine nature and with a ritual function. Although less common, the presence of an offering table laden with bread and meat before the bull motif reinforces this identification.[12]

Based on the large number of seals and seal impressions bearing the bull-with-cone motif found in Kültepe/Kanesh, Anton Moortgat suggested as early as 1940 that the motif must have originated in Anatolia and reached Assur through merchants traveling back and forth (Moortgat 1940, 47–48). However, Agnete Wisti Lassen has successfully argued that the story should be reversed (Lassen 2017). Based on an analysis of seal impressions on dated tablets, she has shown that the bull is a common element of Old Assyrian–style seals very early on and appears on Anatolian-style seals almost forty years later.[13] Lassen has also shown that in addition to seals found in Assur, the motif is also used on the seals of high officials employed in administration in Assur,[14] strengthening the argument that the bull with cone did in fact originate in this city (Lassen 2017, 8–9). Moreover, the motif is absent from Anatolian stamp seals and disappears from the visual repertoire of Anatolia following the end of the Old Assyrian period, lending further credibility to Lassen's theory.

The seal used by the *nibum* official in Assur, whose impression was found on ten bullae at Acemhöyük, bears an interesting motif that may provide a clearer identification of the bull with cone. The seal's imagery consists of a worship scene with an interceding goddess standing in her typical gesture of supplication before a tall, rounded structure with a tiered surface, from which protrude a bull's head and four legs. A bearded male figure, clad in a long robe and wide-brimmed hat and standing to the right of the inscription panel with his right hand raised, was reported by Özgüç; traces of the back of a standing figure are visible in two published photographs (Özgüç 2015, 62 and fig. 42:CS 11b and 11d). When the impressions were first published, Özgüç identified the tall, rounded structure as the bull altar (Özgüç 1980, 65–66), but in her final monograph on the Acemhöyük bullae she provides a slightly different definition, describing the structure as "a bull [with a] body in the shape of a ziggurat or a mountain, [reminiscent of] the wild bull of the lands, the god Aššur, mentioned in the royal inscription of Šamši-Adad"[15] (Özgüç 2015, 62). The identification of the bull motif with the god Aššur had already been suggested by Klaas Veenhof on the basis of the seal's inscription: "of the god Aššur,[16] of the excise, of the City Office" (Veenhof 1993, 651). Unlike other major deities such as Šamaš or Ištar, who had well-established visual markers that clearly identified them as early as the Akkadian period (e.g., the dagger/saw for Šamaš, the double-lion-headed standard for Ištar), Aššur remains a visually elusive figure due to a lack of specific attributes associated with him. Nonetheless, the few characteristics of Aššur known from textual references suggest that the tall, rounded figure on the Acemhöyük bullae may indeed be one of the visual representations of this deity. Both Mogens Trolle Larsen and Veenhof note that Aššur was originally probably the deified local mountain range Ebiḫ or Abeḫ, on which the temple of Aššur was built (Larsen 1976, 29; Veenhof 2008, 22). Royal inscriptions of the Old

12 See, e.g., Özgüç 2006, CS 447.

13 Lassen identifies the earliest attestation of the motif on an Old Assyrian–style seal on a document dated to REL 61, while the earliest known Anatolian-style seal with this motif comes from a tablet dated to REL 97. For a detailed reconstruction of the Revised Eponym List, which anchors the chronology of the Old Assyrian period in Middle Chronology, see Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2012.

14 Seal of the *laputtā'um* official—Özgüç 2006, CS 358; Lassen 2017, fig. 12; seal of the *nibum* official—Özgüç 2015, 62–66; Lassen 2017, fig. 13.

15 See Grayson 1987, 49, for the original inscription.

16 A second seal of the god Aššur, cut in a similar style and bearing the same inscription, is found on the vassal treaties of Esarḫaddon (Wiseman 1958, 17–18). The seal depicts the interceding goddess behind a male figure wearing a long robe and wide-brimmed hat and raising his right hand in worship. A large, open space is visible between the worshipper and the inscription, which reads "of the god Aššur, of the City Office." It is not clear whether this space was intentionally left blank or the figure here was erased, but Özgüç completes the scene with a bull figure, similar to what is found on the Acemhöyük example (Özgüç 2015, 62). A seated deity is also possible, as was customary in presentation scenes.

Assyrian kings Erišum I and Šamši-Adad also refer to the temple of Aššur in the city of Assur as "the wild bull" (Grayson 1987, 20, 49). Moreover, Guido Kryszat also confirms the nature of $^{d}$Aššur as a mountain deity on the basis of Assyrian personal names such as Aššur-šād-ilī ("Aššur is the mountain of the gods"), Aššur-bēl-šadū'e ("Aššur is the lord of the mountains"), and Aššur-šadūni ("Aššur is our mountain") (Kryszat 1995, 203).[17] On the basis of such textual and visual evidence, the association of the god Aššur with objects and figures featuring a bull's head and the tiered surface often used to depict mountains in the visual art of Mesopotamia, such as that represented on the seal of the City Office, appears plausible. If this is indeed the case, the argument I posed some time ago in a conference paper—that the stylized bull with cone may be a representation of the bull-shaped ritual vessels (rhyta) used for drinking and libations in the Old Assyrian and Hittite periods[18]—is no longer tenable. Hittite texts suggest that in addition to being libation vessels, these objects—examples of which were excavated at Boğazköy, Amasya, Ahurhisar, and Alacahöyük (Bittel 1970, 72, pl. 1:15–16; Collins 2005, 17–18)—may also have functioned as cult statuettes (White 1993, 287). Although the rigid depiction of the bull with cone, often shown being worshipped or receiving offerings, does indeed suggest an inanimate cult object, Lassen's dating of the motif on Old Assyrian–style seals and the seals' connection with the city of Assur makes it clear that its origin does not lie in Anatolia.

## 5. DATING THE ENVELOPE

Although the letter is not dated and the provenience of the envelope is unclear, a stylistic analysis of the seal impression can be used to provide an approximate dating for both objects. As mentioned earlier, this particular impression has never been published in detail. Nonetheless, similar scenes with chariots were classified by Özgüç under the local Anatolian-style group because of their linear rendering, forklike hands of the human figures, and cross-hatched decoration (Özgüç 1965, 67–68). On the other hand, Beatrice Teissier mentions this specific impression together with a few others with similar chariot motifs as "carved in the Old Assyrian style" (Teissier 1994, 48). An extensive and meticulous study of glyptic material from the Old Assyrian period by Lassen (2012, 2017) comes to our aid here in pinning down both the style of our impression and the date of the letter and envelope.

With the linear and schematic rendering of the motifs, minimal representation of detail, and stylized depiction of the faces, hands, and fingers of the human figures, the impression fits well within the Old Assyrian style as formally defined by Edith Porada (1947)[19] and maintained by Özgüç (1953, chapter 6). Lassen takes the stylistic grouping one step further and identifies two distinct subgroups within the Old Assyrian group in terms of stylistic and iconographic characteristics: Classic Old Assyrian (OA1) and Assyro-Cappadocian (OA2) (Lassen 2012, 2014). Our impression falls within the latter group along with several other elaborate compositions depicting chariots,[20] which are absent from the Classic Old Assyrian group (Lassen 2012, 67–68), even though the short and stout human bodies, which Lassen (2012, 63) identifies as "an important and characteristic feature" of this group differ from those in our example.

Lassen also provides a relatively secure dating for seals and impressions belonging to the Assyro-Cappadocian group on the basis of eponym-dated texts with seal impressions and ties them to individuals known from textual sources. Seals of the Classic Old Assyrian group appear to be closely connected to the Ur III style and rely heavily on Mesopotamian iconography, and they were primarily owned by kings of Assur and elite merchants of the first generation who established commercial relations with Anatolia, and hence were directly connected to the city of Assur. In contrast, seals belonging to the Assyro-Cappadocian group show a strong influence from local Anatolian glyptic and were owned and used by both Assyrians

17 I thank Agnete Wisti Lassen for bringing this reference to my attention.

18 This suggestion was cited in an article by Yağmur Heffron (2014, 176–77).

19 An earlier study and initial classification of style groups within Cappadocian glyptic was conducted in the 1930s by E. B. Reilly, a student of Benno Landsberger in Ankara, who identified the Old Assyrian style group. The original study was never published, but it influenced later studies of the material by Porada (1947), Özgüç (1953), and Tosun (1965).

20 See, e.g., Buchanan 1981, figs. 1118–19.

(especially second-generation traders) and Anatolians (Larsen and Lassen 2014, 182–83; Lassen 2012, 71, 78). The recently reconstructed Revised Eponym List (REL) for the Old Assyrian period places the second generation of Assyrian merchants in Anatolia within the first half of the nineteenth century, between about 1895 and 1865 BC (Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2012, 57–63, 93–94), which corresponds to Kültepe/Kanesh Level II.

The two most distinctive elements on our impression—the chariot and the bull with cone—also corroborate this dating. While the motif of the chariot does not continue on seals of the Kültepe Ib period, the bull can still be found on several examples from this later phase (Özgüç 1968, pl. XXV:1, 4). However, a comparison between the bull motifs on seals of Levels II and Ib shows that the rendering of the bull with cone changed considerably between the two periods. On seals of the Ib level, the cone on the animal's back is much less triangular, and it is thinner and longer compared to the earlier examples. The bull's eyes are represented by a large, empty circle that covers much of the animal's face. The legs are thin and straight, and the animal's hooves are no longer indicated. The horns are attached to the head, whereas in Level II examples they float above the head.

## 6. THE SEAL OWNER

Now that we have established a relatively secure dating for the impression in the earlier part of the Kanesh Level II period, a last question remains: Whom did this seal belong to?

The envelope on which the seal impression is found bears the following inscription:

| | |
|---|---|
| *a-na Ḫa-nu-nu* | to Ḫanunu |
| KIŠIB *Du-ú-i-du-ú-i*[21] | the seal of Dûidûi |
| *a-pu-tum a-na-wa-at*[22] | please to the words |
| *ṭup-pì-im i-ḫi-id* | of the tablet pay attention |

Although the name of the sender on the tablet is Walawala, the inscription on the envelope mentions Dûidûi as the owner of the seal with which the envelope was sealed. In his original publication of the tablet, Pinches explains this discrepancy by suggesting that Walawala "is probably the name by which Dûidûi . . . was known among the members of his family and tribe" (Pinches 1908, 64). Cécile Michel suggests that either Walawala used the seal of a certain Dûidûi, or Dûidûi was Walawala's nickname (Michel 2001, 500). During the Old Assyrian period in Anatolia, only officials and people involved in business transactions on a regular basis owned seals, probably because of the high cost of acquiring these elaborately carved stone objects, while others either borrowed seals from family members and associates or used other means to authenticate documents (Teissier 1994, 45–48). Sealing practices among Anatolians were particularly erratic, and in many cases family members used the same seal (Lassen 2012, 201n537). One could easily speculate in our case that Walawala borrowed Dûidûi's seal for this particular occasion.

Walawala and Dûidûi are both mentioned by Paul Garelli (1963, 152–53) and Emmanuel Laroche (1966, 203) as Anatolian names. Other texts mentioning several Walawalas as daughters, sisters, and wives (Michel 2001, 499) show that the person in question is a woman. In contrast to Assyrian women, who were involved at high levels in their families' businesses, much less is known of the position of native Anatolian women in society. They sometimes appear in texts as sellers and debtors, a position that required the ownership or use of a seal. However, it is also assumed, based on cases where the numbers of sealers and seals on a tablet or envelope do not match, that women often shared a seal with their husbands (Teissier 1994, 49–50). Therefore, I propose that Walawala may have used the seal of her husband, Dûidûi, when she sealed her letter to Ḫanunu. This letter contains the only known attestation of the name Dûidûi in the Old Assyrian

21 Pinches reads this line incorrectly as *dubbi Tuitui* (Pinches 1908, 66), attributing the tablet and hence the letter to Tuitui. However, the correct reading, KIŠIB, indicates that the seal used to seal the envelope belonged to Tuitui.

22 Pinches's reading of this line as *a-bu-tum a-na wa-at* is also incorrect, leading to the translation "$^{m}$*Abutu* to the land (of the tablet he invites)" (Pinches 1908, 67).

text corpus. Walawala is attested in a number of texts,[23] but the lack of any identifying information (e.g., father's name) and date makes it impossible to identify our Walawala and establish a connection with Dûidûi. The other two names mentioned in the letter and inscription, Ḫanunu and Tamurīya, appear to have been popular names in the Old Assyrian period, and they do not provide any further clues as to the identities of Walawala or Dûidûi.

## 7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

One of the biggest problems encountered in the study of glyptic is "the tendency to isolate the study of the seals from the study of the tablets" (Larsen 1977, 93). For decades, Assyriologists who published collections of Old Assyrian tablets in museums ignored the fact that many of these documents were sealed. Likewise, early publications of seal impressions provide photos of a large number of sealings, but information on texts associated with these impressions is not given.

Only in the past three decades have studies of Old Assyrian material merging texts and seal impressions appeared (Teissier 1994 and Lassen 2012, among others). Today it is becoming increasingly clear that the integration of textual and visual evidence is of key importance, in that it allows a more holistic understanding of the material and opens possibilities to ask new questions.

Only through this approach can we now attempt to understand who owned and used the seal represented on our envelope and to speculate that Walawala and Dûidûi may have been two individuals using the same seal rather than two names used by the same person, as suggested earlier (Pinches 1908, 64). This same approach also addresses an important issue in early studies of Old Assyrian glyptic—namely, the tendency to equate seal style and ethnicity, establishing direct connections between the carving style of a seal and the ethnic origin of its owner. According to this argument, Assyrian merchants in Anatolia used seals in only the Old Assyrian style, while Anatolians went exclusively for seals carved in the local Anatolian style. However, Lassen's recent work combining stylistic analysis of seal impressions, chronological ordering of stylistic groups based on dated documents, and text-based identification of seal owners (in conjunction with texts mentioning Walawalas as daughters, sisters, and wives) no longer allows us to view our envelope as a typical example, sealed by an Anatolian man using an Anatolian-style seal,[24] and overlook the case of an Anatolian woman, in itself a rare occurrence in Old Assyrian texts, borrowing an Old Assyrian–style seal to send a letter.

It is my hope that this study provides a further contribution to the recent line of integrative studies highlighting the importance of combining data from neighboring disciplines of art history, archaeology, and Assyriology to ask new questions about old material.

## ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| ICK | Bedřich Hrozný and Lubor Matous, *Inscriptions cunéiformes du Kultépé*. Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství / Académie tchécoslovaque des sciences, 1952 and 1962 |
| ISAC | Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (University of Chicago) |
| Kt | inventory numbers of texts from Kültepe-Kanesh |
| KTH | texts from Kültepe/Kanesh in Sammlung Frida Hahn, Berlin |
| OIP 27 | Ignace J. Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity*. Oriental Institute Publications 27. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935 |
| REL | Revised Eponym List |
| TC | Georges Contenau, *Tablettes cappadociennes*. Textes cuneiformes 4. Paris: Geuthner, 1920 |

23 OIP 27 59; TC 3 106; ICK 1 19a–b; ICK 1 32; Kt 87/k 99; Kt c/k 854; Kt c/k 829; Kt c/k 181; Kt c/k 201; Kt c/k 644a; Kt c/k 644b; Kt n/k 1716a–b; KTH 06. I thank Edward Stratford of Brigham Young University for sharing this information.

24 Özgüç (1965) initially classified similar seal impressions from Kültepe/Kanesh featuring chariot scenes and the bull with cone as belonging to the local Anatolian style, creating a perfect match with the seal owner bearing an Anatolian name.

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# 32 "WHEN THE MOON GIVES AN OMEN": ON THE RITUAL KUB 17.28 III 18–IV 44 AND ITS COMPOSITION

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Two rituals preserved on the *Sammeltafel* KUB 17.28, in obv. I 1–42 and rev. III 18–IV 44, were performed when the moon gave a (bad) sign (Kümmel 1967, 17–18).

Moon signs were an uncommon reason for performing magical rituals among the Hittites, but they are well attested in the omen series of Mesopotamian origin preserved in Ḫattuša. Although much has been said about the relationship of some Hittite magical rituals to Mesopotamian compendia of omens present in Hittite repositories, and especially astrological compendia, the rituals carried out on these occasions, as presented on the *Sammeltafel* KUB 17.28, have never been fully examined.[1]

Here I provide an edition of the second ritual (III 18–IV 44), which is preserved as the fifth ritual on the tablet, and then discuss the context of its composition. The first ritual (KUB 17.28 I 1–42) has already been examined by Volkert Haas (2008, 147–49), and I therefore consider it only briefly in the following pages.[2]

## 2. TEXT TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

III

§1

18 *ma-a-an* $^{d}$30-*aš š*[*a*]-*ki-ya-az-zi nu* SISKUR
19 *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an i-*[*y*]*a-mi* $^{m}$*Tal-ma-an-ni-*$^{rd}$U$^{\rceil}$-*a*[*š-ma*(?)]
20 BAL-*an-za-ki-i*[*z*] -[*z*]*i*

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§2

21 *nu a-pa-a-at* SISKU[R] *i-*[*y*]*a-*[*mi*] *nu* $^{rd}$30$^{\rceil}$-*aš ku-*$^{r}$*e-da*$^{\rceil}$-*n*[*i*]
22 GE$_6$-*ti ša-ki-ya-zi nu a-pé-e-da-ni* GE$_6$-*t*[*i* ]
23 *Ú-UL* [*k*]*u-it-ki i-en-zi ma-a-an I-NA* UD.2.KAM
24 $^{r}$*na*$^{\rceil}$-*aš-ma I-NA* UD.3.KAM *na-aš-ma* $^{r}$UD$^{\rceil}$.4.KAM *i-en-zi*
25 *nu Ú-UL ku-it-ki du-ug-ga-ri*

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§3

26 *nu ki-i da-*[*a*]-*an-zi* 3 GU$_4$.MAḪ *ku-e-eš-ša-an*
27 *A-NA* $^{r}$GU$_4$ ÁB$^{\rceil}$ *iš-ki-ša na-a-wi*$_5$ *pa-a-an-te-eš*

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1 For a general overview, see Archi 1982; Koch-Westenholz 1993; Riemschneider 2004, ix–li.

2 Two other fragmentary rituals probably connected with moon omens are KBo 62.13 (Wilhelm 2015, 313) and Bo 4823 (Akdoğan 2016, 75).

28 18 U[DU.Š]IR *ku-iš-ša-an A-NA* UDU.SÍG+MUNUS
29 *iš-ki-ša na-a-wi*$_5$ *pa-a-an-te-eš* 3 NINDA *na-aḫ*[3]*-ḫi-ti-iš*
30 *ŠA* 3 *UP-NI* 19[4] NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA$^{ḪI.A}$ *ŠA* 1 *UP-NI* 30 NINDA.SIG$^{MEŠ}$
31 1 *PA* ZÌ.DA ŠE 1 ½ *PA AR-DU* $^{GIŠ}$*BU-*ʳ*RA-A*ʾ*-ŠI ki-na-an*
32 3 *UP-NU* MUN 6 *NAM-MA-AN-DU* LÀL 6 *NAM-MA-AN-TU*$_4$ Ì.NUN
33 6 *NAM-MA-AN-DU* Ì.GIŠ *IN-BI*$^{ḪI.A}$ $^{GIŠ}$PÈŠ $^{GIŠ}$GEŠTIN ʳḪÁD.DU.Aʾ
34 $^{GIŠ}$*SE*$_{20}$*-ER-TU*$_4$ *ku-it-ta* 6 *UP-*ʳ*NU*ʾ 6 *NAM-MA-AN-DU* GEŠTIN
35 6 $^{GIŠ}$BANŠUR AD.KID-*ya*

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§4
36 *i-en-zi-ma ki-iš-ša-an* $^{GIŠ}$ZA.LAM.GAR$^{ḪI.A}$ *ma-a-an*
37 *dam-mi-li*[5] *pé-di ma-a-an-kán* $^{GIŠ}$TIR-*iš-ni*
38 *an-da tar-na-an-zi*

---

§5
39 *na-aš-ta* $^{GIŠ}$ZA.LAM.GAR-*aš an-dur-za* 3 GUNNI$^{ḪI.A}$ GIŠ$^{ḪI.A}$-*aš*
40 *ḫar-ap-pa-an-zi nu ku-e-da-ni-ya A-NA* GUNNI
41 EGIR-*an kiš-an ḫa-an-da-a-an* 3 $^{GIŠ}$BANŠUR AD.KID
42 ʳ*ti-an-zi*ʾ *nu-uš-ša-an A-NA* $^{GIŠ}$BANŠUR 1 $^{NINDA}$*na-ḫi-ti-in*
43 6 NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *ŠA* 1 *UP-NI* 10 NINDA.SIG$^{MEŠ}$ 3 *ŠA-A-TU*$_4$
44 ZÌ.DA ŠE 3 *ŠA-A-DU* PA $^{GIŠ}$*BU-RA-A-ŠI ki*[6]*-na-a-an*
45 1 *UP-NU* MUN 2 *NAM-MA-AN-DU* LÀL 2 ʳ*NAM-MA*ʾ*-AN-TU*$_4$ Ì.NUN
46 1 *NAM-MA-AN-DU* Ì.GIŠ IN.BI$^{ḪI.}$[$^{A}$ ] $^{GIŠ}$PÈŠ
47 $^{GIŠ}$GEŠTIN ḪÁD.DU.A $^{GIŠ}$*SE*$_{20}$*-ER-TU*$_4$ ʳ*ku-it-ta*ʾ 2 [*UP-NU*]
48 2 *NAM-MA-AN-DU* GEŠTIN[7] 1 GU$_4$.MAḪ 6 UDU.ŠIR[ ]
49 $^{GIŠ}$EREN-*ya ḫa-an-da-an* -[*zi*]

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§6
50 *nu-kán da-a-an* GUNNI *Ù* 3 GUN[NI ]
51 *A-NA MAḪ-RI-I* GUNNI *ḫa-an-d*[*a-an-zi*][8]

IV
§7
1 [ ]
2 [ ]x
3 [ -]x-*KA*
4 [ ]$^{d}$30
5 [ *k*]*a-a-ša*
6 [ *pár*]-ʳ*ku*ʾ*-nu-um-ma-*ʳ*aš*ʾ[9]
7 [ ]x *ḫar-ak*
8–16 lines lost in the gap

---

3 The internal horizontal wedge of the AḪ sign is missing.

4 This number should probably be corrected as "18," because later in the text six thick loaves are placed before each of the three fireplaces.

5 The newer form of LI is used here.

6 This is the only KI sign on this tablet, written in a very late fashion with two vertical wedges.

7 Partly over erasure.

8 At least three lines at the end of the column are left blank.

9 The AŠ sign not drawn in the hand copy is visible in the photo (BoFN00711: Košak 2017, s.v.).

§8
17 [ ]˹ME˺-*i*
18 [ $^{G}$]$^{IŠ}$EREN
19 [ ]x
20 [ -*z*]*i*
21 [ ]x GUNNI$^{ḪI.A}$
22 [ *ši-pa-an*]-*ti*

---

§9
23 [ ]$^{UZU}$ŠÀ$^{ḪI.A}$
24 [ *ku-i*]*t-ma-an-ma*
25 [ ]*da-a-an*
26 [ *ši-pa-an*]-*ti*

---

§10
27 [ ]*da-an-zi*
28 [ $^{UZU}$NÍG].GIG$^{ḪI.A}$
29 [ *d*]*a-a-i*
30 [ -*n*]*a*
31 [ ] *QA-TAM-MA-pát me-ma-i*

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§11
32 [ TU$_7^{ḪI.A}$ U]ZU-*ya i-en-zi*
33 [ ]x
34 [ -*y*]*a* $^{GIŠ}$EREN
35 [ *i*]*š-ḫu-u-wa-i*
36 [ G]UNNI
37 *pa-ra-a* ˹*la-a-ḫu-u-wa-i*˺ [ ]x
38 ˹*ga*˺-*lu-ti-ya-zi* $^{d}$30-*ya* ˹$^{d}$˺[ ]x x x [ ] ˹BAL˺-[*an*-]*zi*

---

§12
39 GIM-*an-ma-aš-ša-an* TU$_7^{ḪI.A}$ UZU *a-ri nu-za* LUGAL-*uš a-da-an-na e-*˹*ša-ri*˺
40 *nu-uš-ši* TU$_7^{ḪI.A}$ UZU *ti-an-zi nu* LUGAL-*uš* TU$_7^{ḪI.A}$ UZU *e-*˹*ez-za*˺-*zi*
41 *nu* $^{d}$30 ˹4˺$^{?!10}$-*ŠU*˹*e-ku-zi*˺ *nu* LUGAL-*uš a-ap-pa-i*

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§13
42 *aš-nu-ma-aš-ma ki-i da-a-an-zi* 6 NINDA *a-a-an* 2 NINDA GÚG 2 NINDA KU$_7$ 1 DUG KAŠ
43 1 $^{DUG}$*ḫu-up-pár* GEŠTIN-*ya*

---

§14
44 *a-aš-zi-ma-kán ku-it ḫa-aš-du-e-er na-at ar-ḫa wa-ar-nu-wa-an-zi*

## TRANSLATION

§1
If the Moon-god [gi]ves an omen, when I perform the ritual, Talmanni-$^{d}$U(?) offers [in the following way].

10 The abraded sign looks like NÍG (four), although here we would expect the number three, which appears during the preparation of the ritual implements (§3).

§2
And [I p]erform that ritual. On the night the Moon-god gives the omen, on that nig[ht] they do nothing. Whether they perform it on the second day, the third day, or the fourth day does not matter at all.

§3
And they t[a]ke these things: Three bulls that have not yet mounted a cow, eighteen rams that have not yet mounted a ewe, three *naḫiti*-loaves of three *UPNU* (each), eighteen(?) thick loaves of one *UPNU* (each), thirty thin loaves, one *PARIṢU* of barley flour, one and a half *PARIṢU* of chopped juniper branches,[11] three *UPNU* of salt, six vessels of honey, six vessels of butter, six vessels of sesame oil, fruit, figs, raisins, olives, six *UPNU* of each, six vessels of wine, and six wicker tables.

§4
And they act in the following way: they set up a tent,[12] either in an uncultivated place or in a forest.

§5
And inside the tent they stack wood in three fireplaces. Behind each fireplace the tools are prepared in the following way: they set up three tables of wicker. On the (first) table they prepa[re] one *naḫiti*-loaf, six thick loaves of one *UPNU* (each), ten thin loaves of bread of three *SŪTU* (each), three *SŪTU* of barley flour, (one) *PARIṢU* of (chopped) juniper branches, one *UPNU* of salt, two vessels of honey, two vessels of butter, one vessel of sesame oil, fruit, figs, raisins, olives, two [*UPNU*] of each, two vessels of wine, one bull, one ram and [x pieces of (?)] cedar wood.

§6
[They] prepare the second fireplace and the third firepl[ace as they did] the first fireplace.

§§7–10 IV 1–30
These lines are too fragmentary to translate.[13] (In §7 there is an invocation to the Moon-god and probably to two(?) other deities; in §8 there are offerings and fumigations with cedar wood; in §§9–10 the animals are slaughtered and their entrails are prepared for the ritual meal).

IV 31
[ And] he speaks in the same way.

§11
[ ] They prepare meat [stews and ]. [ A]nd cedar wood [ h]e throws. [He] pours out [the wine onto] the fireplace [ ]. He treats jointly [ ] and they t[oa]st to the Moon-god, the god [GN, and the god GN(?)].

§12
When the meat stews arrive, the king sits down to eat. They put the meat stews for him. The king eats the meat stews, and drinks three(?) times to the Moon-god. The king ends the ceremony.

11 See CAD B, 327b. See also HED 4, 180 ("assorted pine branches").

12 Or "they set up the tents." It is not clear whether just one tent is built here, and expressed as *pluralia tantum*, or more tents are built. On tents in Hittite rituals, see Görke 2018.

13 Hans-Siegfried Schuster (1974, 34 with n125) was skeptical about the precise end of the fifth ritual. Unlike him, I do not see any problem. On the right-hand side of the broken tablet there are no traces of a double paragraph line that would support the idea of a new ritual. In addition, if we assume the existence of a new ritual beginning but lost in the gap, we would have seven rituals on this tablet, despite the fact that the colophon enumerates six rituals.

§13
But they take these things of the delivery: six warm loaves, two loaves of GÚG-bread, two sweet-dough loaves of bread, a jug of beer, and a bowl of wine.

§14
Whatever refuse is left they burn it completely.[14]

The beginning of the text does not explain what kind of sign the moon gives. Omen collections from Ḫattuša often describe an eclipse of the moon with the expression $^{d}$30-*aš aki* "The moon dies," or they describe particular phenomena connected with the moon or the lunar crescent (Laroche 2016, 469). However, as I try to demonstrate in the following pages, it is possible that this ritual was performed on the occasion of an eclipse (see section 4 below).

## 3. PERFORMERS AND RITUAL CLIENT

The first peculiarity of this ritual occurs in the incipit: the ritual author apparently speaks in the first-person singular but makes a reference to a second person, mentioned by name but not by profession, who oversees the offerings. This person is named Talmanni-$^{d}$U, a name otherwise unattested in Hittite texts.[15] Haas (2008, 148–49) suggested that he may have been the ritual client and that the ritual was performed for a private person. It is clear, however, that this ritual was performed for the king, who personally took part in the meal described at the end of the text (rev. IV 39). This means that this ritual was performed when the king received an evil omen and that the person mentioned at the very beginning could have been a priest in charge of the ritual performance.

Because one of the verbs of the incipit is in the first-person singular and one is in the third-person singular, we can assume that there were at least two performers. The ritual never specifies whether the performers are male or female, but some elements support the idea that it was performed by male practitioners, such as *patili-* (Beckman 1983, 235–38), AZU-, or ḪAL-priests, who were experts often involved in making ritual offerings and preparing meat for consumption after animal sacrifices.[16] Maciej Popko has noted that male practitioners often performed rituals in tents or in their vicinity, as is the case here (Popko 1980, 104). These categories of priests were mainly involved in purification rituals of Hurrian/Kizzuwatnean origin. A connection with the Hurrian milieu is present in the use of the *naḫiti*-breads,[17] as well as in the use of cedar wood as a cleansing substance (Haas 2003, 277).[18]

14 See, for this and other similar cases, HW² III 438–39.

15 The name has been variously interpreted: Haas (2008, 148) mentions him as Talmanni, claiming that this name is Hurrian. Hans Martin Kümmel (1967, 18) proposes an Akkadian origin *Rimanni-*$^{d}$U (but see also n64, in which he puts forward the possibility of a reading TAL for the sign RI). HW² I 315b, proposes a different interpretation: 1 <NINDA>*ar*$^{!}$*-ma-an-ni* $^{d}$S[IN]$^{!}$ (followed by Dardano 2006, 158). Yet this kind of bread is not mentioned in the following lines of the ritual. Furthermore, the broken sign after the divine determinative and the *Winkelhaken* looks like a horizontal wedge, making a reading $^{d}$30 particularly difficult. *armannu*/*ramannû* is an aromatic substance mentioned in Mesopotamian texts (CAD A, 291) but is not otherwise attested in Hittite ritual texts.

16 On the ritual actions of the AZU-priests, see in detail Engelhard 1970, 6–45; Haas 2003, 11–14; Görke 2010, 247–56; Marcuson 2016, 413–15; and recently de Martino 2021. Oliver Gurney (1977, 45 with n6) observes that AZU- and ḪAL-priests are often interchangeable in Hittite rituals. The same is observed by Manfred Hutter (2021, 171). A thorough study on this topic is a desideratum.

17 In the birth ritual KUB 9.22 III 10–11 these loaves of bread are associated with the moon, the sun, and the stars (Beckman 1983, 94–95). On this kind of bread, see also Hoffner 1974, 173–74. For other mentions in texts, see CHD L–N, 242b–43a.

18 Kümmel (1967, 190) suggests that this ritual may originally have had a Babylonian author and suggests a comparison with KUB 24.5++ (CTH 419).

## 4. TIME AND LOCATION OF THE RITUAL

The text states clearly that the ritual cannot be performed on the same night as the occurrence of the omen but can be carried out on any of the next three days (at night). The ritual should be conducted in an uncultivated place (*dammeli pedi*) or in a forest, where a tent is erected for the performance.[19]

We could compare this text to the beginning of a *mugawar* for the Storm-god (in this case surely Teššub[20]), which was performed during the day and followed a similar development:

A. KUB 9.9 obv. I (B. KBo 48.110; C. KBo 13.93 + KBo 49.153; D. KBo 13.130)

§1

1 ⌜*ma-a-an*⌝ ⌜LÚ⌝ḪAL⌝ ⌜d⌝U-*an*⌝ [(*mu-ga-a-iz-zi nu*)]
2 *a-ra-aḫ-za ku-it dam-m*[(*e-el AŠ-RU lam-ni-ya-zi*)]
3 *nu* LÚ.MEŠḪAL *pa-an-zi nu* 9 [21]G[(UNNIḪI.A *i-ya-a*)*n-zi*]
4 *nam-ma-aš IŠ-TU* GIŠ-*Ṣ*[(*I*[22] *ḫar-pa-a-iz-zi*[23])]

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§2

5 *lu-kat-ti-ma I-NA* UD.2[!24].KA[(M *ka-ru-ú-wa-ri*)-*wa-ar*]
6 *ḫu-u-da-ak pa-iz-zi* [(*nu A-NA* 9 GUNNIḪI.A)]
7 EGIR-*an*[25] 9 GIŠBANŠURME[(Š *da-a-i*) *ku-e-da-ni-*(*ya A-NA* 1-*EN* GUNNI)]
8 1 GIŠBANŠUR *da-a-i š*[(*e-e-ra-aš-ša-an* GIŠBANŠURMEŠ *ku-e-da-ni-ya*)]
9 1 NINDA*wa-ge-eš-šar* ZÌ.D[A
10 1 NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA GA.KIN.A[G
11 1-*NU-TU*$_4$ ŠÀ.GALḪI.A x[
12 1 *wa-ak-šur* Ì.NUN[
13 ⌜1 *wa-ak-šur*⌝[

TRANSLATION

§1
When the diviner summons the Storm-god, which uncultivated place outside he determines (to be used), the diviners go (there) and prepare nine fireplaces. Then he stacks them with wood.

§2
At dawn, on the second(!?) day, he goes early, straight (to the place). Behind the nine fireplaces he sets up nine tables: for each single fireplace he places one table. On eac[h (of) the tables he sets ] a *wageššar* loaf of flou[r ], a loaf of bread, chees[e ], an amount of fodder x[ ], 1 *wakšur* of butter [ ], 1 *wakšur* [of ].[26]

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19 The most important requirement seems to be that the ritual should be performed outdoors. Sometimes the place of the performance must be secret, as in CTH 471, KBo 5.2 III 54: *ḫarwaši pedi*. See also CHD P, 339b. An uncultivated place as the location for a ritual performance is also mentioned in the first Anniwiyani ritual, which, according to the convincing interpretation of Collins, was a response to an inauspicious bird omen (Collins 2020, 462–63).

20 He is associated with Ḫepat in the text KBo 13.93 + KBo 49.153 rev. IV 12. The Storm-god receives a bull as offering, while the goddess Ḫepat receives a ewe.

21 KBo 13.130 obv. begins here.

22 KBo 49.153+ obv. begins here.

23 KBo 13.130 obv. 2' ⌜*ḫar*⌝*-pa-iz-zi.*

24 The text has UD.1.KAM, probably a mistake. The duplicates KBo 48.110 and, in my opinion, KBo 49.153 preserve UD.2.KAM (the sign UD is partly broken but clearly visible on the photo, pace Groddek 2013, 94 with n297), which is more logical given the chronological sequence of the events: first day (obv. 1–4), second day (obv. 5ff.).

25 EGIR-*an* is omitted in KBo 48.110 obv. 6.

26 The colophon (KBo 13.130 rev. 4'–7') reads: "One tablet, finished, of the summoning of the Storm-god: when the diviner [summons] the Storm-god, [he determines(?)] an uncultivated pl[ace] outside."

This short, fragmentary ritual text is called a *mugawar* for the Storm-god in both the incipit and the colophon—a ritual practice designed to restore the god to the human world.

The actions are comparable to the ones of the ritual described in KUB 17.28: in this case, it seems the bad omen was perceived as a departure of the Moon-god (i.e., an eclipse). For this reason, not only did the patient have to be cleansed but the god also had to be summoned back. Unfortunately, the long gap at the beginning of the fourth column makes a complete interpretation of the text a challenging task. In this long lacuna, we possibly have an invocation to the Moon-god (and perhaps some other deities), opened by *kāša* (IV 5) and closed by *ḫarak* (IV 7). The action of purification is clearly expressed by the genitive form *parkunummaš* (IV 6), which could refer to the offerings (SISKUR) made during the ritual. Invocations to the Moon-god were common in substitution rituals performed for the king by a substitute (Kümmel 1967, 8–42). The text KUB 17.28 makes no reference to the substitution of the king, unless the bulls and the rams played this role, just as a bull was presented to the Moon-god in the substitution ritual for the king KUB 24.19+ (CTH 419) obv. 6'–16', to save the king's life.[27] The fact that the bulls and rams had to be chosen among those that had not yet coupled surely has special ritual significance.[28]

A further reason to infer that this ritual was performed for the king is that the same tablet and even the same portion of the *Sammeltafel* contains a ritual against the defeat of the army, which immediately follows this text (IV 45–56; Masson 1950; Beal 1995, 72–75).

## 5. OMEN COMPENDIA

The defeat of soldiers, the king, or the whole country (together with the king's death) is one of the most frequently cited incidents in the astrological compendia found in Ḫattuša (Koch-Westenholz 1993, 239–40; Riemschneider 2004, xx–xxi). Among the collections of omens transmitted to the Hittites directly from Mesopotamia or through Hurrian mediation, those concerning the signs of the moon are the most frequent. They are examples of the study of a foreign art that, like Hittite mantic, explored ways and possibilities of communicating with the gods to seek their help in warding off misfortune.[29]

Some of these omen tablets preserve colophons with the signatures of scribes:[30]

KUB 4.1 (CTH 552 / CTH 422): Armaziti[31]
KUB 4.53 (CTH 537): Aki-Teššub;[32] Assyro-Mittanian ductus
KUB 8.9 + KUB 43.19 (CTH 533): Ḫiliya in front of Walwaziti
KUB 8.29 (CTH 533): Kuzi-Teššub, tablet from Nuḫašše[33]
KUB 29.9 (CTH 532 / CTH 536): PN, in front of Walwaziti
KUB 29.11 + KBo 36.48 (CTH 533): Pikku in front of Anuwanza
KUB 37.164 (CTH 541): [. . .-]iš in front of Walwaziti
KUB 37.210 (CTH 560): GUR-Šarruma, son of EN.UR.SAG

27 On the tradition of these Mesopotamian rituals among the Hittites, see Schwemer 2013, 162–64.

28 Compare the following examples: the ritual of Zarpiya CTH 757, KUB 9.31 II 9–10, "They bring eight boys who have not yet had sexual intercourse with a woman"; the ritual of Ašḫella CTH 394, KUB 9.32 II 21–22, "(They bring) a ewe with whom a ram has not yet had sexual intercourse."

29 For a general overview and on the use of these compendia by the Hittites, see van den Hout 2003–5.

30 Torri 2022, 224.

31 Elsewhere known as a member of Anuwanza's group (Gordin 2015, 195; Torri 2015, 580).

32 Following Rutz 2012.

33 Silvin Košak (2021, s.v.), tentatively suggests dating this tablet to the Middle Hittite period. The other tablet written by Kuzi-Teššub, KBo 10.7, is dated to the Late Hittite period. Both texts are said to have originated in Nuḫašše, and in both the name is repeated three times: in KUB 8.29 it is written with a combination of syllabic and logographic signs, while in KBo 10.7 it is entirely syllabic. Shai Gordin (2015, 228) assumes that Kuzi-Teššub is doubtless a scribe of the Late Hittite period. The problem of this and other foreign scribes at Ḫattuša requires further study.

KBo 10.7 (CTH 549): Kuzi-Teššub, tablet from Nuḫašše
KBo 13.27 + VBoT 12 (CTH 560): Palla GÁB.ZU.ZU
KBo 42.1 (CTH 555): Tarḫuntaziti, in front of Anuwanza

Many of these scribes also worked on magical rituals, and it is possible that the Hittites recognized some connection between the two genres.[34] As Theo van den Hout has noted, it is difficult to evaluate what role both text genres played in scribal education and in the transmission of culture (van den Hout 2015, 214; 2020, 314). As far as we know, there are library catalogs in which these texts are mentioned together; examples are KBo 10.6 (Dardano 2006, 82–85), which contains magical rituals, especially of Kizzuwatnean origin, and astrological omens of the moon and the sun; and KUB 30.55 (Dardano 2006, 156–60). On its reverse, this text reports the titles of omen compendia, some concerning astral signs, others miscarriages, and yet others animal behavior. The entry at line 9' says: 1 *TUPPU* BAD LÚ *KAŠIP* "One tablet: if a man is bewitched," recalling the Akkadian ritual CTH 803. There are also some *Sammeltafeln* in which omens and magical rituals are joined:[35] KBo 13.20, lines 1'–11', and its duplicate KUB 8.30 obv. 16'–23' are both *Sammeltafeln* containing a magical ritual and a few moon omens. KBo 13.20 preserves a magical ritual at lines 1'–5'. Only the last lines (6'–11'), after a single paragraph line, refer to a moon omen. The same applies to its duplicate KUB 8.30. The text preserves part of the obverse, with the magical ritual (lines 1'–20') and the moon omens (21'–23'); a double line divides the compositions. The reverse is completely inscribed with moon omens. In KBo 13.20 at line 6' and in its duplicate KUB 8.30, the word *armuwalašḫa-* "moonshine" is attested as an omen (in KUB 8.30 obv. 21' as *armuwalašḫaiš*). A further attestation of this word occurs in tablet KUB 32.41, a magical ritual written in the Hurrian language, which preserves the sentence (rev. 5'): 1 *ŠI-PAT ar-mu-wa-la-aš-ḫa-aš QA-TI* (Archi 1982, 279–82).[36]

## 6. THE *SAMMELTAFEL*

Finally, I would like to comment on the composition of *Sammeltafel* KUB 17.28 and its author. Some years ago, I suggested that the scribe may have prepared the tablet by assembling two sets of ritual texts, the first one concluding with a colophon at lines III 15–17 and the second one (III 18–IV 56) concluding with a general colophon concerning the first and the last ritual of the *Sammeltafel* (Torri 2004, 141).

Manfred Hutter proposed that this *Sammeltafel* collected rituals to be performed on an as-needed basis (Hutter 2011, 118–19). However, it is not clear why the scribe separated the two rituals concerning moon omens, which are, respectively, the first and the fifth on the tablet, unless it depended on the way he was working on its composition (Torri 2004, 141).

As already stated, the first ritual of the tablet (I 1–64) concerns a sign of the moon as in the ritual examined on the previous pages. A closer look, however, shows that it has a nature, development, and scope very different from those of the ritual discussed here (see also Kümmel 1967, 190).

The beginning of the first ritual says:

I

1 [*ma-a*]*n* $^{d}$30-*aš* $^{r}$*ša-ki-ya-az-zi*$^{?}$ *nu-kán ša-ki-aš-ni*
2 [*še-er*(?) U]N-*an* GUL-*aḫ-zi nu ki-iš-ša-an i-ya-mi*

When the moon gives an omen and in the sign-giving [it] strikes a person, then I perform the ritual in the following way.[37]

34 See the corpus of scribal annotations by Gordin (2015, 52–72). On connections between Hittite divination and magic in general, see, e.g., Gurney 1977, 46.

35 On this *Sammeltafel* and the rationale of its composition, see section 5.

36 For other examples, see Kümmel 1967, 190; Kammenhuber 1976, 55–56.

37 CHD S, 41b.

The following lines show that the ritual is performed in the first-person singular, whether for a boy or a girl, and it could therefore relate to a birth, as two of the other rituals in KUB 17.28 do,[38] or in general to some childhood illness:[39]

I

7 ˹*ma-a-an*˺ DUMU.MUNUS *nu* ŠAḪ.DUMU.MUNUS *da-aḫ-ḫi ma-a-an* DUMU.NITA
8 *nu* ŠAḪ-*aš* DUMU[40].NÍTA *da-aḫ-ḫi*

If it is a girl, I take a female piglet; if it is a boy, I take a male piglet.

In general, we observe that the first three rituals on the tablet are associated with different phases of human life, especially birth and childhood. Also, the fourth ritual (II 33–III 17, edited in Torri 2004) connects the person mentioned in the action with the capacity to procreate (III 1–3) and his rival with a curse causing him to lose the ability to procreate (II 40–47).

The second set of rituals deals with the king, his purity, and the risk of a defeat of his army as explained in the previous lines. The danger for the king's life and the defeat of his army are often associated in magical rituals (Beal 1995). The substitution rituals, expressly performed for the life of the king who is under threat according to a moon omen, consider the possibility that the danger may be a military downfall. Although because of the tablet's ruined condition we do not have enough data to state that the ritual in rev. III 18–IV 44 is a substitution ritual, it shares some elements with several substitution rituals—for example, the preparation of tent and fireplaces, the preparation of the meat for the ritual meal, the offerings with the *naḫiti*-bread, and the manipulation of cedar wood. All these rites are common in Kizzuwatnean purification rituals and even in the Babylonian cultural milieu transmitted through Kizzuwatna to the Hittite world.

## 7. THE SCRIBE OF THE TABLET

As far as is known, the scribe of this tablet is not otherwise attested (Torri 2004, 131 with n6). His name is $SA_5$-*pala*, a name made up of an ideographic form that means "red." The possible syllabic reading has been interpreted in various ways as Dirpala, Maruwapala, or Mitapala.[41]

It seems to me very likely, instead, that this scribe is the same person as the scribe Ašḫapala, author of the so-called Theogony, KUB 33.120+ (CTH 344), and a member of the circle of Ziti in the late thirteenth century BCE (Gordin 2015, 205, 216–17).[42] Perhaps playing with the wording of his name, Ašḫapala "translated" the first part as "red," using the logogram $SA_5$, for assonance with the Luwian term for "blood": *ašḫar*/*ašḫan*. Its derivative forms may also have the meaning "red" or "blood red," as is sometimes the case in magical rituals (Starke 1990, 272, 555–60).[43]

38 Beckman 1983, 84–85: (II 1) "Incantation of the Blood—When a woman is giving birth and her bleeding is inhibited," (II 7) "Incantation of the Wind—When a woman is giving birth and she does not break wind."

39 The association between birth and the moon is described by Giorgieri (2004, 418–20).

40 This occurrence of the sign DUMU, HZL 232/9, is particularly late.

41 On the different interpretations of this name, see Gordin 2015, 69 with n321, with references to previous literature. The reading Dirpala (hapax) is mentioned in Laroche 1966, 185 (no. 1335); Rüster and Neu (HZL 136 no. 89) propose Marwapala; finally, Gordin leans toward Mitapala, *mit(t)a-* "red" being the Hittite reading of $SA_5$ and a part of other Anatolian names.

42 He is a descendant of Tarḫuntaššu, his father, and Kuruntapiya, his grandfather, author of KBo 13.240 in the period of Muwatalli, and Waršiya, his great-grandfather (Corti 2007, 115–16). A person with the name Ašḫapala from the Middle Hittite period seems to be an official of northern Anatolia and could be of Kaskean origin (Giorgieri 1995, 235). As pointed out to me by Joost Hazenbos, the oracle text KUB 16.51 (in join with KUB 16.45) mentions an augur ($^{LÚ}$IGI.MUŠEN) Ašḫapala in obv. 21'. Unfortunately, there are no grounds to connect the scribe of the tablet under examination and the augur mentioned in this oracle text.

43 The real ethnic origin of this name would be secondary to the scribal interpretation. Recently, van den Hout has stressed how this Ašḫapala, like other scribes, showed off his "learnedness" by using archaic signs and particular Sumerographic spellings in his texts, especially in colophons (van den Hout 2020, 325–26). In addition, the signs ŠU and LA used in the

The dating of the compositions of Ašḫapala and $SA_5$-pala supports the equation: the texts with their names, KUB 33.120++ and KUB 17.28, date to the thirteenth century BCE. $SA_5$-pala apparently (KUB 17.28) chose an older set of signs, contrary to Ašḫapala, who always uses in his text (KUB 33.120++) the latest version of LI, for example. However, in KUB 17.28 this form of LI is attested at least three times, in II 46 and 47 and in III 37. In some cases, $SA_5$-pala used the newer KI with two vertical wedges, as in II 21 and III 31. This fact may indicate that he deliberately decided to use an older set of signs in KUB 17.28.[44] On the other hand, in the colophon of text KUB 33.120++ he uses an older ḪA in writing his name, while in the body of the text he always chooses the newer form without internal wedge.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

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colophons KUB 17.28 (rev. IV 59) and KUB 33.120 (rev. IV 29') for the annotations of both scribes' names are similar in their shape and structure.

44 Among the possible reasons for this choice is the fact that he was copying from some older manuscripts, as the recurrent form spelled *ienzi* shows; see also Torri 2004, 132. I would also add that a distinctive feature of the Late Hittite documents (IIIc) is that their script is not homogeneous and that very often, as in this case, newer and older versions of the same signs are used. On this feature of Late New Script manuscripts, see Steitler 2020, 430 with n36. On the other hand, the *Sammeltafeln* are collections of rituals (and other compositions) that may have originated in various periods and geographical areas. Whether this fact is reflected in their signs and orthographic features is a matter for further investigation.

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# 33 EIGHT MIDDLE BABYLONIAN TEXTS

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## DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my good friend Theo van den Hout. I thank him for his many important publications on the Hittites and the peoples with whom they were in contact.[1]

## 1. INTRODUCTION

During the summer of 2016, I looked through a number of cuneiform tablets in a private collection.[2] Among the texts were thirty-three Middle Babylonian ones, and I concentrated on them. Unfortunately, many of the tablets are damaged, some seriously, but I present the best-preserved texts here in this study. The dates of the texts range from year 5 of Kadašman-Enlil II to year 2 of Kaštiliašu IV.[3]

The provenience of these tablets is uncertain, but since a number of persons mentioned in these texts are also attested in texts from Dūr-Enlilē,[4] they may be citizens of that town.

Unfortunately, the available time was not enough to make hand copies of all the texts. Only a hand copy of Text G is provided because of its special content.

## 2. TEXT A: LETTER FROM RĪMŪTU TO HIS LORD (NO DATE) (FIGS. 33.1–33.2)

Obverse

1 ⌜*a-na*⌝ *be-lí-ia qí-bí-ma*
*um-ma* $^{m}$*ri-mu-tum* èr-*ka-ma*
*a-na di-na-an be-lí-ia lu-lik*
*um-ma a-na be-lí-ia-ma*
5 ⌜zà.ḫi⌝.li$^{sar}$ 0,0.⌜4⌝
*a-na* èr lugal$^{?}$
*li-iš-ša-am-*⌜*ma*$^{?}$⌝[x] x

Bottom edge

*li-il-qú-ma* [o]
*ù a-ka-an-na*

1 I thank John A. Brinkman for his helpful comments and suggestions regarding the texts edited here.

2 The owner prefers to remain anonymous.

3 Abbreviations of publications are taken from Ebeling et al. 1928–2018.

4 See the end of this chapter.

Reverse
10 ⌜x⌝ ta dug? ⌜x⌝[. . .]
⌜*um*?⌝-*ma* 0,3.2 zà.ḫi.li$^{sar}$
*i-na* ⌜*pa*⌝-*an* edin
*at-ta-di-in*
*ša p*[*a-a*]*n* edin
15 *a-na ra-ma-ni-ia*
*al-te-qé*
⌜*an-na*⌝-*ti* [o] x
Upper edge
*šu-bi-la*

## TRANSLATION

(1)Speak to my lord: (2)thus (says) Rīmūtu your servant. (3)I want to go instead of my lord. (4)(Speak) as follows to my lord: (5)(As for) the cress, (7)let him bring me (5)(only) 4 *sūtu* (6)for the servant of the king, (7)and . . . (8)let them take (7). . . , (9)and in this way (10). . . . . (11)Now then, (13)I have delivered (11)20 *sūtu* of cress (12)in Pān-ṣēri. (14)As for Pān-ṣēri (16)I have taken (only) (15)for myself, (18)(so) send me (17)these . . . .

## COMMENTS

2: Rīmūtu is a frequently attested name in the texts from Nippur and Dūr-Enlilē. One of the better-known officials in these archives is Rīmūtu, a supervisor of the *aklu* system. He is attested from the fifth year of Nazi-Maruttaš to the fifteenth year of Kadašman-Turgu (Matthews 1992, 111, no. 148; Murai 2018, 14–15).

4: *um-ma a-na* is probably a case of haplography of *um-ma-a a-na*, but see also line 11.

9: *akanna* also has the meaning "here"; see the dictionaries.

10: The reading is not certain. DUG can also be GA.

12: Pān-ṣēri refers to the countryside or steppe. There is also a town called Pān-ṣēri. For the different meanings, see Nashef 1982, 214–15; CAD s.v. *panu* A-1f-1'.

17: "These" could refer to the cress.

## 3. TEXT B: ADMINISTRATIVE—ANIMALS (KADAŠMAN-ENLIL II . . .-II-5) (FIGS. 33.3–33.4)

There are seal impressions on the left and upper edges.

Obverse
1 ⌜1?⌝ udu.níta $u_4$.x x x x
1 udu.níta $^{m}$arḫuš-*še-e-a*
1 udu.níta 1 sila$_4$.nim *á-ki-tum*
1 ⌜sila$_4$.nim⌝ ḫur.sag.kalam.ma $u_4$.16
5 1 máš.gal $^{md}$utu–uru$_4$-*iš ša* ⌜*mut*⌝-*ta-qí*
1 máš.tur sag.íla
Bottom edge
PAP 7 udu.níta *ak-lum*
Reverse
šu $^{md}$u.gur–sag
$^{iti}$gud.si.⌜sá⌝
10 mu.5.kam
*ka-dáš*-man–$^{d}$en.líl lugal.e

$na_4$ x x $^{d}$50
˹lú?˺ bàd–dingir.meš

### TRANSLATION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1? ram | day . . . , the entries(?) |
| 2 | 1 ram | Irēmšēʾa |
| 3 | 1 ram | 1 male lamb, (for) the *akītu* |
| 4 | 1 male lamb | (for) Ḫursagkalamma, day 16 |
| 5 | 1 he-goat | Šamaš-īriš the confectioner |
| 6 | 1 male kid | (for) the Sagila |
| 7–8 | Total: 7 sheep and goats, food expenditure (through) the hand of Nergal-ašarēd. | |
| 9–13 | (9)Month II, (10)year 5 (11)Kadašman-Enlil the king. (12)Seal of Arad?-Enlil, (13)from Dūr-ilī. | |

### COMMENTS

1: The sign after UD is broken; it could be 16, as in line 4. After that, a transliteration ˹*šu?*˺-*ma?-tu?* is possible, but a syllabic header for "entries" is not attested in Middle Babylonian texts. The normal header in lists is mu.ne or mu.bi.im. A reading ˹*šu?*˺-*ba?-tu?* is also not helpful.

2: The personal name Irēmšēʾa is also attested at Nippur; see Hölscher 1996, 107.

4: For Ḫursagkalamma, see van Soldt 2015, comments to no. 91 line 27. It was probably a small town not far from Dūr-Enlilē.

5: See CAD s.v. *muttāqu* in *ša muttāqi*.

9–10: Only the month and year are mentioned here. The sixteenth day is mentioned only in line 1 (uncertain) and line 4.

12: The line is badly written. Read perhaps $^{na4}$kišib$^{!}$ $^{m}$èr?–50, but note that a spelling 50 without $^{d}$ for Enlil is not yet attested. Perhaps $^{na4}$kišib$^{!}$ $^{m}$. . .-$^{d}$50?

13: Dūr-ilī is not attested; read perhaps bàd–$^{d}$<en.líl>.meš (Dūr-Enlilē)?

## 4. TEXT C: ADMINISTRATIVE—RATIONS FOR WOMEN (ŠAGARAKTI-ŠURIAŠ 2-I-1) (FIGS. 33.5–33.6)

Obverse

1 [še $^{giš}$bán]˹5? sìla?˺ $^{iti?}$bár?.zag.gar mu.˹x.kam˺
[$^{d}$*š*]*a-ga-rak-ti–šu-ri-ia-aš* ˹lugal.e?˺

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | [*ma*]*ḫ-ru* | | *ri-ḫu* | mu.bi.im |
| | 1 PI | V | | $^{f}$*al-si-tum* |
| 5 | | | | záḫ $^{f}$*ia-*[*a-tum*] nin?.[a.ni] |
| | 0,0.3 | V | 0,0.2 | $^{f}$gal-*a*[*t*–$^{d}$gu.l]a |
| | 0,0.2 | V | 0,0.2 | $^{f}$*da-ru-*˹*tum*˺[x]˹x˺ |
| | 0,0.3 | V | 0,0.3 | $^{f}$*ṣa-lim-d*[*u*] |
| | 0,0.3 | V | 0,0.2 | $^{f}$*a-ta-mar–*˹šu?˺-[*sa* sal.nar] |
| 10 | 0,0.3? | V | 0,0.3 | $^{f.d}$ba.˹ú-*a*˺ [nin.a.ni] |
| | 0,0.2 | V | 0,0.2 | $^{m}$*bu-un?-nu?-t*[*um* |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0,0.3? | V | 0.0.3 | f*ni-ip-pu-r*[*i-tum* |
| | 0,0.3 | V | 0,0.2 | f*a-ta-mar*–ga[l-*sa* |
| | ⌜0,0.3?⌝ | V | 0,0.2 | f*ta-ri-bu* lú[sipa |
| 15 | ⌜0,0.3⌝ | V | 0,0.3 | figi–gašan–*lu-mu*[*r* s]al.nar |
| | ⌜0,0.3?⌝ | V | 0,0.2 | f.dgu.la–*šar-rat* [dumu.sal.a.ni] |
| | ⌜0,0.3?⌝ | V | 0,0.3 | figi–gašan–*lu-mur* dam lú⌜gír⌝ |
| | ⌜0,0.2?⌝ | V | ⌜0,0.2?⌝ | ⌜f*ši-pat-sa*⌝–ti.la |
| Bottom edge | [0,0.3?] | V | ⌜0,0.3?⌝ | ⌜f.d*la*⌝*-ta-rak–bal-*[*ti*] |
| 20 | ⌜0,0.3?⌝ | V | ⌜0,0.3⌝ | mx x o ḫar.ḫar? |
| Reverse | ⌜0,0.2⌝ | | [0,0.2] | m*ta-*⌜x x x x o⌝ |
| | ⌜0,0.2⌝ | V | [0,0.2] | f*ba-ni-tum* |
| | 0,0.3 | | 0,0.2 | f*me-e–ka-mul-la* |
| | PAP 1,3.4 | | ⌜1?,2.4?⌝ | ⌜še.ba⌝ ká-*a-nu* |
| 25 | ⌜x⌝ | | [. . . . . .] | ⌜f⌝*ia-a-tum* ⌜dumu.sal⌝ *a-lu-zi-i*[*n*?*-ni* |
| | 0,0.2 | V | 0,0.2 | fgal-*sa–*⌜*lud-lul*⌝ |
| | ⌜0,0.2?⌝ | V? | 0,0.2 | f*a-na–di-ni-ša–*⌜*at*⌝-[*kal*] |
| | 0,0.2 | V | 0,0.2 | dumu.sal gar-*ni* |
| | 0,0.2 | V | 0,0.2 | f*bu-*⌜*un*⌝*-na-ša* |
| 30 | 0,0.3 | V | 0,0.2 | f*ri-ša-tum* |
| | PAP 0,2?.1 | | 0,2? | 6 sal.meš šu f*ri-ša-ti* |
| | [PAP] x,x.2 [ | | 1?,4.5 | ⌜šu.nigin 6,x.x giš⌝bán 5 sìla |
| | [ | | ] | iti⌜bár.zag.gar u$_4$.2.kam |
| Upper edge 35 | [ | | ] | mu.1.kam |
| | [ | | d*š*]*a* | *-ga-rak-ti–šu-ri-ia-aš* [ |
| | | | | lugal.e |

## COMMENTS

Similar lists of women have been published in van Soldt 2015, nos. 296–324. The earliest texts start with the name Taramutu and are dated to Kudur-Enlil; see van Soldt 2015, nos. 296 (KuE 5), 297 (KuE 8), and 298 (KuE 9).

Lists starting with Alsītu are dated to Šagarakti-Šuriaš: van Soldt 2015, nos. 299 (ŠŠ 0), 301 (ŠŠ 0), 302 (ŠŠ 1), 303 (ŠŠ 1+), 306 (ŠŠ 2?), 310 (ŠŠ 3+), and 322 (date broken). The list discussed here also belongs to this group. The year is ŠŠ 1.

Lists starting with Ṣalimdu are van Soldt 2015, nos. 304 (ŠŠ 2?) and 316 (date broken).

Those starting with other names are van Soldt 2015, nos. 300 (Ana-dīnišu-atkal, ŠŠ 0), 305 (Nūr-Marduk ŠŠ 2), 307 (Babûʾa ŠŠ 2), 311 (Ina-Isin-bāʾilat, . . . 3), 312 (Nippurītu, date broken; there are also male names), 315 (Abbuttānītu, no date), and 321 (. . .*-ia* dumu a.zu, date broken).

24: The total in the middle column is not correct; the figures in lines 4–23 are partly damaged.

## 5. TEXT D: ADMINISTRATIVE—WOOL FOR WOMEN (ŠAGARAKTI-ŠURIAŠ 15-I-2) (FIG. 33.7)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Upper edge | [síg].ḫi.a | | mu.b[i.im] |
| Obverse | [x] ma.na | v | f igi–gašan–*lu-mur* ˹sal?˺.nar |
| | ˹½˺ ma | v | f igi–gašan–*lu-mur* dam? lú gír |
| | ˹½˺ ma | v | f.d ba.ú-*a* ˹dumu.sal? f *ni*?˺-*pu-ri-ti* |
| | ˹½˺ ma | v | f *ṣa-lim-du* |
| | ½ ma | v | dumu.sal *a-˹lu-zi˺*-[*in-ni* en].líl ki |
| | ˹½˺ ma | v | šu <f> *ni-ip-pu-ri-tum* |
| | | | dumu.sal *man-di-di* |
| | | | f.d ba.ú-*a* sal.nar |
| 10 | ½ ma | v | f.d *la-t*[*a-rak–ba*]*l-ti* |
| | ½ ma | v | f ?[ |
| Bottom edge | ½ ma | v | f x[ |
| Reverse | PAP 1 ma.˹na˺ gal | | |
| | iti bár $u_4$.15.kam | | |
| | mu.2.kam | | |
| 15 | d *ša-garak-ti–šu-ri-ia-aš* | | |
| | lugal.e | | |

### COMMENTS

1: The entries are listed by their weight, the normal measurement for wool. Therefore, the beginning of the line has been restored as [síg].ḫi.a "wool." For similar texts, see van Soldt 2015, nos. 307 and 324.

2–10: The persons mentioned in this list are known from a number of texts from Dūr-Enlilē; see van Soldt 2015, section 4.1.9.

13: A "small mina" is known in Old Akkadian (CAD s.v. *manû* 2), but a "large mina" is so far unattested. According to the weights in lines 3–12, it should equal at least four regular minas, but we do not know the number in line 2.

## 6. TEXT E: ADMINISTRATIVE—PROVISIONS FOR TEMPLES (ŠAGARAKTI-ŠURIAŠ 19-IX-2) (FIGS. 33.8–33.9)

Obverse

1 1 sìla zíd *pa-ḫi-du mut*?*-qú-ú*
3 sìla zíd ma.ad.gá

---

PAP *ḫa-ru*?*-ú*
2? sìla zíd ma.ad.gá d ištar? *šá* an-*e*

---

5 0,0.1 zíd *pa-ḫi-du mut-qú-ú* 1 sìla 5?
˹0,0.x.3 sìla zíd ma˺.ad.gá
[x x] zíd *pa-ḫi-du* ˹x x˺ x x

---

PAP d nuska
0,0.1 zíd *pa-ḫi-du mut-qú-ú*

10 0,0.1 zíd ma.ad.gá
0,0.1 zíd ki.min *pi-ʳqit-ti* éʔ˺

---

[x x x o] x x x o
Reverse
2½ sìla zíd *pa-ḫi-*[*du m*]*ut-ʳqú-úˀ*
0,0.1.2 sìla zíd maʳad.gáˀ
15 en *pi-qit-ʳti* éˀ

---

ʳPAPʔ˺ é d *šar-rat* an-*e*
0,0.1 zíd *pa-ḫi-du mut-qú-ú*
1,0 *um-mu-ṣu* en 1 PI zíd.da
0,0.1 zíd ma.ad.gá
20 ʳPAPˀ dutu
[x *m*]*ut-qú-ú*
ʳx xˀ[
ʳx xˀ kaʔ ʳx xˀ[

---

[PAP] *mutʔ-qúʔ-*<*ú*> é.an.na
25 1,1.x.4½ sìla zíd *pa-ḫi-du*
x x sìla ʳzídˀ ma.ad.ʳgáˀ
Upper edge
iti gan $u_4$.19.kam
mu.2ʔ.kam d *ša-garak-ti–*
ʳšuˀ*-ri-ia-aš* lugal.ʳeˀ

## COMMENTS

Parallels are van Soldt 2015, nos. 261 and 343. The temples that receive provisions are Ištar *ša šamê* in line 4, Nuska in line 8, *bīt šarrat šamê* in line 15 (see van Soldt 2015, no. 261 line 27, an epithet of Ištar), Šamaš in line 19, and Eanna in line 23.

The provisions consist of *paḫidu*, a kind of flour, *mutqû*, a sweet cake or bread, and zíd ma.ad.gá/*maṣḫatu*, a kind of flour.[5]

3: The entry has PAP *ḫarû* "the total (for) a religious ceremony," possibly the festival for Ištar in line 4.

7: Read perhaps ʳaʔ*-na*ʔˀ šàʔ*-bi*ʔ.

11: *piqitti bīti*, probably "provisions for the temple"; see van Soldt 2015, no. 261 line 16.

12: Only the second half has some signs, probably another name of a god.

18: *ummuṣu*, probably a D-stem of *emṣu* "sour"; see van Soldt 2015, no. 261 line 29.

24: Perhaps the signs Ú and É caused haplography here.

5 "Röstmehl" in von Soden 1992.

## 7. TEXT F: ADMINISTRATIVE—EMMER RATIONS (ŠAGARAKTI-ŠURIAŠ, 20-VII-. . .) (THE YEAR IS BROKEN) (FIG. 33.10)

Obverse

1 zíz.an.na *ša i-na* šà 4,0.3ʔ zízʔ.anʔ.naʔ
*ša* f*ni-ip-pu-ri-tum* ⌜x x x o⌝

| | zíz.an.na<br>giš bán 10 ⌜sìla | ⌜x x x⌝<br>x x o⌝ | mu.bi.im |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 0,2.3 | | m*iri-ba*–dU.GUR |
| | 0,0.2 | | m<*šu*>*-um-ma-ak–la*–dx x |
| | 0,0.2 | [. . .] | mlú–damar.utu |
| | 0,0.2 | | m*si-ia-a-tum* |
| | 0,0.1 | | f.dutu-*ša*-NI-*tum* |
| 10 | | 1,0 | m*mi-na-a*–dù-*uš* |
| | (two empty lines) | | |
| 11 | [PA]P 0,3.4 | 1,0 | šu.nigin 1,x.1 ⌜zízʔ. anʔ.naʔ⌝ |

Reverse

1 [itid]u$_6$.kù u$_4$.28ʔ.⌜kam⌝
⌜mu⌝.[. . .].kam.ma
[d*Šagarak*]*-ti–šu-ri-ia-aš*

### COMMENTS

2: For Nippurītu, see van Soldt 2015, 25–27; the end looks like ušʔ ni/ir/sa di/kiʔ.

3: In the second column perhaps ⌜zà.ḫi.li⌝.

4: In column 2, one expects a remark similar to that in column 1. In other texts, giš bán 5 sìla is often written in the second column.

6: For the name Šummak-lā-DN, see van Soldt 2015, 404 (no. 321) and 566. In the three available attestations, the divine name is Gula or Marduk.

9: Possibly to be read as Šamašalītu; see m*ša-ma-ša-li-tum* in van Soldt 2015, no. 311 line 16, and the comments to this name.

11: Since the total in column 3 is not clear, we cannot be sure what the *sūtu* in column 2 should be. See the comment to line 4.

Reverse 3: There is no trace of lugal.e.

## 8. TEXT G: ADMINISTRATIVE—OIL FOR DIVINATION, GARMENTS FOR PERSONS (KAŠTILIAŠU IV, 28?-III-0) (FIGS. 33.11–33.13)

Obverse
1 ì $^{giš}$bán ⌜5⌝ sìla mu.ne
⌜1⌝ ki.min ⌜*ba*⌝-*ru-tum*
⌜x⌝[x] dumu.sal lugal ⌜2? *ba*?⌝-*ru-tu*[*m*?]
1 ⌜x x⌝ $^{m.d}$30–*mu-šab-*[*ši*]
5 ⌜2 túg? x o⌝ ni? ⌜x x⌝[
⌜1 túg?⌝[*na-a*]*ḫ*?-*su-ú-tum*
7 ½? túg? ⌜x⌝[x x o]⌜x⌝[
(lower edge not inscribed)
Reverse
x x [. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .]
10 [. . . . . .] ma [. . .]
[. . . . . .] *ša-at-ta* [. . .]

---

⌜PAP⌝ 3½ sìla *a-*⌜*na*?⌝ $^{m.d}$30–kur-*ni*
⌜*ša*?⌝ šu $^{m}$*ku-ri-i* $^{iti}$
sig$_4$ u$_4$.28?.kam
15 mu.sag.nam.lugal.la
Upper edge
*kaš-til-ia-šu* lugal.e

### TRANSLATION

Obverse
1 Oil (measured by) the *sūtu* of 5 *qû*; its entry.
1? (*qû*) of the same (for) the act of divination.
1½? (*qû*), the daughter of the king, a second? divination.
1? (*qû*) . . . Sin-mušabši,
5 2 garments? [$^{m}$]. . . . . ,
1 *naḫsūtu* garment,
½? garment . . . . . .
Reverse
(three erased lines)
11 [. . . . . .] this year [. . .].

---

In total 3½ *qû* for Sin-šadûni,
through the hand of Kurû,
month III, day 28?,
15 accession year,
Kaštiliašu the king.

### COMMENTS

According to John A. Brinkman, this text seems to be written in a finer script than most other administrative texts are.

1: Oil is mentioned only here. The following lines seem to deal mainly with textiles. However, the readings of the signs at the beginning of lines 2–5 are not certain. Only the *naḫsūtu* textile in line 6 is more reliable.

2: The signs at the beginning of the line are uncertain. The first sign is broken; the second one could be a long KI, but it could also be the sign Ù or the sign NIN. I have opted for ki.min because line 2 probably refers to the oil in line 1. The word *bārûtu* occurs regularly in Middle Babylonian lists; see CAD s.v., 1b. See also van Soldt 2015, no. 384 line 8; Sassmannshausen 2001, 168.

3: This line is uncertain. If the interpretation is correct, it means that the daughter of the king was possibly involved in an act of divination—for example, to prognosticate her health status. The numeral 2 before *bārûtu* is difficult to explain. Only a translation "second" makes sense in the context. For the possible quantity at the beginning, see the comments to lines 12–13.

6: $^{túg}$*naḫsūtu* is also attested in PBS 2/2, 94:5; see Aro 1970, 28; CAD s.v. *naḫsu* 3. The traces drawn between TÚG and SU are not certain.

8–11: These lines were erased in antiquity. Only a few wedges and words are left.

12–13: The number 3½ *qû* possibly means that 1½ (*qû*) should be restored at the beginning of line 3. For Sin-šadûni and Kurû, see below.

14: The day can also be 26.

16: The sign E is written on the right edge of the tablet.

A possible origin of this text can perhaps be found in the three personal names that occur in it. In line 4 there is a certain Sin-mušabši, a name that is attested at Nippur, and mainly during the reigns of Nazi-Maruttaš and Kadašman-Turgu; see Hölscher 1996, 190. In Dūr-Enlilē (van Soldt 2015, no. 20 lines 2 and 4) there is a Sin-mušebši, but the tablet has no date.

The second name, Sin-šadûni (line 12), is more helpful. This name is also attested in a text from Dūr-Enlilē as Sin-šadûni, son of Amīl-Sin (van Soldt 2015, no. 331 line 1). The tablet is dated to the accession year of Kaštiliašu IV (lines 2 and 24–25), month IV, day 2 (lines 2 and 24)—that is, only four days after the text presented here.

The third name is Kurû (line 13), a name that is frequently attested in texts from Nippur (Hölscher 1996, 129) but that occurs only once at Dūr-Enlilē, in a text without date (van Soldt 2015, no. 258 line 3).

It would seem that Dūr-Enlilē is at least a candidate for the origin of this text.

## 9. TEXT H: ADMINISTRATIVE—SESAME AND FLOUR (KAŠTILIAŠU IV, 10[?]-XI-2) (FIGS. 33.14–33.15)

Obverse

1 še.giš.ì še.numun ⌜*is-ru*[?] x x o⌝
*ša* ⌜*i-na*⌝ šà ḫa[?].la.⌜meš[?]⌝
*ša* mu.⌜2[?]⌝.kam
⌜x $^{m?}$x x⌝–$^{d}$en.líl
5 *le-*⌜*qu*[?]⌝*-ú*
0,0.4 $^{m\,r}$dingir[?]⌝–šeš–sum-*na*
0,0.3 $^{m.d}$30–šeš.meš–sum-*n*[*a*]
0,0.1 $^{m}$sud–$^{d}$iškur

Reverse

0,0.2 $^{m}$èr–$u_4$.19.kam
10 x[?],1.4 dumu $^{m}$ni[?] ⌜x x⌝[
[ ]⌜x x⌝[ ]
(empty line)
$^{iti}$zíz $u_4$.10[?].⌜kam⌝
mu.2.kam
15 *kaš-til-ia-šu*
lugal.e

### TRANSLATION

1–5 (1)Sesame, collected? seed . . . (2)which (4). . .-Enlil (5)took (2)from the shares (3)of the second year 4:
6 4 *sūtu* Ilī?-aḫa-iddina,
7 3 *sūtu* Sin-aḫḫē-iddina,
8 1 *sūtu* Rīš-Adad,
9 2 *sūtu* Arad-u$_4$.19.kam,
10 x+10 *sūtu* son of Ni?-. . .
(one broken line and one empty line)
13 Month XI, 10th? day,
14 year 2,
15 Kaštiliašu
16 the king.

### COMMENTS

1: The reading after še.numun is quite uncertain. After še.numun, ˹*is-ru*?˺ seems possible but $^{giš}$bán x sìla "(measured by) the *sūtu* of x *qû*" is unlikely.

3: It is not clear to which king this date refers.

4: In line 4, the first sign could be *ša*. The personal name is damaged.

8: For other attestations of Rīš-Adad, see van Soldt 2015, 562.

## 10. PROVENIENCE OF THE TABLETS

Most of these texts show clearly that they have strong bonds with the town Dūr-Enlilē. In tablet 2, the town Ḫursagkalamma is mentioned (line 4). In the Dūr-Enlilē tablets, this town is mentioned seven times (van Soldt 2015, 575). Moreover, in lines 12–13, there is a person called Arad-Enlil from Dūr-ilī ($^{<m>}$˹èr?˺–$^{d}$50 ˹lú?˺ bàd–dingir.meš). However, this toponym is not attested, and Dūr-ilī probably has to be corrected to Dūr-Enlilē.

Texts C and D contain lists of women. Similar lists are attested in nos. 296–324 of the Dūr-Enlilē texts. In Text D we find Nippurītu, an important official in Dūr-Enlilē (van Soldt 2015, 25–27).

Text E is rather similar to texts from Dūr-Enlilē in which temple provisions are disbursed. See the comments to this tablet.

Text F also mentions Nippurītu, and there is one attestation of the name Šummak-lā-DN, which occurs in both Nippur and Dūr-Enlilē.[6]

In Text G, there is a person called Sin-šadûni, for which see the comments to line 12 of this text.

6 See van Soldt 2015, comments to text 321 line 11.

Figure 33.1. Text A.

Figure 33.2. Text A (*continued*).

Figure 33.3. Text B.

Figure 33.4. Text B (*continued*).

Figure 33.5. Text C.

Figure 33.6. Text C (*continued*).

Figure 33.7. Text D.

Figure 33.8. Text E.

Figure 33.9. Text E (*continued*).

Figure 33.10. Text F.

Figure 33.11. Text G.

Figure 33.12. Text G (*continued*).

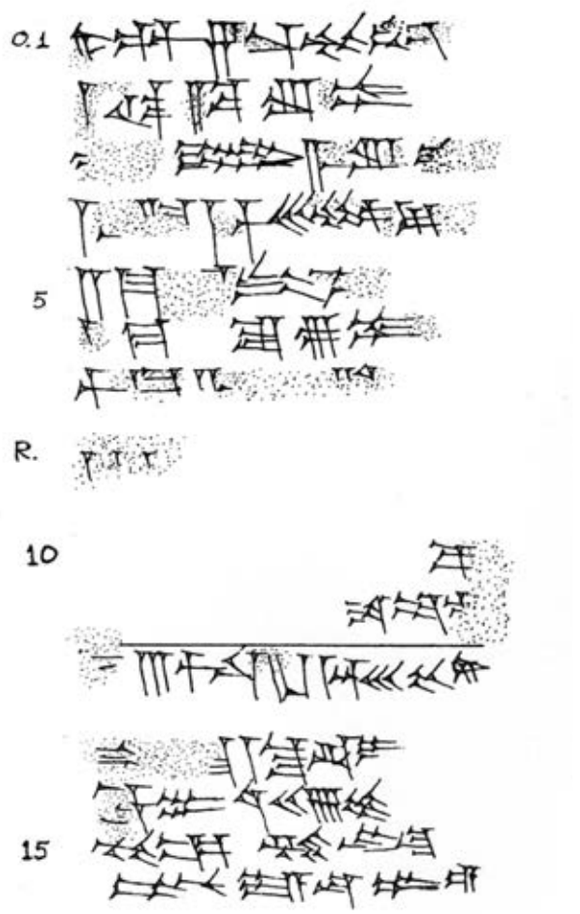


Figure 33.13. Hand copy of Text G.

Figure 33.14. Text H.

Figure 33.15. Text H (*continued*).

## ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| 1,2.3.4 | 1 *kurru*, 2 *pānu*, 3 *sūtu*, 4 *qû* |
| CAD | Martha T. Roth, ed., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. 21 vols. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956–2010 |
| KaE | Kadašman-Enlil |
| Kšt | Kaštiliašu |
| KuE | Kudur-Enlil |
| o | there is room for another sign |
| PBS | University of Pennsylvania, Publications of the Babylonian Section |
| ŠŠ | Šagarakti-Šuriaš |
| V | checkmark |
| x x x | the reading of the signs is not clear |
| xx | no data available |

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# 34 FROM A CALM SEA TO A DESOLATE DEPTH: A NEW INTERPRETATION OF *KU(WA)LI(U) ḪUNḪU(N)EŠŠAR*

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## DEDICATION

It is with great pleasure that I dedicate this essay to Theo, to whom I owe more than can be expressed in these few lines. Theo introduced me to the world of the Hittites and has continued to guide me ever since, even after his move from Amsterdam to Chicago. I could not have wished for a better supervisor; Theo is not only an exceptional scholar and inspiring teacher but also a great human being. His vast knowledge and intellect, combined with genuine curiosity, generosity, and open-mindedness, are an ongoing source of inspiration. The present study results from one of the many fruitful and enjoyable Hittitological discussions we had at the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (then the Oriental Institute), and I hope Theo can appreciate the outcome.[1]

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Hittite word *ḫunḫu(n)eššar* is usually translated as "wave" or "mass of water." In this essay, a different interpretation is proposed, namely, that this word means "depth," "abyss," or "cavity"—that is, something hollow below the surface, sometimes used metaphorically to refer to the sea. The adjective *ku(wa)li(u)-*, which is often used as its epithet, is to be understood as "empty" or "vacant."

## 2. *ḪUNḪU(N)EŠŠAR*

The Hittite word *ḫunḫu(n)eššar* (*ḫuwa(n)ḫueššar, ḫunḫeššar, ḫunḫuešna-*, henceforth *ḫ.*) is attested in a fair number of texts, including well-known ones such as the Myth of the Vanishing Deity, the Song of Ḫedammu, and the Tale of Illuyanka. This essay does not aim to discuss the various forms of this "unstable lexeme" (see Beckman 1982) but rather to readdress its meaning. The word *ḫ.* is generally taken to refer to a body of water; for example, HED and HW² translate it as "wave(s), seas, flow" and "etwa 'Wassermasse, Gewässer, Wasserflut, Welle, Woge,'" respectively.[2]

However, this meaning does not fit all attestations and sometimes leads to strained or unconvincing interpretations, as is the case in the following two examples.

1 I thank Heiner Eichner, Alwin Kloekhorst, Norbert Oettinger, Charles Steitler, and the editors of this volume for their valuable comments on this study. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for the views expressed here and any shortcomings that remain.

2 HED 3, 426; HW² III 721.

### 2.1. *ḪUNḪU(N)EŠŠAR* AS A SEAT FOR ANIMALS

The introduction of one of the Ambazzi rituals (KUB 53.50, CTH 463) starts with a number of conditional clauses listing events that can best be described as omens. The first omen concerns the behavior of bees:

1. KUB 53.50 obv. i 1–2 (CTH 463)
   1 [*UM-MA* $^{f}$*Am*$^{?}$*-ba*$^{?}$*-*]$^{r}$*az-zi* $^{\text{MUNUS}}$ŠU.GI *ma-a-an-za-kán* ˹NIM˺.LÀL
   2 [ *š*]*a-an e-ep-zi na-aš-ma-za-kán ḫu-un-ḫu-né-eš-šar* ˹DIB-*zi*˺

   [Thus speaks Amb]azzi, the Old Woman: when a bee takes a [ ], or it takes a *ḫ.*[3] (as its seat). . . .

The translation of *ḫ.* as "wave" or "mass of water" is highly problematic here. According to HW$^{2}$, the expression *epp-/app- + za* with object means "sich seinen Platz ergreifen/einnehmen (sich den Thron ergreifen)."[4] This meaning implies that a bee would take a wave or body of water as its seat, which is quite incredible.[5] Water is not the natural habitat of bees, and they cannot swim, let alone dwell on water—an ability that is restricted to the Gerridae species.[6]

One could argue that a phenomenon occurring in the protasis of an omen may not necessarily have to reflect a realistic event. However, all other omens mentioned in the introduction of this ritual concern events that are likely, or at least possible, to happen in real life. It therefore seems safe to assume that the event of a bee "taking" a *ḫ.* also refers to a phenomenon that could actually take place. As pointed out by Christiansen (2006, 299), almost all the omens listed concern the behavior of animals in and around houses and towns (animals falling or dying in bed, sitting on city walls or eaves, gutters, etc.). It is thus probable that *ḫ.* also refers to something that could exist in a domestic setting or in close proximity to residential areas, which is an additional reason to question the translation "wave."

The second problematic attestation occurs in the tablet inventory KBo 10.6, which lists the opening lines of an omen text. Here, *ḫ.* is used as a seat for an eagle:

2. KBo 10.6 obv. i 12–13 (CTH 276)
   12 [1 IM.GÍD.D]A$^{?}$ *ma-a-an-ša-an* TI$_{8}^{\text{MUŠEN}}$ É$^{\text{MEŠ}}$*-na-aš šu-uḫ-ḫi* [*e-ša-ri*]
   13 [*na-aš-ma*] *ḫu-un-ḫu-eš-ni e-ša-ri*

   [1 IM.GID.D]A$^{?}$. When an eagle [sits] on the roof of the house [or] he sits in a *ḫ.* . . .

The first part of the protasis describes a fairly normal phenomenon—an eagle sitting on the roof of a house—so one would expect the second also to represent a realistic event. If we translate *ḫ.* as "wave," however, the eagle would defy all laws of gravity by sitting on water.

The above examples make clear that the current translation of *ḫ.* as "wave" or "body of water" is untenable. I propose that this word does not refer to water but instead means "depth," "void," "abyss," or "cavity," that is, something hollow below the surface. This translation yields more credible scenarios for the above-discussed examples:

3 Christiansen 2006, 289, translates: "Wenn sich eine Biene [ ]x ergreift, oder sich eine Woge ergreift."

4 HW$^{2}$ II 63. For a discussion of the proposal of Beckman (1985, 144) to interpret this verb as "to sting" in this context, see Christiansen 2006, 304–5.

5 For a different view, see Christiansen (2006, 305), who remarks with respect to this passage "dass eine Biene die sich einer Woge bemächtigt, indem sie sich auf dieser niederlässt und auf ihr verweilt, als Zeichen interpretiert wurde, ist gut vorstellbar."

6 I should point out here that, long after this essay was submitted, scientists discovered by chance that the queen bees of at least one species of bumblebee can survive underwater for up to a week. However, they are certainly not in the habit of dwelling or nesting on water.

1. KUB 53.50 obv. i 1–2 (CTH 463)
   [Thus speaks Amb]azzi, the Old Woman: when a bee takes a [ ], or he takes a cavity/abyss (as his seat). . . .

2. KBo 10.6 obv. i 12–13 (CTH 276)
   [1 IM.GID.D]A?. When an eagle [sits] on the roof of the house [or] he sits in an abyss/depth. . . .

In the first example, this translation would mean that the bee has taken up a *ḫ.* as his nest, in all likelihood referring to a ground bee, a species known to nest in cavities or holes in the ground. As for the second example, although a depth, cave, or abyss may not be the first location to come to mind with respect to birds, it does represent a physical possibility, unlike sitting on water. It is not certain what kind of eagle is meant here, but some species, such as the golden eagle, are known to have nests on the ground as well as on roofs, as mentioned in the first part of the clause.[7]

### 2.2. *ḪUNḪU(N)EŠŠAR* IN RITUAL TEXTS

If we look at the use of *ḫ.* in ritual contexts, a translation as "depth" also yields a more elegant result than "wave" or "body of water":

3. KUB 36.89 obv. 27–28 (CTH 671)
   (They must say [to hi]m):
   27 DUMU $^{d}$*šu-li-kat-ti na-na-ku-uš-ši-ia-*[*an-ta*]*-za*[?] 4 *ḫal-ḫal-tu-ma-ra-za ḫa*[*l-l*]*u-u-wa-za*
   28 *ḫ*[*u-u-u*]*n-ḫu-e-eš-na-za* UGU *e-ḫu* EGIR*-pa-wa*[*-za* $^{URU}$*ne-ri-i*]*k-ki an-da-an ne-i-ia*

   "Son of Šulinkatti, from the four dark corners, from the de[e]p *ḫ.* come up! Turn again to the town of Nerik."

KUB 36.89 is a ritual to be performed when the Storm-god of Nerik has left Nerik and gone down into a hole (*ḫatteššar*). Several invocations are made to make him come up from the dark earth (obv. 18–21), the river (obv. 26), and the deep *ḫ.* (obv. 27). Beckman (1982) takes *ḫ.* to refer to underground waters. Although this interpretation is certainly possible, a much simpler explanation is that *ḫ.* refers to the depth from which the Storm-god must come back up.

### 2.3. *ḪUNḪU(N)EŠŠAR* IN LITERARY COMPOSITIONS

A translation as "depth" also fits the occurrences of *ḫ.* in literary compositions:[8]

4. KUB 24.7 rev. iii 25'–26' (CTH 363)
   (The cow opened her mouth like a lion and went after the child to eat it.)
   25' $GU_4$*-uš-za* ˹*šar*˺*-ḫu-*[*wa-an-da-še-et* ]
   26' *ḫu-u-wa-an-ḫu-e-šar ma-a-an ḫal-lu-wa-nu-ut*

   The cow made [her] inne[r parts] as deep as a *ḫ.*[9]

In the Story of the Cow and the Fisherman, the cow is horrified that she has given birth to a two-footed creature and decides to eat it. She opens her mouth like a lion and—if the restoration is correct—makes her inner parts deep like a *ḫ.* to make room for the child. The *tertium comparationis* is deepness, which makes a comparison with a depth or void much more adequate than with a wave or body of water.

7 The image of an eagle in a pit reminds one of the wounded eagle trapped in a well in the Story of Etana, but since KBo 10.6 appears to be an omen text and this story has not been attested in Ḫattuša, a literary allusion seems unlikely.

8 For discussion of *ḫ.* in the Tale of Illuyanka, see section 2.5 below.

9 HW$^{2}$ III 88: "Die Kuh machte den Bau[ch] tief wie eine Woge[?]"; see also Rieken et al. 2009a: "Die Kuh machte [ihr] Le[ibesinneres] tief wie eine Woge."

The word *ḫ.* is further attested in the Myth of the Vanishing Deity, in which the following search command is given:

5. KUB 17.10 obv. i 24'–26' (CTH 324)
24' . . . *i-it-wa-ra-aš-ta pár-ga-ma-uš*
25' ḪUR.SAG$^{\text{DIDLI.ḪI.A}}$ *ša-a-aḫ*
horizontal line
26' [*ḫa*]-*a-ri-i-uš-kán ḫal-lu-*[*w*]*a-*$^{\lceil}$*mu*$^{\rceil}$*-uš ša-a-aḫ ḫu-wa-an-ḫu-eš-šar-kán ku-wa-a-li-ú ša-a-aḫ*

Go search the high mountains, search the deep dales, search the *kuwaliu ḫ.*[10]

Several interpretations are possible here. One could take *ḫ.* "depth" to refer metaphorically to the sea (comparable to, e.g., English "the Blue Deep"[11]). However, it is also possible that *ḫ.* does not refer to the sea at all but instead to underground depths below the earth. In the karst landscape of Anatolia, there are countless gorges, cavities, mines, caves, and hollows. According to this interpretation, an order is given for a *land* search in the mountains, the valleys, and the hidden depths and caves. Although the idiomatic use of the binominal pair "and and sea" may be self-evident to us, the same may not necessarily have applied to the Hittites (see also section 4 below).

In the Song of Ullikummi, we encounter *ḫ.* in a scene in which the goddess Ištar is trying to seduce Ullikummi with her female charms. Out of the sea comes a warning that her attempts are in vain, as the stone monster is deaf and blind:

6. KUB 36.12 obv. ii 7'–8' (CTH 345)
7' *nu-kán a-ru-na-az ar-ḫa šal-li-iš ḫu-un-ḫu-eš-na*[*-aš* [12]]
8' GAL-*iš ḫu-un-ḫu-eš-na-aš A-NA* $^{\text{d}}$*IŠTAR me-mi-iš-ke-ez-zi*

And from the sea "the great (one)" of the *ḫ.* /in the *ḫ.*'s [ ]
"the great (one)" of the *ḫ.* /in the *ḫ.*'s speaks to Ištar.[13]

Although it is not entirely clear who is speaking here, *ḫ.* is likely to refer to the depths of the sea.[14] We find a similar use of *ḫ.* in the myth of Ḫedammu, unfortunately in a rather broken passage:[15]

7. KUB 33.86 obv ii 7–9 (CTH 348)
7 *nu-kán* $^{\text{MUŠ}}$*ḫé-dam-mu-uš d*[*a-*
8 [ ] *ḫu-u-wa-ḫu-eš-na-az* SAG.DU-*a*[*n*
9 *nu* $^{\text{d}}$*IŠTAR-in a-uš-ta*

Ḫedammu . . . [raised$^{?}$] his hea[d] from the *ḫ.* [ ] and saw Ištar.[16]

## 2.4. *ḪUNḪU(N)EŠŠAR* IN HYMNS AND PRAYERS

The following passage comes from a Hittite translation of a (lost) Akkadian prayer:

10 For the translation of *kuwaliu-*, see section 3 below.

11 Note that this is how Hoffner (1998, 15–22 and passim) translates *kuwaliu ḫ.* in this context.

12 As Petra Goedegebuure has kindly pointed out to me, there would be room here on the edge to complete a verb, possibly *ú-iz-zi*$^{?}$.

13 Note that some take the form *ḫ.* to be a nominative of *ḫuenḫuešna-*; see, e.g., HED 3, 427; Haas 2006, 165, Rieken et al. 2009b. In this interpretation, "the large depth" would be speaking.

14 As examples 8 and (probably) 9 below show, *ḫ.* may also refer to the *apsu.* In some Mesopotamian contexts, *apsu* may refer to the deep parts of the sea (Horowitz 1998, 340–41), which would be very fitting here.

15 Note that there is a possible trace of *ḫ.* in line 5: A$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$*-aš ḫal-lu-wa-aš ḫu-u*$^{?}$[*-wa-ḫu-eš-n*$^{\text{o}}$ ?]—"the d[epth$^{?}$] of the deep waters."

16 Siegelová 1971, 55: "Ḫedammu . . . [ ] aus der Woge den Kopf [hob$^{(?)}$]."

8. KBo 3.21 obv. ii 6–9 (CTH 313)
6 *li-iš-ši-ia-la-at-ta-ma ne-pí-ša-aš da-ga-an-zi-pa-aš-ša*
7 *ud-da-a-ar kat-ta-an ar-ḫa pé-e-tum-ma-an-zi*
8 $^{d}$É.A-*aš-kán ḫu-wa-an-ḫu-iš-ni ku-it ḫa-at-ri-i-e-eš-ša*
9 *an-da ki-id-da a-aš-šu* UZU *ḫu-wa-ap-pa-an-na* UZU
10 *ú-wa-an-na*

But the oracular (pertaining to the liver) words of Heaven and Earth are for you to take along/are to be taken to you, the order/message which is laid down in the *ḫ.* of Ea to see the favorable flesh (omina) and the unfavorable flesh (omina).[17]

It is generally agreed that *ḫ.* here refers to the *apsu*, the dwelling of the god Ea (see, e.g., Goetze 1948, 150; Beckman 1982, 23; Haas 2006, 250). The *apsu* is usually seen as a watery realm in the depths of the earth. In this particular case, *ḫ.* may refer not so much to the fact that the *apsu* is a mass of water as to the fact that it is a depth located below the earth.

The word is further attested in a Sumerian Ištar hymn, which is preserved in several fragments, including Hittite and Akkadian translations:[18]

9a. KUB 4.8 rev. 2'–4' (CTH 314)
2' [ ]x-*ta-ri*
3' [KU$_6$-*uš*]-*ša-kán ḫu-un-ḫu-eš-ni*
4' [*an-d*]*a ú-e-ri-te-eš-*<*ke->-ez-zi*

9b. KUB 4.5 + KBo 12.73 obv. 3'–4' (CTH 314)
3' KU$_6$-*uš-š*[*a-kán*] *ḫ*[*u-un-ḫu-eš-ni*]
4' *an-da ú-e-*[*ri-te-eš-ke-ez-zi*]

9c. KBo 12.72 obv. 1–2 (CTH 314)
1 [*nūnu ina gi-i*$^{?}$]*p-ši-š*[*u*$^{?}$] or: [*nūnu ina a*$^{?}$]*p-si*$_{17}$-*i*$^{?}$
2 [*i-ga*]*l-lu-ut*

The fish in the *ḫ.* (Akkadian: in the *gipšu/apsu*) becomes frightened.[19]

The Hittite version of this passage is (fragmentarily) preserved in KUB 4.8 (9a) and in KUB 4.5+ (9b), which may be parallel texts. KBo 12.72 (9c) contains the Akkadian version, of which lines 1–2 of the obverse seem to correspond to lines 3–4 of KUB 4.5+ (9b; cf. Klinger 2010, 320).

If KUB 4.8 and KUB 4.5 are indeed parallel texts, there would be a mention of fish (KU$_6$) in the *ḫ.* And if KBo 12.72 represents the Akkadian version, Hittite *ḫ.* would correspond to a damaged Akkadian word, which is usually restored as *gipšu.* The basic meaning of *gipšu* is "mass," "expense," or "might" (CAD G, 84–85 s.v. *gipšu*). The word may be used to refer to bodies of water, but not exclusively; it is also used to refer to military power.

A stimulating suggestion was made to me by Petra Goedegebuure, who pointed out that the sign traces in line 1 of KBo 12.72 also allow for a restoration as *a*$^{?}$]*p-ši*$_{17}$-*i*$^{?}$ instead of *gi-i*$^{?}$]*p-ši-š*[*u*$^{?}$]. This reading is attractive since *apsu*, in contrast to *gipšu*, is in fact attested in combination with fish (CAD A, 194 s.v. *apsû* 1.b'). In this case, *ḫ.* would refer to the depth of the *apsu*, just as in example 8 above.

Regardless of whether one reads *gipšu* or *apsu*, the presence of fish in the *ḫ.* would, at first glance, make an association between *ḫ.* and water attractive. One could argue that *ḫ.* "depth" is used here metaphorically, referring to deep waters. However, this use is not the only interpretation—and in fact not the most likely one—if we look at the wider context. The meaning of the passage is somewhat opaque, but it is clear that there has been a disturbance of the natural order:

17 Translation following CHD L–N, 72; cf. HW$^2$ III 722.

18 For text editions, see Klinger 2010; Schwemer 2001.

19 HED 3, 427, translates: "the fish moves fretfully in the waves."

The fish in the *ḫ.* (Akkadian: in the *gipšu/apsu*) becomes frightened,
the bird leaves its nest,
the fish, the living being (acc.), he brings to the people,
the cattle, the quadrupeds, goes around, as much as its width,
whose place no one knows.
The lord, who lives in abundance, the divine Iškur,
he lets it rain abundance from heaven,
he lets it rain abundance in the land,
in the uncultivated land the spring brings forth meadows and growth,
the corn in the furrows he lets grow
and in the rivers he lets the floods flow.
In its/his core he placed the fish [ ].[20]

At the beginning, the animals are in distress: the fish are fearful, the birds are leaving their nests, and the cattle appears to be restricted in its movement. Then the Storm-god lets it rain prosperity: the spring makes the lands green, the grain grows and floods are let into the rivers, and the fish are apparently placed back into the water.

The most plausible scenario is that there has been a period of drought, and all bodies of water have run dry, thus explaining why the fish are so anxious: they are fretting nervously in a dry "depth" without any water before being taken away. When it starts to rain again, water flows back into the rivers and the fish are returned.[21] If, however, one takes *ḫ.* to refer to a mass of water, it would mean that water was present both before and after the interference of Iškur, which does not explain the distress of the fish or why they are taken away, nor does it explain the importance of the fact that it starts to rain.

At this point, we may also discuss the related word *ḫunḫumazzi-*, which is used in a comparable context and seems to have a similar meaning as *ḫ.*[22]

### *2.4.1.* ḫunḫumazzi-

The word *ḫunḫumazzi-* is attested only in the ritual KBo 3.8 in the following contexts:

10a. KBo 3.8 rev iii 1–4 (CTH 390)
1 *šal-li-iš* ÍD-*aš ḫu-un-ḫu-ma-az-zi-ši-it ḫa-mi-i*[*k-ta*]
2 *na-aš-ta an-da* KU$_6$*-un I-NA ḫa-an-ti-ia-ra ú-i-ti*
3 *ḫa-mi-ik-ta* ḪUR.SAG$^{HI.A}$ *pár-ga-mu-uš ḫa-mi-ik-ta*
4 *ḫa-a-ri-uš* [*ḫal-*]*lu-ú-wa-u-uš ḫa-mi-ik-ta*

The great river has restric[ted] its *ḫunḫumazzi* and it has restricted the fish in *shallow* water.[23]
It has restricted the high mountains; it has restricted the deep valleys.

In the following, more animals—such as eagles, snakes, deer, and panthers—are restricted. The deity Kamrušipa is eventually sent to the river:

20 KUB 4.8, KUB 4.5+, and KBo 12.72 §§11''–22''. The translation is based on Schwemer 2001, 194; see also Klinger 2010, 321.

21 The fact that it is mentioned that the water flows back into the rivers would be an additional argument for restoring *apsu* rather than *gipšu* in line 1, as in some Mesopotamian contexs *apsu* may refer to the deep parts of rivers (Horowitz 1998, 338–39).

22 See HW$^2$ III 721.

23 The translation follows Kronasser 1961 and Oettinger 2004; differently, HW$^2$ III 721, and Haas 2003, 537, translate this sentence in the passive voice: "Der grosse Fluss [wurde] (Prs.) in bezug auf seine Welle/Wellen(?) gebunde[n]."

10b. KBo 3.8 rev iii 18–21

18 *nu ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi* $^{d}$*kam-ru-ši-pa-aš*
19 GAL-*in* ÍD-*an na-aš-ta an-da ḫa-an-ti-ia-ra* $KU_6$*-an ú-i-ti*
20 *ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi* GAL-*iš* ÍD *ḫu-un-ḫu-ma-az-<zi>-ši-it*
21 EGIR-*pa la-a-at-ta-at an-da* $KU_6$*-uš ḫa-an-ti-ia-ra-aš la-at-ta-at*

Kamrušipa conjures the Great River and she conjures the fish in the *shallow* water. The Great River, its *ḫunḫumazzi* was released again and in it the fish in the *shallows* / of the *shallow* was released.

The interpretation of these lines depends in large part on the translation of the word *ḫantiyara-*, which, apart from here, is attested only once in combination with horses.[24] The word has been most extensively discussed by Oettinger, who has suggested a meaning "niedrig" (Oettinger 2001, 86) and, later, "vorgelagert" (Oettinger 2007, 544). He rightly dismisses the interpretation of Haas (2002, 28; followed by Rieken 2004), who translates the expression $KU_6$*-un I-NA ḫa-an-ti-ia-ra* as "Fisch in Schädelknochen" = Schildkröte.[25]

The initial suggestion of Oettinger to interpret *ḫantiyara-* as "humble" or "shallow," qualifying the noun *wida-*, best fits the currently available evidence.[26] According to this interpretation, the fish are bound in a pool of shallow water until the depth of the water is released again.[27]

## 2.5. *ḪUNḪU(N)EŠŠAR/ḪUNḪEŠŠAR* IN UNCERTAIN CONTEXT

Finally, a number of attestations of *ḫ.* are too uncertain to allow any conclusions to be drawn regarding its meaning. In the Tale of Illuyanka, *ḫ.* is attested twice in an unclear and fragmentary context:

11. KBo 3.7 obv. ii 15'–20' (CTH 321)

15' $^{d}$*i-na-ra-aš I-NA* $^{URU}$*ki-iš-ki-l*[*u-uš-ša*]
16' [ ] É-*ŠU ḫu-un-ḫu-wa-an-na-aš*(-)*š*[*a*?
17' [ ] *QA-TI* LUGAL *ma-a-an da-a-i*[*š*
18' *ḫa-*[*an-t*]*e-ez-zi-ia-an pu-ru-ul-l*[*i-ia-an*?
19' *ku-it i-ia-u-e-ni Ù QA-AT* [
20' $^{d}$*i-na-ra-aš ḫu-un-ḫu-wa-na-aš*(-)*ša* x[

Inara [went?] to Kiški[lušša. . . . ] her house and? in the *ḫ.*'s / of the *ḫ.* . . [.
Like/when she placed (it?) in the hand of the king—because (of that) we are performing the first *purull*[*i* (festival)—and the hand [of the king? . . ] of Inara and? of the *ḫ.* / in the *ḫ.*'s of Inara?. . . [.

The word following *ḫ.* in line 20' (and in 16') is usually restored as ÍD, which is possible, but the sign traces also allow other restorations.[28] Since the *purulli* festival, of which this myth forms a part, is generally taken to be associated with the Hattian word for "earth" (Haas 1994, 696), one could propose that this unclear passage refers to the depths of the earth or the netherworld, but this is speculative.

Finally, *ḫ.* is attested in KUB 40.1, a letter addressed to the Hittite king, apparently by one of his officials:

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24 For this attestation, see HW² III 192.

25 To his objections, one may add that the presence of turtles is unlikely in this context. The text describes the consequences of the restriction of the rivers for its inhabitants, of which the most iconic ones are undoubtedly fish, not turtles. In present-day Turkey, no turtles live in the river Kızılırmak; only (land-living) tortoises occur in this region. Even though this situation may have been different in antiquity, the turtle would certainly not have been the first animal to come to mind when thinking of river fauna. One also wonders whether the expression "fish in cranial bones" is a likely description of a turtle, as these animals do not really resemble fish but look more like tortoises or other reptiles.

26 For *wida-* "water," see Kloekhorst 2008, 1015, where this passage is also discussed.

27 Oettinger has abandoned this interpretation, since the etymology he had proposed proved to be invalid (Oettinger 2007, 543). However, the new etymological proposal connecting *ḫantiyara-* with *ḫant-*, though possible, is certainly not conclusive.

28 See Beckman 1982, 14; Rieken et al. 2012.

12. KUB 40.1 rev.! 11 (CTH 203)
11 [ ] *ḫu-u-un-ḫu-e-eš-ni kat-ta-an-da ú-wa-nu-un*

I have come down into a *ḫ.*[29]

The letter has come down to us only fragmentarily, but from the preserved portions one can tell that the author stands accused of some offense and is anxious to convince the king of his innocence. The word *ḫ.* occurs in an uncertain and damaged context, and it is not clear how it should be understood. One could speculate that *ḫ.* is used metaphorically to express the author's low and depressed state (cf. English "to be down/in the pits" or "to hit rock bottom"). Regardless of its precise meaning, the context certainly does not demand a translation "body of water" or "wave."[30]

### 2.6. SUMMARY

The translation of *ḫ.* as "wave" or "body of water" is highly problematic in examples 1 and 2, making it clear that its meaning must be reconsidered. I have here proposed that *ḫ.* refers to something hollow below the surface—a "depth," "abyss," or "cavity." This translation fits examples 1 and 2, and in all other attestations it yields a more elegant translation, or one at least just as likely as the meaning "wave" or "body of water."

As the foregoing discussion has shown, the word often occurs in contexts mentioning water, which is undoubtedly the reason *ḫ.* has previously been interpreted as referring to some form of water. The fact that water and *ḫ.* are frequently used together is certainly of interest and, in fact, further supports the proposed new translation. The words "depth" and "water" belong to related semantic domains, and collocation of these terms is to be expected (just as with, e.g., the words "bird" and "to fly").

In addition, the translation of *ḫ.* as "depth" has another important advantage: it obviates having to assume a different meaning for the adjective *kuwali(u)* when it is used in combination with *ḫ.*

## 3. *KU(WA)LI(U)-* AND COGNATES

As mentioned above, the noun *ḫ.* is sometimes accompanied by the adjective *ku(wa)li(u)-*. This adjective also occurs in archaic legal idiom relating to fields, where it is usually translated as "vacant," "unused," "fallow," or "ownerless." This meaning is confirmed by the fact that in later versions of the Hittite Laws the word is sometimes replaced by the adjective *ḫarkant-* "lapsed" or "expired" (i.e., ownerless).[31]

When used as an epithet of *ḫ.*, *ku(wa)li(u)-* has been interpreted as "flowing (smoothly)," "soothing," "calm," "quiescent," or "pacific" (*HED* 4, 303), because the meaning "vacant" (*vel sim.*) cannot be combined with "wave" or "mass of water."

However, if one accepts my proposed new translation of *ḫ.*, it is no longer necessary to assume two meanings of *ku(wa)li(u)-*, because an adjective meaning "hollow" or "vacant" can be combined with "depth" without any problems—in fact, these terms go together very well.[32]

If we look at cognates of *ku(wa)li(u)-*, it appears that the meaning "empty" or "vacant" seems possible in all attestations, although the contexts are often uncertain and/or broken.[33] The verb *ku(wa)lieššš-* may thus mean "to become empty" and the verb *ku(wa)laḫḫ-* "to make empty"; for example:

29 Hoffner (2009, 359) translates: "I have come down into the deep waters of. . . ."

30 In addition, as kindly suggested to me by Prof. Eichner, we may mention the possible Palaic cognate *ḫuanḫuani-*, which seems to refer to an unknown body part of a sacrificial animal that apparently may accumulate fat (for discussion, see Eichner 2010, 52–53). If we are indeed dealing with related words here, it would not impede, but rather confirm, the above-suggested new interpretation of *ḫ.*, as some body parts may be described as holes or cavities (think, e.g., of vulgarisms for the anus), whereas an association with waves or bodies of water is less evident.

31 See HED 4, 304: "vacant, unused, fallow, ownerless" with respect to fields in legal idiom; Beal (1988) has proposed translating "inactive, non-productive, pacific."

32 Note that the attestation *ku*]-*li-i-ú-ma wa-a-*[*tar*] quoted in HED 4, 303–4, is almost entirely based on restoration.

33 For attestations, see HED 4, 303–5.

13. KBo 15.30 obv. ii 1–2 (CTH 458)
1 *ki-iš-nu-nu-un* $^{d}$IM-*na-ta* ZI-*KA QA-TAM-MA*
2 *ku-li-ia-e-eš-du*

[as] I have extinguished, may your soul likewise be *emptied/vacant*, O Storm-god.[34]

The noun *kuleššar* has so far been attested only once, in the Akkadian text The Siege of Uršu:

14. KBo 1.11 rev. 17–18 (CTH 7)
17 ku-le-e-eš-šar MU.IM.MA $^{m}$*tu-ut-ḫa-li-ia*
18 *i-pu-uš i-na-an-na at-ta te-pu-uš ku-la-ú-tam*

Last year, Tudḫaliya has shown/performed *kuleššar*; now you have shown/performed *kula'ūtum.*

The Hittite noun *kuleššar* is usually connected to Akkadian *kula'ūtum* in the next line—an abstract noun derived from *kulu'u*, a cultic official. His precise function is debated, but he fulfilled an effeminate role in the cult of Ištar and may have been a eunuch or homosexual.[35]

The passage has been understood as an offensive reference to (passive) homosexual behavior.[36] Puhvel (HED 4, 303) has plausibly suggested that this bilingual insult may have been inspired by the chance homophonic similarity of *kuleššar* and *kula'ūtum.* If the basic meaning of *kuleššar* is "vacancy" or "emptiness," it could here refer to idle or indolent behavior of Tudḫaliya that was deemed weak and unmanly. It is of further interest that a person named Kul(i)et is mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Could *kuleššar* perhaps (also) be a pun hinting at a possible relationship between this man and Tudḫaliya?

## 4. *COMPLENTUR VALLESQUE CAVAE SALTUSQUE PROFUNDI*

In the above, it has been argued that *ḫ.* means "depth" and the adjective *ku(wa)li(u)-* "desolate" or "empty." If we now return to example 5 above, the expression *ku(wa)li(u)- ḫ.* may be translated as follows:

15. KUB 17.10 obv. i 24'–26' (CTH 324)
24' . . . *i-it-wa-ra-aš-ta pár-ga-ma-uš*
25' ḪUR.SAG$^{DIDLIḪI.A}$ *ša-a-aḫ*
horizontal line
26' [*ḫa*]-*a-ri-i-uš-kán ḫal-lu-*[*w*]*a-*ʿ*mu*ʾ*-uš ša-a-aḫ ḫu-wa-an-ḫu-eš-šar-kán ku-wa-a-li-ú ša-a-aḫ*

Go search the high mountains, search the deep dales, search the *hollow deep(s)/desolate depth(s).*

As mentioned above, if one thinks of the Anatolian landscape, a search in mountains, dales, and gorges is quite plausible. In view of the new interpretation of *ku(wa)li(u)- ḫ.*, however, I conclude here by briefly speculating on a different meaning of the two preceding words, *hariyuš ḫalluwamuš*, which might yield an even more satisfying result.

The word *ḫariya-* is generally taken to mean "dale" or "valley." This word is mostly attested in tandem with high mountains (ḪUR.SAG$^{ḪI.A}$ *pár-ga-ma-uš*), as in example 5 above. In addition, it occurs in combination with meadows, rivers, seas, shores, springs, and roads.[37] The combination of high mountains and deep dales may be an appealing and familiar literary pair for us, but as already mentioned, one should be careful to project modern aphorisms to ancient times. In the second millennium BCE, Anatolia was in large part densely covered with trees, and—apart from the rocky outcrops and caves—forests were undoubtedly

34 Cf. also KBo 15.30 rev. iii 6–7.

35 See Peled 2010, 78, for discussion and references.

36 See, e.g., HED 4, 303; Peled 2010, 78; Gilan 2015, 278–95; but differently Beckman (1995, 26), who translates "Last year, Tudḫaliya engaged in hesitation, now you have engaged in hesitation."

37 For attestations, see HW$^{2}$ III 275–78; HED 3, 143–44.

prominent features in the landscape. It is therefore remarkable that they appear to be virtually absent from Hittite texts.

It has been proposed that the Hittite word for forest is *warḫuizna-* or *warḫueššar* (Sumerogram $^{GIŠ}$TIR).[38] However, the precise meaning of these words is uncertain. The nouns *warḫuizna-* and *warḫueššar* are taken to be derived from the adjective *warḫui-*. This adjective is often attested in the meaning "raw," "untreated," or "rough" (HEG IV 318–20). It is therefore appealing to assume that the basic meanings of the nouns *warḫuizna-* and *warḫueššar* are "wilderness" or "wasteland"—that is, uncultivated, pristine, or inhospitable territory.[39] This meaning may also have included forests, but not exclusively.

In light of the above, it might be worthwhile to entertain the possibility that *ḫariya-*, which lacks a secure etymology, does not mean "dale" or "valley" but rather "woodland" or "forest."[40] It is often accompanied by the adjective "deep" (*ḫalluwa-*), which is equally suited to describe both valleys and forests. As the verse *complentur vallesque cavae saltusque profundi* in Virgil's *Georgica* (2.391, quoted by Puhvel in HED 3, 144) eloquently demonstrates, a juxtaposition of "hollow valleys" and "deep forests" was, at least in Roman antiquity, not inconceivable. This suggestion obviously deserves further study, but in any case it is clear that the vanishing deity was not to be looked for on the sea—rather, an in-depth land search was required.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

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38 See Oettinger 2002; HEG IV 318–20.

39 Note that Oettinger (2002, 257) suggests "dicht belaubt/behaart/befiedert" as the basic meaning of this adjective.

40 For etymological proposals, see HED 3, 144.

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# 35 DAS KULTINVENTAR KuT 60 AUS ŠARIŠŠA

Gernot Wilhelm
*Veitshöchheim*

## 1. EINLEITUNG

In dem Bericht über die Keilschriftfunde der 9. Grabungskampagne in Kuşaklı hatte Verf. in Hinsicht auf die „Frage, in welchem Umfang in Anatolien mit ungebrannten Tontafeln zu rechnen“ sei, auf ein „größeres Stück einer Tafel (KuT 60)“ verwiesen, das „teilweise gut gebrannt ist“, an das aber „ungebrannte Fragmente angefügt werden konnten, so dass geschlossen werden darf, dass die Tafel ursprünglich ungebrannt war und erst nach der Fragmentierung teilweise in einem Schadenfeuer gebrannt wurde“ (Wilhelm 2002, 351).

In Mesopotamien wurden Tontafeln, insbesondere solche von ephemerer Bedeutung, luftgetrocknet und nur in selteneren Fällen durch Brand gehärtet.[1] Allerdings sind sehr viele ursprünglich luftgetrocknete Tafeln im Museum, manchmal auch bereits in der Grabung, gebrannt worden.[2] In Anatolien ist der Befund erheblich weniger klar. Fast alle bisher ausgegrabenen Fragmente hethitischer Tontafeln sind gebrannt, sie stammen aber zumeist aus Gebäuden, die durch Brand zerstört wurden, so dass es zumindest möglich ist, dass die Tafeln erst bei dieser Gelegenheit gebrannt wurden. Kurt Bittel nahm allerdings als selbstverständlich an, dass „sämtliche Tafeln . . . primär gebrannt“ waren (Bittel und Naumann 1952, 55; s. auch Bittel 1983, 22; 1950–51, 169). In eine andere Richtung führte die von Güterbock (1933, 51) mitgeteilte Beobachtung, dass „88 Tontafelbruchstücke“, die „nördlich von dem ‚Archivgebäude‘“ (Gebäude A auf Büyükkale) in einer Mauerfüllung gefunden wurden, „alle . . . bedeutend schwächer gebrannt“ waren „als die Tafeln aus dem großen Magazingebäude“ (= Gebäude A), welches nach Bittel (1932, 17) in einer „Brandkatastrophe“ zerstört wurde, bei der „durch das Feuer auch die Ziegel der Lehmmauer rot gebrannt“ wurden.

Der Jubilar hat hierzu unlängst – auch unter Hinweis auf KuT 60 – die folgende Aussage getroffen (van den Hout 2011, 52):

> Little to nothing is known about the deliberate firing of tablets in antiquity. It is certain that many tablets were simply sun-dried and got baked only secondarily when the building in which they were kept was destroyed by fire. Some tablets, however, show deliberate holes that have been explained as keeping the tablets from bursting while being fired. . . . But what the criterion was for deliberate firing remains unknown.[3]

Verf. teilt diese Auffassung und freut sich, als Beitrag zu der Festschrift für Theo van den Hout, dem er seit vielen Jahren freundschaftlich verbunden ist, eine erste kommentierte Umschrift von KuT 60 vorlegen und den Sachverhalt von Joins zwischen einer gebrannten Tafel und zwei ungebrannten Fragmenten durch ein Photo dokumentieren zu können.

1 S. z.B. Walker 1987, 22; 2014, 101; Gütschow 2012, 41–45.

2 Für diese Praxis in Nuzi und den dabei benutzten Brennofen s. Starr 1996, 23–24, 26.

3 Ähnlich, aber weniger dezidiert Seeher 2003, 10; Beckman 2014, 105, §4; Waal 2015, 41–43.

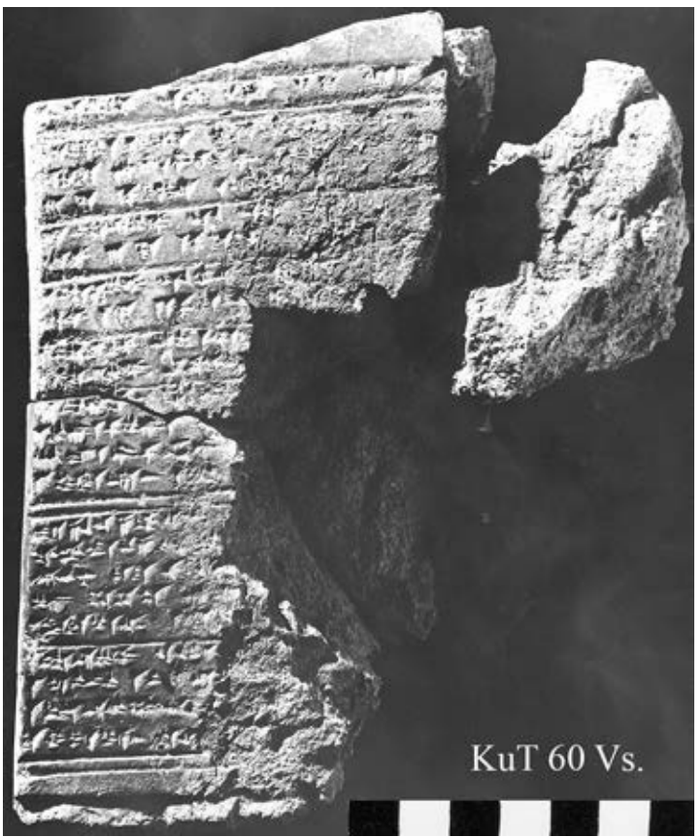


Abb. 35.1. KuT 60, Vorderseite (ohne ungebrannte Anschlussstücke).

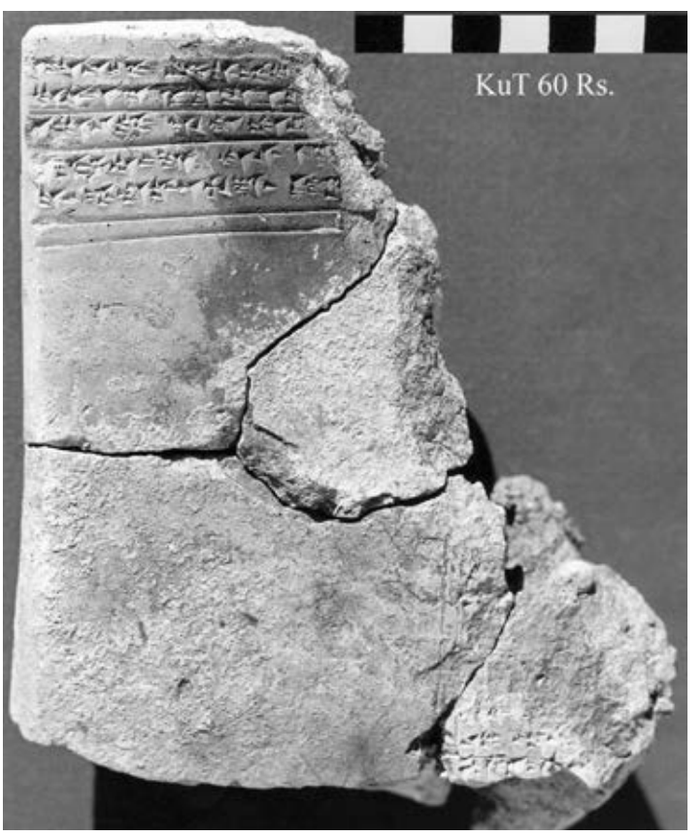


Abb. 35.2. KuT 60, Rückseite.

KuT 60 wurde 2001 auf der Kuppe von Kuşaklı südlich des Gebäudes D gefunden (Müller-Karpe 2002, 334–36; 2004, 104–5). Nach den Zeichenformen (LI, AL, Ḫ A, TE, URU) stammt die Tafel aus der späten Großreichszeit. Es handelt sich um eine vierkolumnige Tafel, von der 23 Zeilen der Kolumne I und 5 Zeilen der Kolumne IV bis auf die Zeilenenden erhalten sind. Vom unteren Teil der Kolumne III sind Zeichenspuren und einige wenige Zeichen von 3 Zeilenanfängen erhalten. Der Kolumnentrenner ist mit ca. 4 mm sehr schmal.

Die Vorderseite der Tafel ist rötlich gebrannt, im oberen Teil ist der Überzug (wohl aus feinerem Ton) zur Tafelmitte hin großenteils abgeplatzt, im unteren Teil ist die Oberfläche ebenso wie ein Teil der Rückseite geschwärzt. Die Photos Abb. 35.1 und Abb. 35.2 wurden vor Anfügung der ungebrannten Fragmente aufgenommen, für letztere s. Photo Abb. 35.3. Die Oberfläche der ungebrannten Fragmente ist wesentlich schlechter erhalten als die der gebrannten.

Abb. 35.3. KuT 60, Vorderseite: Ausschnitt mit zwei angelegten ungebrannten Fragmenten.

Die durch Doppelstriche abgeteilten „Kapitel“ beginnen mit der Nennung einer Stadt (Vs. I 2', 15'). Die „Kapitel“ sind durch einfache Linien in Abschnitte unterteilt, die jeweils wesentliche Merkmale des Kultes einer oder mehrerer Gottheiten stichwortartig beschreiben. Fast alle Götter werden in Form eines *ḫuwaši*-Steins verehrt, eine Ausnahme macht die Quelle Kaštama, die ein ALAM – nach den angegebenen Maßen wohl als „Statuette“ zu verstehen – besitzt. Wegen des fragmentarischen Erhaltungszustands der Tafel sind mit Ausnahme von Vs. I 14', wo von zwei Festen – Winter- und Frühlingsfest – die Rede ist, nur Hinweise auf ein Fest, und zwar das Frühlingsfest erhalten (Vs. I 6', 8', 19'; Rs. IV 2', 4'). Da zwei Feste den „Minimalstandard“ eines Kultes darstellen (Cammarosano 2015, 205 mit n24), ist damit zu rechnen, dass in den Lücken jeweils das zweite Fest genannt ist. Dass dies wie in Vs. I 14' jeweils ein Winterfest ist, ist unwahrscheinlich, weil das Herbstfest (EZEN$_4$ *zenaš*) den Regelfall darstellt.

## 2. TRANSKRIPTION[4]

Vs. I Anfang abgebrochen

1' ⌜1 $^{NA4}$ZI.KIN⌝ $^{D}$U?.⌜GUR⌝? ⌜*DI*$_{12}$-*ŠI*⌝? 2 UDU KI.MIN x[

2' $^{[U]RU}$x-x-⌜*ku*?-*i*?-*ša*⌝ ⌜EZEN$_4$⌝? ⌜*ma*⌝?-⌜*aḫ*⌝??-[

3' 1 EZEN$_4$ ŠÀ ⌜É⌝ $^{LÚ}$MÁŠDA[ (Zeichenspuren)

4' 3 UDU 1 PA ZÌ.DA 1 ⌜DUG⌝ x[ (Zeichenspuren)

5' 3 $^{NA4}$ZI.KIN $^{D}$10 $^{D}$UTU [$^{D}$KAL? (Zeichenspuren)

6' ⌜*DI*$_{12}$⌝-*ŠI* 3 UDU 1 PA ZÌ.DA[ (Zeichenspuren)

4 Mein herzlicher Dank für wertvolle Hinweise geht an Michele Cammarosano, der sich bereits in seiner Dissertation den hethitischen Kultinventaren gewidmet und an der Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg das Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft–geförderte Projekt „Philologische Bearbeitung, digitale Edition und systematische Analyse der hethitischen Kultinventare (CTH 501–530)“ bearbeitet hat. Joost Hazenbos danke ich für die gründliche Durchsicht meines Manuskripts und wichtige Hinweise.

7' 1 $^{NA4}$ZI.KIN $^{D}$10 *ḫar-š*[*i-ḫar-ši-ia-aš*
8' *DI*$_{12}$*-ŠI* 1 UDU 2 PA ZÌ.DA[ (Zeichenspuren)

---

9' 1 $^{NA4r}$ZI.KIN$^{\rceil}$ $^{Dr}$EREŠ.KI$^{\rceil}$.G[AL
10' $^{\lceil}$1$^{\rceil}$ $^{NA4}$ZI.KIN $^{\lceil D\rceil}$x[

---

11' $^{\lceil PÚ\rceil}$*Kaš-*$^{\lceil}$*ta-ma* $^{\rceil}$ ALA[M] x[
12' 1 *še-kán ½ še-kán* x[
13' ŠÀ É $^{LÚ}$MÁŠDA[
14' 1 EZEN$_4$ SÈD-*aš* 1 EZ[EN$_4$ *DI*$_{12}$*-ŠI*

---

15' $^{URU}$*Ḫa-an-za-al-wa-*$^{\lceil}$*aš*$^{\rceil}$ [
16' *wa-al-la-an-za* x x x[
17' DINGIR$^{MEŠ}$*-tar* $^{GIŠ}$TUKUL *ši-it-t*[*ar-*
18' *še-er* TI$_8^{MUŠEN}$ GIŠ [
19' 1 EZEN$_4$ *DI*$_{12}$*-ŠI* 1 EZ[EN$_4^{?}$

---

20' $^{\lceil}$1$^{\rceil}$ $^{NA4}$ZI.KIN $^{D}$10 $^{URU}$[
21' 1 DUG KAŠ 1 $^{NA4}$Z[I.KIN
22' 1 $^{NA4}$ZI.KIN $^{D}$10 [
23' $^{PÚ\ sic!}$*I-ia-ia-aš DI*$_{12}$*-ŠI*[

---

(Rand)

Rs. III (geringe Reste)

Rs. IV
1' 1 $^{NA4}$ZI.KIN $^{D}$*Za-wa-al-l*[*i*
2' *DI*$_{12}$*-ŠI* 1 UDU 1 PA ZÌ.DA 1 DU[G

---

3' 1 $^{NA4}$ZI.KIN $^{D}$10 $^{URU}$*Ne-ri*[*-ik*

---

4' $^{[Í]D}$*<Ku->*$^{?}$*un-na-ni-ia DI*$_{12}$*-ŠI* 1 UDU[
5' $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*al-la-wa-an-ti-ia-aš pa-ra-*$^{\lceil}$*a*$^{\rceil}$[

---

(Rest unbeschrieben)

## 3. ÜBERSETZUNG

Vs. I 1' 1 *ḫuwaši* des Gottes U.GUR$^{?}$, im Frühling 2 Schafe desgl., [. . .].

---

2'–4' (Stadt) . . .kuiša$^{?}$: Fest . . .(. . .), 1 Fest(,) im Haus eines *muškēnu* [. . .] 3 Schafe, 1 *PARĪSU* Mehl, 1 Krug . . . [. . .]

5'–6' 3 *ḫuwaši* des Wettergottes, des Sonnengottes [(und) des Hirschgottes$^{?}$, 1 Fest$^{?}$] Im Frühling 3 Schafe, 1 *PARĪSU* Mehl, 1 Krug . . .[. . .]

7'–8' 1 *ḫuwaši* des Wettergottes des Gewit[ters, . . . 1 Fest$^{?}$] im Frühling 1 Schaf, 2 *PARĪSU* Mehl [. . .]

9'–10' 1 *ḫuwaši* der Ereškig[al. . .]
1 *ḫuwaši* (der Gottheit) [. . .]

11'–14' (Quelle) Kaštama$^{?}$, Bildnis [. . .], 1½ *šekan*, [. . .]

im Haus eines armen Mannes,
1 Winterfest, 1 [Frühlingsfe]st [. . .]

15'–19' (Stadt) Ḫanzalwa: [. . .] eine Keule[?] (*wallanza*)[5] [. . .] ein Götterbild, eine Waffe, eine Sonnensch[eibe, . . . ,]

20'–23' 1 *ḫuwaši* des Wettergottes (der Stadt) [. . .], 1 Krug Bier, 1 *ḫu*[*waši* . . .], 1 *ḫuwaši* des Wettergottes [. . .], Iyaya im Frühling [. . .]

Rs. IV 1'–2' 1 *ḫuwaši* der (Gottheit) Zawall[i . . . ein Fest(?)] im Frühling 1 Schaf, 1 *PARĪSU* Mehl, 1 Kru[g . . .]

3' 1 *ḫuwaši* des Wettergottes von Neri[k . . .]

4'–5' (Flussgottheit) <Ku>[?]nnaniya, im Frühling ein Schaf [. . .], a.-Leute [. . .] heraus.

## 4. KOMMENTAR

Vs. I 1': Für $^{D}$U.GUR in einem Kultinventar s. KBo 26.149 8' (Hazenbos 2003, 68).

3', 13': ŠÀ É $^{LÚ}$MÁŠDA „im Haus eines *muškēnu*“ könnte sich auf den Ort der Festhandlung beziehen, wofür das Ritual für die „Tage des *lela-*“ (*le-e-la-aš* UD.KAM$^{HI.A}$) KUB 9.15 II 24'ff. eine Parallele bietet; in Rs. III 9–23 findet sich die Anweisung, dass das Ritual für den Sohn des Wettergottes im Haus eines *muškēnu* stattfinden soll, wenn weder ein entsprechender Tempel noch ein Gebäude des Königs vorhanden ist.[6] Es könnte sich jedoch auch um die Anweisung handeln, Opfergaben im Haus eines *muškēnu* zu requirieren, wie dies in dem Kultinventar in Protokollform KUB 30.37 I 10–13, einer späten Abschrift der bereits in mittelhethitischer Zeit niedergeschriebenen Tafel KUB 12.36, beschrieben ist.[7] $^{LÚ}$MÁŠDA bezeichnet in akkadischen und hethitischen Texten aus Boğazköy nach jüngerem akkadischen Brauch zumeist den „Armen“ (auch „Verarmten“, „Verelendeten“). In Ritualen wird bei der Bereitstellung von Opfertieren und Zerealien öfter zwischen den Leistungen eines Begüterten oder Reichen und denen eines $^{LÚ}$MÁŠDA unterschieden, in einem Falle hat der erstere einen (lebenden) Esel zu stellen, der Arme dagegen nur einen Esel aus Ton. Im vorliegenden sowie in einigen weiteren Fällen passt diese Bedeutung allerdings nicht gut zu dem Zusammenhang, vielmehr handelt es sich dort um Personen, die zumindest einen Nutzungstitel an Ackerland haben und in einem Falle anscheinend eine Bindung an den Palast haben.[8]

4': Das Zeichen nach DUG könnte KA sein; DUG KA.GAG(.A) ist in der Regel mit der Zahl 1 verbunden.

5': Für eine längere Aufzählung von Gottheiten, die in Form von *ḫuwaši* verehrt werden und an deren Spitze der Wettergott und der Sonnengott stehen, s. KUB 38.6 I 13' und sonst; s. Cammarosano 2015, 211–14, 217–19.

7': Zu $^{D}$10 *ḫaršiḫaršiyaš* vgl. KUB 7.24+58.29 IV 8' (Hazenbos 2003, 28), KUB 25.23+ IV 45', 62' (Hazenbos 2003, 34–35; für die Textanschlüsse s. Košak, hethiter.net/: hetkonk [v.1.96] unter 677/v). Den Vorschlag zu dieser Lesung verdanke ich M. Cammarosano.

5 Zu *walla-* „Keule“ s. Tischler 1995.

6 KUB 9.15 III 17–20: *mān-kan* ŠÀ URU$^{LIM}$*-ma* É.DINGIR$^{LIM}$ É.LUGAL *Ú-UL kuitki ēšzi nu-šmaš* É $^{LÚ}$MÁŠDA *kuitki šešḫanzi* „Wenn in der Stadt aber ein Tempel oder ein Haus des Königs gar nicht vorhanden ist, werden sie sich irgendein Haus eines *muškēnu* aussuchen . . . “, s. Souçek 1963, 375–76; Taggar-Cohen 2006, 18–20; CHD Š, 450–51.

7 KUB 30.37 I 10–12: *nu-šši mān* [EZEN$_4$ *g*]*emi kuwapi iyanzi nu* $^{L}$[$^{Ú.MEŠ?}$. . . ŠÀ/*IŠTU*] É$^{ḪI.A}$ $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MÁŠDA *kī d*[*anzi*] „Und wenn man ihm irgendwann das Winterfest feiert, neh[men] die [. . .-]Leute in/aus den Häusern der *muškēnu* diese (Dinge):“, s. Hazenbos 2003, 142–43; zum Text s. zuletzt Cammarosano 2013, 93.

8 Souçek 1963, 371–82; zu den $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MÁŠDA in den Feldertexten s. 374–75. Für eine umfassende Darstellung der $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MÁŠDA in der altbabylonischen Zeit s. zuletzt von Dassow 2014.

9': Lesung folgt einem Vorschlag von M. Cammarosano; in dem von ihm edierten Kultinventar CTH 510.1 ist Ereškigal in mehreren Städten bezeugt, s. Hazenbos 2003, 28, KUB VII 24 + KUB LVIII 29 iv 2′ (Ortschaft Hawalkina?) und 99, KBo XXXIX 48 iv 3′ (Ortschaft unbekannt) sowie Cammarosano 2015, 212ff., §7', A I 24'//B I 36'; §8', A I 30'//B I 42'; §9', A I 33'//B I 45'; §16', B II 53.

11'–12': J. Hazenbos weist mich dankenswerterweise auf die Quellgottheit $^{PÚ}$Kaštama KUB LVI 51 i 16 (s. del Monte und Tischler 1978, 534, zitiert als Bo 2622). Die Lesung ⸢$^{PÚ}$⸣*Kaš-*⸢*ta-ma*?⸣ setzt allerdings voraus, dass der Abstand zwischen TA und MA ungewöhnlich gering ist. In der abgebrochenen zweiten Hälfte der Zeile könnte nach Parallelen die Angabe MUNUS TUŠ-*aš/za* „sitzende Frau“ (KBo 2.1 I 39; s. Carter 1962, 53; KUB 17.35 III 23, s. Carter 1962, 130) und eine Materialangabe wie AN.BAR „Eisen“ (z.B. KBo 2.1 II 14, 34; s. Carter 1962, 54–55) oder GIŠ KÙ+BABBAR GAR.RA „mit Silber überzogenes Holz“ (z.B. KUB 38.1 I 11'; s. Brandenstein 1943, 10) stehen. Die Statuette mit einer Höhe von 1½ *šekan* ist verhältnismäßig klein (ca. 15 cm?; s. van den Hout 1990, 518–19), was wohl auf ein wertvolles Material schließen lässt.

14': Ein Winterfest (EZEN$_4$ SÈD-*aš*) ist auch in dem Kultinventar KBo 2.8 IV 6' (Hazenbos 2003, 136) belegt; s. auch KUB 30.37+ I 9–10 (Hazenbos 2003, 143): *nu-šši* 2 EZEN$_4^{ḪIA}$ *iššanzi* 1 EZEN$_4$ *INA gemi* 1 EZEN$_4$*-ma-šši ḫamešḫi iššanzi* „Man feiert ihm (dem Gott Šulikatti) zwei Feste, ein Fest im Winter, ein Fest aber feiert man ihm im Frühling.“

15': Die Stadt Ḫanzalwa ist anderweitig nicht bezeugt.

17': Für die Ergänzung der Zeile cf. 1 $^{GIŠ}$TUKUL *šittarraza* U$_4$.SAKAR-*za unuwanza* „Eine Waffe ist mit einer Sonnenscheibe (und) einer Mondsichel geschmückt“ KBo 2.1 I 35, so auch I 9, II 13–14, III 14–15 (Carter 1962, 51–52, 54, 56), KBo 2.16 Vs. 12' (s. Hazenbos 2003, 116).

18': Zu vergleichen ist (nach Hinweis Cammarosano) KUB 38.26(+)27 Rs. 16: UGU TI$_8^{MUŠEN}$ AN.BAR GAM U[R.MAḪ GIŠ DÙ-*an-zi* „Oben [machen sie] einen Adler aus Eisen, unten einen Lö[wen aus Holz].“

23': Die Göttin Iyaya wird hier im Rahmen eines Frühlingsfestes verehrt. In anderen Orten geschieht dies in Herbstfesten; s. KUB 57.97 I (Hazenbos 2003, 63–64; Stadtname nicht erhalten, Herbstfest), KUB 57.108+ III 14–15 (Hazenbos 2003, 105; Stadt: Wannada), VSNF 12.111 Vs. 3'–9' (Hazenbos 2003, 57; Stadtname nicht erhalten, Herbstfest), VSNF 12.111 Rs. 7–16 (Hazenbos 2003, 58–59; Stadt: Anniteššа, Herbstfest). Beschreibungen von Iyaya-Statuetten in Lapana und Tiura bieten KUB 38.1 IV 1–14 (Brandenstein 1943, 14) sowie einer solchen in Tapparuta KUB 38.10 III 13' (Cammarosano 2015, 220–21, Zeile 33'').

Rs. IV 1': Die Determination mit $^{PÚ}$ ist wohl ein Versehen, der Name Zawalli ist sonst mit $^{D}$ determiniert. Diese Gottheit ist außer in Orakelanfragen, Gelübden und Träumen auch in Kultinventaren in Verbindung mit Mitgliedern der königlichen Familie der Großreichszeit bezeugt. Für Belege s. van Gessel 1998, 577–80; für die Interpretation einschlägiger Textstellen zur näheren Bestimmung des Wesens der Gottheit s. insbesondere Archi 1979; van den Hout 1998, 81–84; zusammenfassend Wilhelm 2018.

IV 4': Ein Fluss *Unnania ist nicht bezeugt. Die – freilich unsichere – Annahme einer Zeichenauslassung führt zu Kunnaniya und – häufiger bezeugtem – Kuwannaniya, zumeist mit PÚ, einmal auch (versehentlich) mit ÍD, als Name einer Quelle determiniert; s. Otten 1983; del Monte und Tischler 1978, 536–37; del Monte 1992, 206–7; für Belege in Kultinventaren s. Hazenbos 2003, 343; zum Namen s. Zehnder 2010, 196–97. Für das Nebeneinander von Iyaya und $^{PÚ}$Kuwannaniya s. die Kultinventare VS XXVIII 111 Rs. 7'–16' (Ortschaft Anniteššа) und KUB LVII 97 i [1]–18.

IV 5': Mit $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*allawantiyaš* liegt nun neben $^{LÚ}$*a-la-wa-an-*⸢*ti*⸣[-. . . .] KUB 38.37 II? 27' (CTH 295) und $^{MUNUS.MEŠ}$*allawan*[. . .] KUB 24.7 II 25 (CTH 717) ein dritter Beleg für diese in ihrer Bedeutung weiterhin unbekannte Personenbezeichnung vor (Otten 1976, 97; Wegner 1981; Güterbock 1997, 73).

## ABKÜRZUNGEN

Mit Ausnahme der Folgenden sind die Abkürzungen in diesem Aufsatz die im Chicago Hittite Dictionary verwendeten (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

| | |
|---|---|
| Rs. | Rückseite |
| Vs. | Vorderseite |
| VSNF | Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Neue Folge |

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# 36 ON THE HITTITE MEDIOPASSIVE TYPE *ḪANDĀITTA*

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One of the major classes of Hittite verbs is the class with the thematic suffix *-i̯e-/-i̯a-*.[1] The fluctuation between *-(i)i̯a-* and *-e-* (*-i-*) in active verbs of this class was previously considered to reflect a contraction of *-(i)i̯a-* to *-e-* (*-i-*) (Friedrich 1960, 27). However, developments in the dating of manuscripts have shown that this fluctuation is due to a replacement of OH *-i̯e-* by later Hittite *-i̯a-*: for example, *ani̯ezzi* "makes" (OS) ⟶ *ani̯azi* (OH/NS) (cf. Carruba 1966, 86; Watkins 1969, 71; Oettinger 1979, 27; et al.). In mediopassive verbs in *-i̯e-/-i̯a-*, on the other hand, the suffix *-i̯a-* is favored at all historical stages in Hittite, as pointed out by Calvert Watkins (1969, 72), Jay Jasanoff (1978, 49), and Norbert Oettinger (2013, 62). This observation is confirmed by the data in Neu 1968 and Yoshida 1990 as represented by the 1sg. *u̯eri̯aḫaḫari* "I call," 2sg. *u̯eri̯attati*, 3sg. *u̯eri̯attari*.[2]

There is no positive evidence for positing an *o*-grade of the ablauting suffixes (**-i̯e/o-*, **-sḱe/o-*, **-eh$_2$-i̯e/o-*) at a prehistoric stage of Hittite active *mi*-verbs (cf. Yoshida 2014, 373–79). In the case of active verbs in *-i̯e/a-* (< **-i̯e/o-*), three verbs in OH original manuscripts show *-i̯a-*: *peššii̯ami* "I throw" KBo 17.3 iv 18 (OS); *peššii̯a u̯eni* "we throw" KUB 35.164 obv. 6 (OS); *u̯emii̯a u̯en* "we found" KBo 22.2 obv. 14 (OS); and *ḫulāli̯ami* "I entwine" KBo 17.1 iii 22 (OS) and KBo 17.6 iii 14 (OS). However, the suffix *-i̯a-* therein does not reflect **-i̯o-* but is explained by a sound change that changes Proto-Anatolian **e* to *a* in Hittite in posttonic open syllables *before sonorants* (cf. Yoshida 2010, 391; 2014, 375–76).[3] As for *peššii̯ami* and *peššii̯a u̯eni* (< **pé+h$_1$s-i̯e-*), the preverb *pe-* was undoubtedly accented.[4] The spelling of *u̯emii̯a u̯en* (< **au-h$_1$ém-i̯e-*) speaks for an accented root because it is written with *e*-vocalism.[5] The third example, *ḫulāli̯ami*, is a denominative verb derived from *ḫulāli-* "distaff." The scriptio plena *-a-* suggests accentual retraction from **-i̯é-mi* under the influence

1 This study is based on a paper presented at the 36th East Coast Indo-European Conference held at the University of Georgia, Athens, in June 2016. I am grateful to the participants at this conference for their useful comments and suggestions. A list of the abbreviations used can be found at the end of the chapter.

2 The OH evidence for the suffix *-i̯a-* is shown by, e.g., *armani̯atta* "becomes ill" KUB 4.72 obv. 3 (OS); *lazzi̯atta* "is good" KBo 6.2 i 18 (OS); *lāzzi̯atta* "is good" KBo 6.2 i 18 (OS); *lē*[*l*]*ani̯atta* "becomes furious" KBo 6.2. ii 14 (OS); and *paršii̯a* "breaks" KBo 17.11 i 10, etc. (OS). There are also some unambiguous examples that show the suffix *-i̯e-*: *ḫuršakni̯etta* "stews" KBo 4.34 ii 8 (MH/NS); [*lēla*]*ni̯ettat* "became furious" KUB 33.10 obv. 9 (OH/MS); *marri̯etta* "melts down" KBo 6.34 ii 3 (MH/NS); *munnii̯etta* "falls off" KUB 13.2 ii 16 (MH/NS); *putkii̯etta* "swells" KBo 6.34 i 33 (MH/NS); *šamešii̯etta* "burns for fumigation" KBo 41.1b obv. 29 (?/MS); [*šall*]*ii̯etta* "melts down" KBo 27.12 ii 3 (MH/NS); and *ušii̯etta* "grazes" KBo 17.23 obv. 4 (OS). All of them except the last one are later attestations.

3 This rule also explains the few examples of *-a-* in the present 1pl. ending *-u̯ani* (< **´-u̯eni*) and 2pl. ending *-tani* (< **´-teni*), as well as the oblique stem of *u*-stem adjectives such as *āššau̯aš* (< **h$_1$és-eu̯-os*) "good" and of *i*-stem adjectives such as *šallai̯aš* (< **sélH-ei̯-os*) "great, large."

4 The stem part is compared with Hittite *šii̯e/a-* "shoot, press" and Sanskrit *ásyati* "throws" (cf. Kimball 1987, 163).

5 This interpretation is further supported by single *-z-* in the 3sg. *u̯emizi* KBo 6.2 iv 12 (OS). The single *-z-* here is due to affrication of **d* (cf. Yoshida 1998, 611), which was produced by the second lenition rule that operated between unaccented vowels in Proto-Anatolian (cf. Eichner 1973, 100n88; Morpurgo Davies 1982/83, 262).

of the corresponding noun.[6] These verbs in *-(i)i̯a-* are precious archaisms that resisted the analogical influence of the prevailing type with accented **-i̯é-*. The 3pl. in *-i̯anzi* goes back to **-i̯enti*, as Proto-Anatolian *eN* becomes *aN* before a dental, as evidenced by Hittite *anda* "in(to)" in contrast to Latin *endo* (cf. Melchert 1994, 105). In sum, there is no incontrovertible evidence for reconstructing the thematic vowel **o* at the pre-Hittite stage for *-i̯e/a-* active verbs.

The preponderance of the suffix *-i̯a-* in Hittite mediopassive verbs in *-i̯e-/-i̯a-* as shown above is obviously due to a morphological polarization, by which the active and mediopassive paradigms came to show **-i̯e-* and **-i̯o-* (> *-i̯a-*), respectively. The locus of the persistent **-i̯o-* in the mediopassive paradigm must have been the 3sg., where vowel contraction would be expected between the suffix **-i̯e-* and the 3sg. mediopassive ending **-o*. A long **ō* would probably result from the sequence of **e* and **o*, as in Attic Greek γένους "of a kind" in contrast to Homeric γένεος. This long **-ō* could easily become shortened later under the influence of the short **-o* of the root class such as *ešа* "sits," *kiša* "becomes," and so forth. This process is summarized as **-i̯o* ⟵ **-i̯ō* < **-i̯e-o*. The 3sg. **-i̯o* thus obtained later spread to the rest of the paradigm.[7]

I now turn to a cardinal problem in this study: mediopassive verbs in *-āi-/-ā-*, as represented by *ḫandāi-/ḫandā-* "to arrange, to prepare." Many Hittite denominative verbs in *-āi-/-ā-* reflect **-éh₂-i̯e/o-*, which is the factitive **-eh₂-* extended by the denominative suffix **-i̯e/o-*. Doublets such as *armaḫḫ-* (< **-éh₂-*) "make pregnant, impregnate" versus *armā(i)-* (< **-éh₂-i̯e/o-*) "be(come) pregnant," or *kutruu̯aḫḫ-* (< **-éh₂-*) "summon as witness" versus *kutruu̯ā(i)-* (< **-éh₂-i̯e/o-*) "bear witness," undoubtedly speak for the existence of this type.[8] The behavior of mediopassive verbs in *-āi-/-ā-* (< **-éh₂-i̯o-*) is expected to have been parallel to those in *-i̯e/a-* (< **-i̯o-*), because they both had the same predesinential element **-i̯o-*.[9] Thus *-ā-* (<**-éh₂-i̯o*) would be the predicted outcome in the 3sg. of the mediopassive paradigm. However, this is not the case, as shown in the following list, where mediopassives in *-ā-* outside the 3pl. are marked in boldface for the sake of clarity.[10]

*ḫandāi-* "to arrange, to prepare"
  pres. 3sg. ***ḫandātar*[*i*]**, [***ḫa*]*ndāttari***, [*ḫa*]*ndāitta*, *ḫand*[*āi*]*tta*, *ḫandāitta*, *ḫandaitta*, *ḫandāittari*, *ḫandaittari*, *ḫandaittāri*, etc. (many attestations)
  pres. 3pl. *ḫandanda*, *ḫandantari*, *ḫandāntari*
  pret. 2sg. *ḫandāittat*
  pret. 3sg. ***ḫandāta*[*t*]**, ***ḫandātt*[*at*]**, *ḫandāittat*, *ḫantāittat* (many attestations)
  pret. 3pl. *ḫandantati*, *ḫantantat*, *ḫandantati*, *ḫandantat*
*igai-/egai-* "to cool down"
  pres. 3sg. *igaitta*, *igaetta*
*irḫāi-* "to make rounds"
  pres. 3sg. *irḫaitta*, *irḫāitta(ri)*, *irḫaitta(ri)*, etc.
  pret. 3sg. *irḫaittat*
*išḫaḫruu̯ai-* "to weep"
  pret. 3sg. ***išḫaḫruu̯attat***
*luluu̯āi-* "to support, to thrive"
  pres. 3sg. *luluu̯aitta*, etc.

6 Just as for 3sg. *u̯emizi* discussed above, 3sg. [*ḫ*]*ulāli̯ez*[*i*] KBo 25.100 rev. 3 (OS) with single *-z-* confirms that the accent was not on the suffix.

7 The 3sg. **-i̯o* later underwent attachment of a renewed 3sg. ending **-to* (**-i̯o* ⟶ **-i̯o-to*). I have argued that this morphological change is triggered by the fixed stem and zero ending (Yoshida 2018).

8 However, a different view has been argued by Oettinger (1979, 358) and Kloekhorst (2008, 132), who reconstruct **-o-i̯e/o-* for this type.

9 It is consistent to assume a similar extension of the vocalism **o* inside the paradigm of this class, starting from the 3sg. **-éh₂-i̯o* (⟵ **-éh₂-i̯ō* < **-éh₂-i̯e-o*).

10 Apparently, the long *-ā-* could be shortened to *a* by analogy.

*munnāi-* "to hide"
pres. 3sg. ***munnattari***, *munnaittari*, etc.
pret. 3sg. *munnaittat*
*pašiḫai-* "to rub, to squeeze"
pres. 3sg. ***pašiḫat*[*ar*]*i***
*dammešḫāi-* "to oppress"
pret. 3sg. *dammešḫāittat*, etc.
*tuḫḫāi-* "to be short of breath, to grasp for breath"
pres. 3sg. *tuḫḫaitta*, etc.

Counter to our expectations, it is undeniable that mediopassives in *-āi-* are dominant in the 2sg. and 3sg. We may wonder which are older—mediopassives in *-ā-* or mediopassives in *-āi-*. I argue that mediopassives in *-ā-* are older and mediopassives in *-āi-* are a secondary replacement because the replacement of mediopassives in *-āi-* by those in *-ā-* is totally unmotivated. On the other hand, replacement in the opposite direction has a natural explanation.

The active paradigm of the *-āi-/-ā-* class is characterized by the present 1sg. *-āmi* (pret. *-ānun*); 2sg. *-āši* (*-āiš*); 3sg. *-āizzi* (*-āit*); 1pl. *-āu̯ani*, *-āu̯eni* (*-āu̯en*); 2pl. *-āttani*, *-ātteni* (*-ātten*); and 3pl. *-ānzi* (*-āer*). They are historically derived from the preform **-éh*$_2$*-i̯e-* by the abovementioned phonological rule, as shown in the following paradigm.[11]

| | Present | | | Preterite | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1. | *-āmi* | < **-á-i̯a-mi* | < **-éh*$_2$*-i̯e-mi* | *-ānun* | < **-á-i̯a-nun* | < **-éh*$_2$*-i̯e-n* + *m̥* |
| 2. | (*-āši*) | < **-ā-i̯e-si* | < **-éh*$_2$*-i̯e-si* | *-āiš* | < **-á-i̯e-s* | < **-éh*$_2$*-i̯e-s* |
| 3. | *-āizzi* | < **-á-i̯e-ti* | < **-éh*$_2$*-i̯e-ti* | *-āit* | < **-á-i̯e-t* | < **-éh*$_2$*-i̯e-t* |
| Pl. 1. | *-āu̯a/eni* | < **-á-i̯a-u̯ani* | < **-éh*$_2$*-i̯e-u̯eni* | *-āu̯en* | < **-á-i̯a-u̯en* | < **-éh*$_2$*-i̯e-u̯en* |
| 2. | (*-ātta/eni*) | < **-á-i̯e-tani* | < **-éh*$_2$*-i̯e-teni* | (*-ātten*) | < **-á-i̯e-ten* | < **-éh*$_2$*-i̯e-ten* |
| 3. | *-ānzi* | < **-á-i̯e-nti* | < **-éh*$_2$*-i̯e-nti* | (*-āer*) | < **-á-i̯a-r* | < **-éh*$_2$*-i̯e-r* |

The synchronic alternation of the suffixes *-ā-* (as seen in the 1sg.) and *-āi-* (as seen in the 3sg.) is explained in the following manner. The 1sg. **-éh*$_2$*-i̯e-mi* became **-á-i̯a-mi* by the abovementioned phonological rule and compensatory lengthening caused by the loss of **h*$_2$, which later contracted to *-āmi* after the loss of intervocalic yod, whereas the relevant phonological rule did not apply to the 3sg. **-éh*$_2$*-i̯e-ti* because the ending did not begin with a sonorant. This process is a historical account for the distribution of *-ā-* and *-āi-*.[12]

It is important to recognize that active verbs are predominant over mediopassive verbs in the *-āi-/-ā-* class, as illustrated by the following verbs not treated in the preceding discussion.

*arai-* "to stop, to rein in": pres. 3sg. *araizzi*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *arāit*, etc.
*arallai-* "to associate, to join": pres. 3sg. *arālaizzi*, etc.
*arkuu̯ai-* "to make a plea": pres. 3sg. *arku*[*u̯a*]*izzi*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *arkuu̯āit*
*aru̯āi-* "to bow": pres. 3sg. *aruu̯āizzi*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *aruu̯ait*, etc.
*ḫarpai-* "to heap up": pres. 3sg. *ḫarpāizzi*, etc.

11 Forms in parentheses refer to those not phonologically expected. It should be noted that the suffix **-i̯e-* was reconstructed for active verbs in *-i̯e/a-* in our earlier discussion. Likewise, there is no compelling reason to reconstruct **-éh*$_2$*-i̯o-* for active verbs in *-āi-/-ā-*.

12 Cf. Yoshida 2014, 378–79. The phonologically expected 2sg. present *-āiši* does not seem to be attested, though the 2sg. preterite *-āiš* is a regular outcome, suggesting that the phonological rule in question may be more restricted in terms of sonority. As for the 2pl., it is not clear why *-āttani* (*-ātteni*) and *-ātten* are attested instead of *-āittani* (*-āitteni*) and *-āitten*, which would be regular outcomes of the relevant rule. Be that as it may, there are no examples of 2sg. or 2pl. forms in OH original manuscripts. The 3pl. present *-ānzi* is derived from **-éh*$_2$*-i̯e-nti* by a different phonological rule, referred to above. The corresponding 3pl. preterite *-āer* must be analogical.

*ḫaruu̯anai-* “to become light, to dawn”: pres. 3sg. *ḫaruu̯anāizzi*, etc.
*ḫattaluu̯ai-* “to bolt, to lock”: pres. 3pl. *ḫataluu̯anzi*; pret. 3pl. [*ḫa*]*taluu̯aer*
*ḫatrai-* “to write”: pres. 3sg. *ḫatrāizzi*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *ḫatrait*, etc.
*ištantāi-* “to linger, to be late”: pres. 3sg. *ištantāizzi*; pret. 3sg. *ištantait*, etc.
*iu̯aru̯āi-* “to lend, to give”: pret. 3pl. *iu̯ārū̯air*
*kalgalinai-* “to clang, to clash”: pres. 3sg. *kalgalināizzi*, etc.
*kartai-* “to cut off”: pret. 1sg. *kartānun*
*genzuu̯ai-* “to treat gently”: pres. 2sg. *genzuu̯asi*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *genzuu̯ait*
*kutruu̯ai-* “to bear witness”: pres. 3sg. *kūtruu̯āizzi*, etc.
*laḫḫiiāi-* “to go on an expedition”: pres. 3sg. *laḫḫiiāizzi*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *laḫḫiiait*, etc.
*lappinai-* “to light”: pres. 3pl. *lappinanzi*
*lelai-* “to conciliate, to pacify”: pres. 3pl. *lelanzi*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *lelāit*, etc.
*līšai-* “?”: pres. 3sg. *lišaizzi*, etc.
*malai-* “to approve”: pres. 2sg. *malāši*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *malāit*, etc.
*maniiaḫḫai-* “to be in charge of”: imp. 2pl. *maniiaḫḫaitten*
*markištāi-* “to take someone by surprise(?)”: pres. 3sg. *markišdāizzi*, etc.
*mitai-* “to tie with red wool(?)”: pres. 3sg. *mitaizzi*, etc.
*mugai-* “to moan, to ask”: pres. 3sg. *mugāizzi*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *mūgait*, etc.
*mūtai-* “to root, to dig in, to remove”: pres. 3sg. *m*[*ut*]*āizzi*, etc.
*palu̯ai-* “to cry out”: pres. 3sg. *palu̯āizzi*, etc.
*paršanai-* “to crouch”: pres. 3sg. *parašnāizzi*, etc.
*piianai-* “to reward (someone)”: pres. 3sg. *piianāizzi*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *piianait*
*piddai-* “to bring, to render”: pres. *piddāizzi*, etc.; pret. 3pl. *piddāer*, etc.
*pittalai-* “to abandon, to discard”: pres. 2sg. *piddalaši*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *piddalait*
*pūu̯ai-* “to pound, to grind”: pres. 3sg. *pūu̯aizzi*, etc.
*šaḫešnai-* “to fortify”: pret. 3sg. BÀD-*ešnait*, etc.
*šāktai-* “to tend to (medically)”: pres. 3sg. *šāktāizzi*, etc.
*šalu̯ai-* “to penetrate(?), to stick(?)”: pres. 3sg. *šalu̯āizzi*; pret. 3sg. [*šalu̯*]*āit*
*šarlai-* “to exalt, to praise”: pres. 1sg. *šarlāmi*, 3sg. *šarlāizzi*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *šarlāit*, etc.
*šaruu̯ai-* “to plunder”: pret. 3sg. *šarruu̯ait*, etc.
*šau̯itištai-* “to wean”: pres. 3sg. *šau̯itištaizzi*
*šutāi-* “?”: pres. 3sg. *šutāizzi*
*takšulai-* “to agree, to be friendly”: pres. 3sg. *takšulāizzi*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *takšulāit*
*tarmai-* “to nail, to hammer”: pres. 3sg. *tarmāizzi*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *parmāit*, etc.
*duḫušiiai-* “to await”: pret. 3sg. *duḫušiiait*, etc.
*u̯antai-* “to glow, to light”: pret. 3sg. *u̯antait*
*u̯arrai-* “to come to help”: pres. 3sg. *u̯arrāizzi*; pret. 3sg. *u̯arrait*
*u̯edai-* “to bring hither”: pres. 3sg. *u̯idāizzi*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *u̯idāit*, etc.
*zaḫḫurai-* “to break, to crush”: imp. 3sg. *zaḫḫuraiddu*, etc.

There are forty-four verbs in the above list, where a representative sample of the attested active forms are shown. It should be noted that none of the verbs have mediopassive forms. It is therefore arguable that the older 3sg. mediopassives in *-ātta* were largely replaced by those in *-āitta* under the influence of the corresponding active 3sg. forms in *-āizzi* and in *-āit*. In fact, the mediopassives in *-āitta* shown above have their active counterparts, as illustrated in the following.

*ḫandāitta*: pres. 3sg. *ḫantāizzi*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *ḫandāit*, etc.
*igaitta*: pret. 3sg. *igait*
*irḫaitta*: pres. 3sg. *irḫāizzi*, *irḫaizzi*, etc.
*luluu̯aitta*: pres. 2sg. *luluu̯aiši*; pret. 3sg. *luluu̯āit*

*munnaittari*: pres. 3sg. *munnāizzi*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *munnāit*, etc.
*dammešḫāittat*: pres. 3sg. *dammišḫāizzi*, *dammešḫaizzi*, etc.; pret. 3sg. *dammeišḫāit*, etc.
*tuḫḫaitta*: pres. 3sg. *tuḫḫāizzi*; pret. 3sg. *tuḫḫāit*, etc.

I will now take a closer look at the mediopassives in *-ā-*. They are once again shown together with their dates.

pres. 3sg. *ḫandātar*[*i*] KBo 15.33 iii 23 (OH/MS), [*ḫa*]*ndāttari* KBo 17.78 i 10 (?/MS, fragment, CTH 652); pret. 3sg. *ḫandāta*[*t*] KBo 15.33 iii 23 (OH/MS), *ḫandātt*[*at*] KBo 8.69, 14 (OH/NS); cf. [*ḫa*]*ndāitta* KBo 20.14 + KBo 25.33 obv. 9' (OS), *ḫand*[*āi*]*tta* KBo 20.14 + KBo 25.33 obv. 13'' (OS)
pres. 3sg. *munnattari* VBoT 24 ii 17 (pre-NH/NS according to the CHD)
pres. 3sg. *pašiḫat*[*ar*]*i* VBoT 120 ii 25 (MH/NS)
pret. 3sg. *išḫaḫru̯attat* KUB 1.16 ii 6 (NH)

The verb *ḫandāi-* has a present 3sg. *ḫandātar*[*i*] (OH/MS), [*ḫa*]*ndāttari* (?/MS); preterite 3sg. *ḫandāta*[*t*] (OH/MS); and *ḫandātt*[*at*] (OH/NS). Most of the forms are attested in relatively old manuscripts, and their texts are mostly OH. However, there are two examples of *ḫandāitta* with *-āi-* attested already in OH manuscripts (OS). Their existence means that the morphological pressure from the active 3sg. *ḫantāizzi* and *ḫandāit* started to work at an early date. Two examples, *munnattari* (pre-NH/NS) and *pašiḫat*[*ar*]*i* (MH/NS), are recorded in NH manuscripts, but the texts go back to earlier periods. Though the last example, *išḫaḫru̯attat*, is attested in NH, it retains *-a-* because it was not subject to the morphological influence of the 3sg. active due to the lack of corresponding active forms.

It is instructive to take the following imperative forms into consideration.

imp. 2sg. *ḫandaḫḫut* KUB 17.10 ii 32 (OH/MS); imp. 3sg. [SIxSÁ-*at*]*taru* KUB 14.11 i 24 (NH)
imp. 3sg. *egattaru* KUB 7.58 i 8 (MH/NS), *egaddaru* KUB 45.20 i 23 (MH/NS), *igattaru* KUB 7.58 i 12 (MH/NS)

The imperative forms—2sg. *ḫandaḫḫut*, 3sg. [SIxSÁ-*at*]*taru* (= *ḫandattaru*), and 3sg. *egattaru*, *egaddaru*, *igattaru*—are characterized by *-a-* (< **-ā-*), in contrast to the indicative mediopassives, which largely show the predesinential *-āi-*, as represented by the present 3sg. *ḫandāitta*, preterite 2sg. *ḫandāittat*, and preterite 3sg. *ḫandāittat* and the present 3sg. *igaitta*. These imperatives are considered to be resistant to morphological pressure from their indicative counterparts because the analogical influence of indicatives on imperatives is indirect. That the imperative preserves archaic features is also illustrated by the fact that some *ta*-class mediopassives still retain their old character as *a*-class in their imperative forms—as seen, for example, in present 3sg. *ḫapdari* "joins" in contrast to the imperative 3sg. *ḫapparu*, which shows *-a*, not *-ta*.[13]

In sum, the sequence of changes that occurred in the history of Hittite mediopassive verbs in *-āi/ā-* will have been the following.[14]

| | |
|---|---|
| Proto-Anatolian | **-eh$_2$-i̯o* |
| *-Ø* ⟶ **-to* | **-eh$_2$-i̯o-to* |
| compensatory lengthening | **-ā-i̯o-to* |
| **o* > **a* | **-ā-i̯a-ta* |
| loss of *i̯* and contraction | **-āta* |
| influence from the active | **-āta* ~ *-āita* |
| Old Hittite | *-ātta* ~ *-āitta* |

13 For other mediopassive 3sg. imperatives resistant to the morphological change of *-a* to *-ta* or *-a* to *-atta*, see Yoshida 2007, 385.

14 The relative ordering of some changes is provisional and not crucial. On the morphological change *-Ø* ⟶ **-to*, see Yoshida 2016.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

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This volume honors Theo van den Hout, the Arthur and Joann Rasmussen Professor Emeritus of Hittite and Anatolian Languages at the University of Chicago's Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures and a preeminent philologist, linguist, and historian. The thirty-six essays offered here reflect the wide range of Professor van den Hout's research interests and include text editions, studies on religion and writing, and investigations into diverse lexical, linguistic, and literary topics.

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